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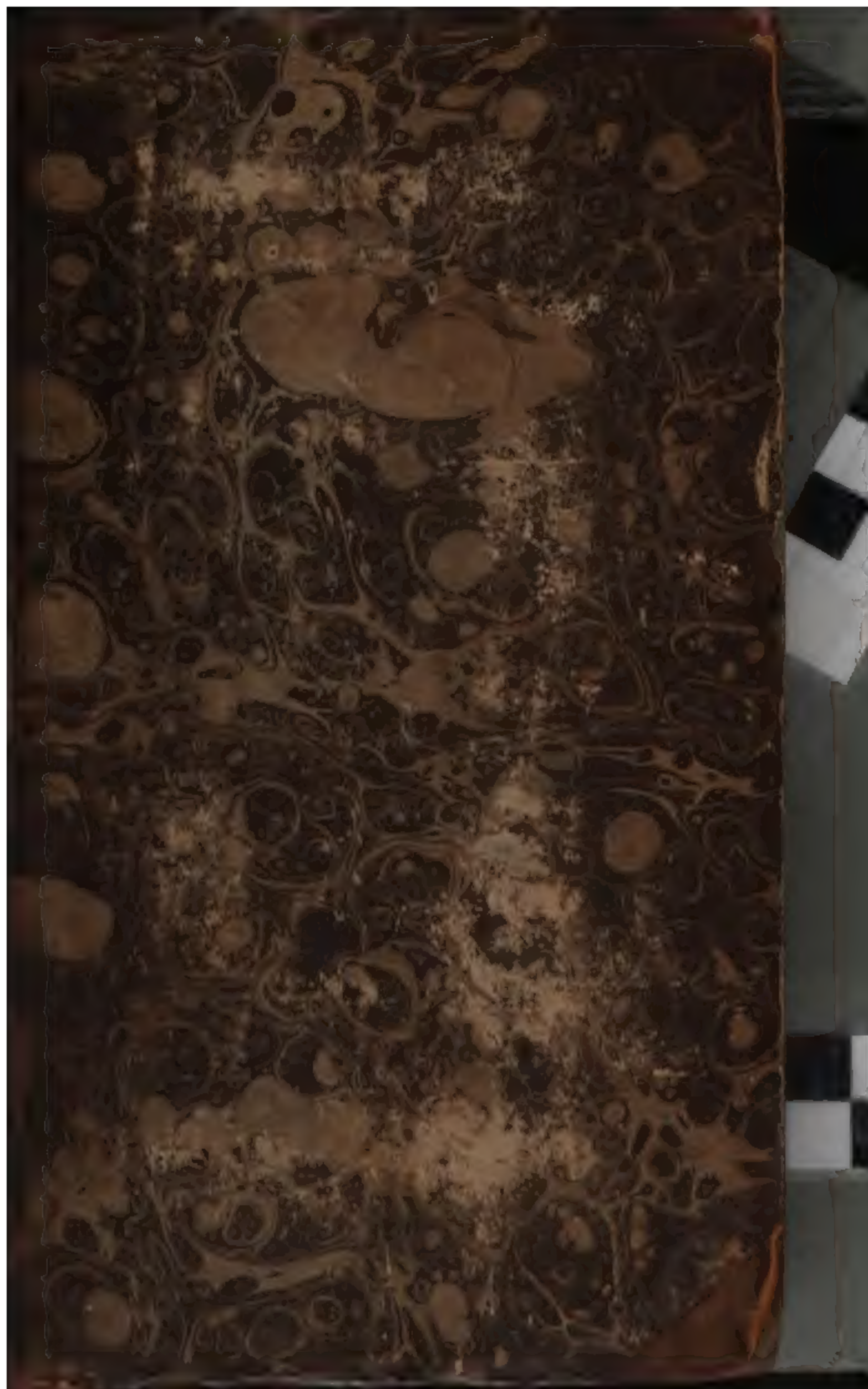
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OF THE

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N. B. For REMARKABLE PASSAGES in the *Criticisms* and *Extracts*, see the INDEX, at the End of the Volume.

☞ For the Names, also, of the Authors of new Dissertations, or other curious Papers, published in the MEMOIRS and TRANSACTIONS of the Scientific ACADEMIES at Home or on the Continent, and also for the Titles of those Dissertations, &c., of which Accounts are given in the Review, — see the *Index*, printed at the End of each Volume.

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- Page** 7. l. 4. from bottom, after 'merited,' insert *it*.
11. l. 20. for 'morn,' read *mourn*.
81. l. 4. from bottom, insert a comma after 'faith.'
113. l. 9. the turned commas after *era* should be placed after
Revolution.

THE MONTHLY REVIEW,

For JANUARY, 1822.

ART. I. *The Poems of Caius Valerius Catullus*, translated, with a Preface and Notes, by the Hon. George Lamb. 12mo. 2 Vols. 12s. Boards. Murray. 1821.

THEORIES of translation have been offered to the world, but they have in general been found useless; for even when translators have been their own lawgivers, and have laid down in an elaborate preface the rules by which they professed to be governed, they have immediately afterward been driven to the necessity of flying in the face of their own enactments. The truth seems to be, that, to preserve the entire character of any author, in a language which is not his own, is absolutely impossible: it is the dream of enthusiasm and folly; and the whole business is a barter or compromise of mutual advantage and inconvenience. If the humour of a writer be preserved, it is probable that the price paid for seizing and embodying that volatile and aerial essence is the loss of the grace and elegance of his native diction. It is not wholly impracticable, for instance, to transfuse the broad farce of Aristophanes, but it would be madness to expect that the sparkling brightness of his Attic phraseology should not be clouded and incrustated in the transfusion. On the other hand, an attempt to convey even a faint conception of the inimitable sweetness of his language will be achieved, if achieved in any way, on this condition only, that his humour must be abandoned. Yet in the original both were indissolubly blended: — the wit, however coarse, became refined by the language, — and the language, in its turn, gave force and point to the wit. This is a circumstance to which those who have themselves attempted the translation of an antient author, or have delivered rules concerning it to others, have not sufficiently attended; and a few more words, therefore, may be requisite to develope our proposition, or to place it in a clearer point of view.

A great revolution has taken place in the human mind, and consequently in human language, during the two thousand
REV. VOL. xcvii. B years

years that have elapsed since the great dramatic writer, whom we have just specified for the sake merely of our argument, amused and delighted his Attic auditors; and, in saying this, we limit ourselves to a simple statement of the fact, without accounting for it metaphysically. Of this revolution, the chief circumstance is that gross and plain-spoken diction is now banished from the assemblies of the polite, from the discourses of the learned, from the ease of the fire-side, and even from the freedom of the convivial hour, and is condemned to the exclusive use of the low, the profligate, and the vulgar: but that the ingenuous, rough, and straight-forward phrase, which scorns the refined circumlocutions of modern speech, and, without studying how to veil or soften an indelicate image, consists only of words which correspond the most nearly to things, — that this coarse and unbewn phraseology, if we may so express ourselves, was at the period in question indiscriminately adopted. Every thing was then spoken out; and it was not the fashion to imagine that the contrivances, which save modern ears from being shocked, would keep the heart from being polluted. “*J'appelle un chat un chat*,” said Boileau, when he claimed freedom of speech for himself and his brother-satirists. The antients, however, carried the privilege of calling things by their right names infinitely farther; and their idioms seem to have been built on this principle, that, as far as words represent ideas, the ideas are not the more concealed for being wrapt in paraphrase and involution. A homely object naturally conjoins itself to a homely expression: but, when a more complicated machinery of words is put in motion for the avowed purpose of concealing the thing, it is like Hogarth's mechanism for the drawing of a cork; which, in itself a simple operation, and scarcely observed when it is performed in the ordinary way, would immediately become a matter of remark and curiosity if the apparatus of wheels and levers, so well imagined by that satirical artist, had been carried into effect.

The language of the antients not only dealt in plain words that had a plain meaning, but it is their most remarkable distinction that such words were incorporated into their most finished compositions, and came into familiar contact with the purest and richest graces of their diction. They fell from the mouths of sages when they wanted illustrations, — they flowed from the lips of beauty without exciting a blush, — and Socrates and Plato, Aspasia and Phryne, alike used them without hesitation: having no notion of those innovations of speech, now so common, by which a word is proscribed in order that it may be replaced by another, equally a conventional sign of the same idea;

idea; a practice, indeed, of no very old standing among ourselves, for the dialogue of Shakspeare and of Ben Jonson does not admit of these occasionally prudish affectations. We do not mean, however, here to discuss this matter either morally or philosophically, but to state the case as it affects the labours of translation. We could easily illustrate the argument by familiar exemplifications, but the task would in itself be indelicate; and while it is undeniable that *ideas*, not words, are the means by which the mind may be improved or be prejudiced, and that so far it is unimportant what *word* conveys the *idea*, it is equally obvious that the feelings and the imagination, which controul the heart, may be differently affected and excited by the modification of terms.

It may be asked, How does all this apply to the present subject? We answer, That it is closely connected with all translations from classic authors. Those words, which have fallen into so much disgrace with ourselves, were so interwoven not only in the daily and familiar speech but in the most finished and elaborate writings of the ancients, that the whole embroidery of their poetry must be picked out and taken to pieces, if it becomes requisite to exclude them. Hence arises the difficulty of translating not only Aristophanes, of whom we have been speaking, but Catullus, of whom we are about to speak. It is to little purpose to say that the sentiment may be transferred, and the language left behind. There is no sentiment without language, and if its language be altered it is not the same sentiment. Words, therefore, not being independent of ideas, it is evident that a translation conducted on the principle of excluding certain words will leave the sentiment unconveyed, and all the coaxing and intreaties of the translator will not persuade it to migrate. Every nation in the world has a stock of untranslatable words, but they embody the sentiments and peculiarities of thinking that are incident to that nation. This is what we mean when we talk about the genius of a language, which is nothing more than its moral habitudes swaying and influencing its forms of speech. How much, then, must we lose of the distinct and appropriate character of a literature, when we are forbidden to translate its most common and received phraseology?

Perhaps it may appear a rather equivocal compliment to those great masters of composition, to rest the difficulty of translating them on the grossness and licentiousness of their phrases: but something may be said to excuse this immodesty. They painted from nature, and their discourse did not come through the strainers of conventional and fashionable usage. If their scorn and indignation assailed unmanly and brutal

vices, they did not step aside from their purpose to put on a more seemly and decorous costume, but as those vices had names they scrupled not to use them. They wielded a scourge which made no circling flourishes in the air, but fell with unabated vehemence on the victim: a remark which is not applicable only to the professed writers of satire, and is not more appropriate to Persius and Juvenal than to Catullus himself. This peculiar quality of their language influenced every kind of their poetry; and, while the use of words at which modern delicacy sickens did not destroy the fire and dignity of their invectives, the same freedom was not deemed a deformity in the tender strains which breathed of love and pleasure. It is the apology which Catullus (like Martial and Ovid) makes for himself, that the bard might be virtuous whose muse was licentious:

“*Nam castum esse decet pium poetam
Ipsam; versiculos nihil necesse est* :”—

but he was then addressing Aurelius and Furius, two effeminate hypocrites, who, although grey in wickedness, affected to turn up their noses at his verse.

It is not, however, doing justice to Catullus to class him exclusively among the amatory poets; which station is so injuriously assigned to him by the majority of critics and translators. Not to mention the sweet effusions of friendship and the tender play of affection discernible in his writings, he is in one sense a satirical poet: for he wages war on vice, though his sword, like that of Harmodius, is wreathed in myrtle. We do not advert only to those short pieces which are called Epigrams, (evidently the models which Martial had before him,) nor to that description of his poems of which his address to Calvus the advocate, who had sent him a present of some execrable compositions by the poetasters of the day, is so excellent a specimen, but to those for example which he addressed to Porcius and Socration;—which concentrate, in the space of seven verses, the essence of that high-minded indignation with which a lofty soul contemplates the court that is paid to knaves at the expence of the honest and the upright. Hence, in those short effusions which we have called Satires, he makes a much more frequent use of untranslatable words than Persius or Juvenal; and, his muse being moreover amatory and playful, and versed in the mysterious rites of Roman voluptuousness, he is still less susceptible of translation than those satirists. This, however, is not all:—there is an undefinable quality in this poet that wholly eludes the grasp of translation, for which it is not altogether easy to account. It is a certain undressed neatness, the *simplicitas munditiarum* of

TT^orace

Horace blended with the *curiosa felicitas* which Petronius applies to that poet; and so remote is his style from all that is affected or laboured, that his beauties at once tempt and baffle the translator. This quality the classical student will recognize by a word incapable of being translated, ἀφελεια; and this also makes him so concise and simple, that he cannot be rendered into another tongue without additions which encumber and overlay his charms. Scarcely an attempt therefore of this kind has been made in which the number of his verses has not been doubled; and, consequently, he has been so dressed out in Ovidian embellishments, that it would be next to impossible to recognize the simple purity which Virgil honoured with his applause, and chose for his imitation.

If it be here objected that what we have been saying, as to the difficulties of translating Catullus, will apply to all translations from the antients whatever, we fear that it is but too true. Hard as it may appear on the merely English reader, he must acquire their language, or give up the idea of understanding and relishing them. We apprehend, also, that he must part with a few of his most cherished delusions; and that we must remind him, while he is reading the *Iliad* of Pope, that he is not reading the *Iliad* of Homer. In fact, there is no “royal road” for him to the beauties of classic literature, but he must plod his way through Lily and Cle-nardus, and approach them through the long and tedious avenues by which alone they are to be reached. Without this, he must forego a correct perception of them, and be contented to catch brief and transient glances of their beauties through the gratings of translation. In short, he must be wholly at the mercy of translators; of those who will give him the original, word for word, without one ray of their inspiration; or of those who, assuming the name of free translators, lose themselves and their author in a labyrinth of laboured diction, and keep at an awful distance from his meaning.

“ Thus Greece or Rome, in modern dress arrayed,
Is but antiquity in masquerade.”

To this loss the English reader must submit: but his misfortune is not without consolation. If shut out from the Greek and Roman writers, he will find more complacency in perusing his own; and let him be comforted by the reflection that the modern school of English poetry, on which he prides himself in common with two-thirds of his countrymen, would not have stirred up in his soul one half of the raptures which he now feels for the Southseys, the Scotts, and the Byrons of his day, had he been nurtured to the severer judgment and

more fastidious taste, which the great models of antiquity inspire to chasten unskilful and unreflecting admiration.

Appalling as these difficulties are in the translation of Catullus, we are far from undervaluing the labours of Mr. Lamb. At any rate, he has contributed largely to the elucidation of that poet, and the notes subjoined to the volumes are in many instances felicitous explanations of his author's obscurities. His preface also abounds with lively and intelligent criticism, not written perhaps with the correctness of an author by profession, but displaying the ease of a gentleman and the information of a scholar. He is, moreover, intitled to much commendation for contributing to excite more general attention to a somewhat neglected poet, who, as a punishment for his offences against moral decorum, has incurred the fate of having too little credit for the prevailing elegance and purity of his works. We say somewhat neglected, because full justice has never been done to Catullus; and his critics and commentators, as we have remarked before, have classed him among the voluptuous poets, who, like Anacreon, sing only of love and wine, and waste their sweetness on the passing hour. That love is, indeed, an essential element of his poetry cannot be denied: but of an extraordinary fondness for wine, or the pleasures of the table, he affords not any evidence. He has but one "copy of verses" which belong to this class, viz. the poem addressed to his cup-bearer, and this was written on an extraordinary occasion: for it seems that a lady, who was particularly fond of good wine, was the mistress of the feast, and he was anxious to gratify her palate with the oldest (*calices amariores*) in his cellar.

Catullus, we repeat, is the poet also of friendship and affection. The exquisite lines to Hortalus, the epistle to Marcellus, and the address to Calvus on the death of Quintilia, shew that his heart was true to the finest impulses; while the beautiful lines to Sirmio bespeak that love for home-felt delights and peaceful retirement, which scarcely ever resides but in pure and amiable natures. In these exquisite verses, how he pants during the weary round of his travels for the domestic joys of his beloved peninsula; and, when his foot has at length crossed the well-known threshold, he scarcely believes that his pilgrimage is ended, and that the accustomed couch, for which he had breathed such anxious vows, is spread to receive him.

*" Vix mi ipse credens Thyniam atque Bithynos
Liquisse campos, et videre te in tuto.
O quid solutis est beatius curis !*

Quum

*Quum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino
Labore fessi venimus Larem ad nostrum,
Desideratogue acquiescimus lecto."*

The verses written at his brother's grave are the very tears of poesy. His lyre also is sometimes attuned to still higher themes; and Atys, and the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, intitle him to the dignity of an heroic poet.

Little has been handed down to us respecting the private history of Catullus: but it is justly remarked by Mr. Lamb that his character may be judged from his compositions.

'If such a criterion,' he observes, 'is followed, we may fairly describe him as irascible, but forgiving; careless and imprudent; affectionate to his kindred, warm in friendship, but contemptuous and offensive to those whom he disliked; grateful, but not cringing, to his patrons, and inclined to constancy in love, had his love met return. He seems to have been as little sullied by the grossness of the age as was possible for one invited to the pleasures of the times, by the patronage of his superiors: as far as we know, he gave into no vice which was then stigmatized as disgraceful; and pure indeed must that mind have been, which, amidst such coarseness of manners, could preserve so much expressive delicacy and elevated refinement.' (Preface, p. 43.)

In these candid inferences, we cordially agree: but we cannot assent to the remarks on the appellation of "learned," which the according voice of antiquity seems to have awarded to Catullus, or to the conclusion drawn from them. 'The title of learned,' says Mr. Lamb, 'never, I conceive, belonged peculiarly to him, but was merely enjoyed in common with all poets;' and, in a note, he has collected the varying opinions of critics and commentators on a subject which we think is too obvious to be controversial. Surely Aulus Gellius ought to be allowed to decide the question, for he has given a commentary on the word "*deprecor*" as it is used by Catullus in an epigram on Lesbia, and remarks on it as "*doctiuscule positum*." Now what did the author of the *Noctes Atticæ* mean by the learned use of a word? A single remark will explain it. Every one who has studied Catullus must have observed the more than common knowledge of Greek which is scattered over his poems, — the archaisms, — and the nice and even pedantic use of words, in their learned rather than their popular sense. Our own Milton uses words *doctiuscule*; and if the epithet of *doctus* was ever appropriate to a poet, no one has merited more than our immortal countryman. Thus.

—— "and the humble shrub
And bush with frizzled hair *implicit*."

Again ;

“ Wave rolling after wave, where way they found
If steep with *torrent rapture*.”

Paradise Lost, book vii.

Also in the eighth book, speaking of creation,

—— “ merely to *officiate* light
Round this spacious earth, this *punctual* spot.”

Of former translations, we believe that Mr. Lamb's enumeration is tolerably correct: but we are surprized that the Italian translation in 1770, by Luigi Sableyras, escaped him. Of the English versions, that which was published anonymously in 1795 is the only complete one. We shall now confine ourselves to Mr. Lamb's execution of this difficult task.

We are sorry to begin with a censure, but the dedication to Cornelius Nepos is a most unmerciful paraphrase, and it goes creepingly and languidly along. We extract the first stanza of three, remarking that Catullus comprized the whole in ten short lines :

‘ My little volume is complete
With all the care and polish neat,
That makes it fair to see :
To whom shall I then, to whose praise
Inscribe my lively graceful lays ?
Cornelius, friend, to thee.

How remote from the terseness and how destitute of the polish of the original !

“ *Quoi dono lepidum novum libellum,
Aridâ modo pumice expolitum ?
Corneli, tibi.*”

The Italian translator, to whom we have just adverted, has contrived to keep, though with slight pretensions to any poetic merit of his own, a wonderful exactness to his author ;

“ *Cui dono il lepidò novo libretto
Con secca pomice pur dianzi netto ?
A te, Cornelio.*”

It would, however, be imperfect justice to Mr. Lamb to make too minute a selection from so various a mass. The well-known address to Lesbia, “ *Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,*” on which every rhymers for the last two centuries has tried his hand, and of which thirty French versions are specified by Noel the French translator, 1806, is on the whole well done. We extract a part of Mr. Lamb's version of these charming hendecasyllables ; observing farther that they

are

are the best which we have yet seen, with the exception only of those of Ben Jonson in his *Sylva*.

- ‘ Love, my Lesbia, while we live ;—
Value all the cross advice
That the surly grey-beards give
At a single farthing’s price.
- ‘ Suns that set again may rise ;
We, when once our fleeting light,
Once our day in darkness dies,
Sleep in one eternal night.
- ‘ Give me kisses thousand-fold,
Add to these a hundred more ;
Other thousands still be told,
Other hundreds o’er and o’er.
- ‘ But with thousands when we burn,
Mix, confuse the sums at last,
That we may not blushing learn
All that have between us past.’

Here, however, we have images not to be found in Catullus. He says nothing of ‘our day’s dying in darkness,’ which would have been too much in the manner of Ovid for so pure a poet ; — nor does he talk of ‘*burning* with a thousand kisses.’ Catullus leaves his readers to conjecture their physical effect.

Considerable elegance distinguishes the following imitation of the lines to Hypsithilla, and Mr. Lamb has dexterously avoided much of their grosser voluptuousness :

- ‘ Kind of heart, of beauty bright,
Pleasure’s soul, and love’s delight,
*None by nature graced above thee,
Hypsithilla, let me love thee.*
- ‘ Tell me then, that I shall be
Welcome when I come to thee ;
And at noon’s inspiring tide
Close thy door to all beside.
- ‘ Let no idle wish to roam
Steal thy thoughts from joys at home ;
But prepare thy charms to aid
Every frolic love e’er played.
- ‘ Speed thy message. Day goes fast,
Now’s the hour : the banquet’s past :
Mid-day scenes and goblets flowing
Set my frame with passion glowing.’

The lines marked in italics have nothing in the original that corresponds with them.

Confessing our disappointment at the manner in which the pathetic lines written at the tomb of the poet’s brother are
ren-

rendered, we shall not apologize for inserting them in the native brightness of their own diction, before we quote Mr. L.

“ *Multas per gentes, et multa per æquora vectas,
Advenio has miserâs, frater, ad inferias :
Ut te postremo donaxem munere mortis,
Et mutum nequicquam alloquerer cinerem.
Quandoquidem fortuna mihi te te abstulit ipsum,
Heu miser indignè frater adempte mihi !
Nunc tamen interea prisco quæ more parentum
Tradita sunt tristès munera ad inferias,
Accipe fraterno multùm manantia fletu :
Atque in perpétuum, frater, ave atque vale.”*

Mr. Lamb's translation :

‘ Brother, I come o’er many seas and lands,
To the sad rite which pious love ordains,
To pay thee the last gift that death demands,
And oft, though vain, invoke thy mute remains :
Since *death has ravished half myself in thee,*
Oh wretched brother; sadly torn from me !
‘ And now ere fate our souls shall re-unite,
To give me back all it hath snatched away,
Receive the gifts, our fathers’ ancient rite
To shades departed still was wont to pay ;
Gifts wet with tears of heart-felt grief that tell ;
And ever, brother, bless thee and farewell !’

Here the poet is rendered answerable for various accessory ideas which never entered his mind. Catullus does not make death ‘ ravish half himself’ in his brother : his grief was too sincere for such an hyperbole : but a heart more at ease might have thought of such an image, and Mr. Lamb found it in Horace. ‘ Gifts wet with tears’ is the idea of Catullus : but he does not make them ‘ tell of grief,’ — a *conchetto* by no means in his manner. Nor does he talk of fate re-uniting their souls ; which, though in his day it was a tenet of the academic philosophy, was by no means a tenet of the popular mythology. — We have endeavoured to render this charming effusion ourselves ; not claiming, however, any other merit than that of a stricter adherence to the original.

Through various realms, and over various seas,
Brother, I come to thy sad obsequies ;
And my slow steps with fond devotion turn
To call unheard upon thy speechless urn.
Torn from my heart by fate’s severe decree,
In vain that heart, my brother, sighs for thee !

—And

— And now accept the gifts by custom made,
 Sacred of yore to each beloved shade ;
 Gifts with fraternal sorrows watered o'er. —
 Farewell, blest shade, farewell for ever more !

In the charming address to Hortalus, which breathes also an affectionate regret for the poet's deceased brother, we think that Mr. Lamb has been particularly fortunate ; and we must extract the first three stanzas.

- ' Though grief, my Hortalus, that wastes my heart,
 Forbids the culture of the learned Nine ;
 Nor can the Muses with their sweetest art
 Inspire a bosom worn with grief like mine ;
- ' For Lethe laves my brother's clay-cold foot,
 His spirit lingers o'er its lazy wave ;
 The Trojan earth at high Rhetæum's root
 O'erwhelms his relics in a distant grave !
- ' Shall I then never, in no future year,
 Oh brother, dearer far than vital breath,
 See thee again ? yet will I hold thee dear,
 And in sad strains for ever mourn thy death.'

Mr. Lamb, however, has earned a higher praise, for he has conquered a greater difficulty ; and we speak unhesitatingly when we say that we have not a finer translation in our tongue than that of the noble poem of Atys, which is here presented to us. If it be imperfect, it is because all translated verse, and particularly that of Catullus, (for the reasons which we have stated,) must necessarily be so : — but it has preserved no small portion of the spirit and dignity of the original, and that spirit and dignity are sufficient to terrify a translator. There is a wild swiftness in the numbers which is perhaps inimitable ; and he who would aspire to give the faintest conception of the change of sex, as it occurs in the poem, must soon relinquish in despair so extravagant a presumption.

*" Itaque ut relictæ sensit sibi membra sine viro :
 Et jam recente terræ sola sanguine maculans," &c.*

It is with great sincerity that we express our delight at the opening ; and we think that the metre, though generally appropriated to less elevated subjects, is peculiarly expressive of the hurried measure of the original.

- ' Borne swiftly o'er the seas to Phrygia's woody strand,
 Atys with rapid haste infuriate leap'd to land ;
 Where high-inwoven groves in solemn darkness meet,
 Rushed to the mighty Deity's remote and awful seat ;
 And wildered in his brain, fierce inspiration's prey,
 There with a broken flint he struck his sex away.

' Soon

- ‘ Soon as he then beheld his comely form unmanned,
While yet the purple blood flowed reeking on the land;
Seized in his snowy grasp the drum, the timbrel light,
That still is heard, dread Cybele, at thine initiate rite,
And struck the quivering skin, whence hollow echoes flew,
And raised this panting song to his infuriate crew.
- ‘ “ Ye priests of Cybele, or rather let me say,
For ye are men no longer, priestesses, away!
Together pierce the forest, great Cybele’s domains,
Ye vagrant flocks of her on Dindymus who reigns.
Ye, like devoted exiles, who seeking foreign lands
Have followed me your leader, and bowed to my commands;
Have crossed the *salt-sea* waves, have dared the raging storms,
And loathing woman’s love, unmanned your lusty forms;
The sense of error past let laughing phrenzy blind;
Let doubt, let thought itself be driven from the mind.
Haste, haste, together haste to Cybele divine!
Seek we her Phrygian grove and dark sequestered shrine,
Where cymbals clash, where drums resound their deepening
tone,
Where Phrygia’s crooked pipe breathes out its solemn drone,
Where votaresses toss their ivy-circled brows,
And urge with piercing yells their consecrated vows,
Where the delirious train disport as chance may lead:
Thither our vows command in mystic dance to speed.” ’

We must now close our extracts, and our article, with this general remark on the execution of the work. We think that in detached portions it is excellent: but that, on several occasions, Mr. Lamb has exceeded the licence of being sometimes drowsy; and that, in many charming pieces, concerning which our admiration of Catullus renders us more than ordinarily fastidious, he not only nods, but sinks into downright slumber. This circumstance, added to other considerations, has convinced us that, if Catullus must be translated, the task will be better accomplished by various hands than by one; and we still think that a collection might be formed from several translations which are scattered over the works of many of our English poets, together with the contributions of those who are more likely to execute particular poems with vivacity and effect than to undertake a systematic transfusion of the whole. Should this at any time be attempted, we would strongly recommend several elegant versions which appeared in the anonymous translation of 1795 *; as a favourable specimen of which we cannot too strongly praise the ease and spirit of the playful address to Lesbia, from the exquisite lines of Catullus beginning thus:

* See our xxivth vol. N. S. p. 275.

" *Nulla potest mulier tantum se dicere amatam,
Verè, quantum à me Lesbia, amata mea es.*"

" No nymph, amid the much lov'd few,
Is lov'd as thou art lov'd by me :
No love was e'er so fond, so true,
As my fond love, sweet maid, for thee !

" Yes, e'en thy faults, bewitching fair !
With such delights my soul possess,
That, whether faithless or sincere
I cannot love thee more, nor less."

ART. II. *Historical Memoirs respecting the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics*, from the Reformation to the present Time. By Charles Butler, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. Second Edition. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. Boards. Murray.

Additions to the Historical Memoirs, &c. By Charles Butler, Esq. Vols. III. and IV. 8vo. 1l. 10s. Boards. Murray. 1821.

A PLAIN and succinct account of the Catholics of the three kingdoms, since the Reformation, has doubtless been a great desideratum in our literature. Few persons, indeed, can read the History of England, as given by Protestant writers, without wishing to have a farther insight into the characters of those men who were able to keep up a system of ecclesiastical discipline, at a time when the performance of the least of their functions exposed them to imprisonment and death. Few, also, are devoid of a curiosity about the nature and extent of those foreign colleges, in which British youths, when precluded from pursuing such studies at home, were initiated in all the mysteries of their faith, and, while they felt the bitterness of exile, became imbued with the spirit of martyrs. It is obvious that, by such foreign education, the importance of religious tenets would be cherished as paramount to every other consideration : but still there was much room for inquiry how far foreign habits would overpower the sympathies of early life, and to what extent French policy, or Spanish treachery, was by such means incorporated in the religious creed of these subjects of the British crown. An exact history of the Catholics might also be expected to throw considerable light on the measures pursued by the hypocritical race of the Stuarts, and particularly to assist in unravelling the plots and counter-plots in the reign of Charles the Second. In such a history, too, we might hope to meet with some estimate of the Catholic population, in the different periods of its persecution or imperfect toleration ; and an intimation of those more secret springs of action in the cabinet, which, in
addition

addition to the current of public opinion, produced first a relaxation and eventually a repeal of the more oppressive statutes, under the Brunswick family.

For all this we might fairly look in a history of British Catholics; and of this much has been done by Mr. Butler, though much also has been left undone: while, as it appears to us, the author has indulged in numerous extensions, and has left his main work incomplete from being induced to deviate into details which would be interesting if they were not irrelevant. Unity and simplicity of design are thus lost; and the reader finds himself involved in a variety of subdivisions and quotations, on points but indirectly connected with the subject of the work. Instead of giving as a compilation, and joining together extracts from Hume, Lingard, Berrington, Milner, and the answerers to Milner, and Panzani's Letters, and the remarks on Panzani's Letters, we should have been much better pleased if Mr. Butler had attempted one continued narrative of his own, supported by references in his margin to the authors on whom he relied; or, if extracts must be made, by an appendix of extracts. We regret this compiling system the more, because, where the author speaks his own thoughts in his own words, we cannot but admire his powers of composition; and particularly that talent of insinuation which his professional studies, and (we apprehend) his early veneration for Lord Mansfield and studious imitation of his peculiar manner, have enabled him to acquire.

We cannot speak, however, in too high terms of the general tone of moderation and impartiality in which the work is written. An impression of the author's simplicity, and of the mildness of his character, fills the reader with favourable prepossessions towards his conclusions; though on many subjects, certainly, he has deduced conclusions very different from those which we have been accustomed to form. Every honest reader, indeed, will pause and reflect long on the extent of his own early biases, and on his own prejudices of a contrary nature, before he rejects the decisions of an author of so much gravity and experience, who has devoted so much time to the investigation of facts, and to sifting and scrutinizing contradictory evidence: so that few Protestants, perhaps, can seriously examine the volumes before us without learning to hesitate on some particulars in events, or in characters, on which they had before no doubt. Yet we must honestly confess that, after mature consideration of the whole history, we are much more struck with the partial views which it contains than we were on a first perusal. It is written with more address than is obvious; and not only does it justify all that has been done
by

by any member of the body of Catholics which can be justified, but it palliates whatever can be palliated, and refrains at least from condemning many things that cannot be excused.

As we are friends to the exertion of industry, and believe that man best evinces his piety to Heaven by discharging every domestic and civil duty, we are no friends to the seclusion of monasteries. We have often spoken with applause of Mr. Malthus's views on population and political economy, but little did we think that by so doing we were espousing the cause of monastic institutions; and indeed we believe that Mr. Malthus would be as much surprized as any of his admirers at the following statement of his doctrine:

‘ For several years, the greatest geniuses of this country have employed their talents on the subject of political economy. Their grand discovery appears to be, that nothing contributes so greatly to the wealth, or strength of the nation, as the *celibacy of those, who have not the means of providing for the offspring of their marriages*. Now, of such persons, monasteries were, — and of such they are still, — principally composed. Therefore, if the above axiom be founded in truth, and,

— *Hæc Janus summus ab imo
Perdocet, hæc recinunt juvenes dictata, senesque,* —

HORACE.

it never can apply so well as in times, when, comparatively speaking, there was so little employment for industry; and consequently, when there existed so few ways, by which a poor man could provide for his family.’

That we are not disposed to under-rate the characters of eminent Catholics may be judged from our general conduct, and is exemplified in our late remarks on that of Cardinal Wolsey, as represented by Miss Benger.* That lady dwells on the cruelty imputed to More, and idolizes Cranmer as a being almost without blemish: while Mr. Butler exculpates More, and dwells with severity on the frailties and the inconsistency of the amiable Archbishop. The truth surely lies in the mean. They were both men of whom any nation and any age might be proud: but they were both tinctured with the intolerance of the age in which they lived, and each attributed exclusive efficacy to his own faith.

We are sorry to find the following paragraph at the end of Mr. Butler's remarks on the gun-powder plot: (Vol. i. p. 301.)

‘ It is not within the plan of this work to enter into a discussion of the nature, or degree of the guilt of the individuals, who were

* See our account of Miss Benger's Life of Anne Boleyn in the last Number of the M. R.

engaged in the horrid plot. — Hume's History of England being in the hands of every one, the writer has transcribed from it, the greater part of his account of the conspiracy : but those, who wish to form accurate notions of it, should, after having read this part of Hume's History, peruse the trials of the accused persons ; the *Apology of Father Eudæmon for Father Garnet* ; *Dodd's Church History*, part v. art. 3., and *Doctor Milner's Seventh Letter to a Prebendary*. — It may be added, that even several intelligent Protestant writers give a very different view of it, from that presented by Hume ; some of them even suppose, that it originated with Cecil. Osborne has been frequently cited, as calling the plot, in his *Historical Memoirs of James the First*, “a neat device of the secretary :” the author of the *Political Grammar* is cited for mentioning that “Cecil engaged some Papists in this desperate plot, in order to divert the king from making any advances towards popery ; to which he seemed inclinable :” James is said to have called the 5th of November, “Cecil's Holiday ;” and Bevil Higgons assures his readers, that “the design was first hammered in the forge of Cecil : who intended to have produced it, in the time of Elizabeth ; that, by his secret emissaries he enticed some hot-headed men, who, ignorant, whence the design first came, heartily engaged in it.” *

In vol. iii. p. 358., we have these observations, which we extract at length that we may not in the slightest degree appear to misrepresent the author's meaning :

‘ No circumstance, which has come to the knowledge of the writer, in the course of his investigation of this interesting part of his subject, has led him to the discovery of a single fact, which can render Cecil justly suspected of having been privy to the plot, previously to a short time preceding its discovery. That in his disposition he was extremely unfavourable to the Catholics, and that he would rejoice in any event, that was likely to render them objects of public odium, may be con-

‘ * Loose expressions of this nature, altogether unsupported by fact, deserve no attention ; particularly as, on examining the citation from Osborne with the passage, in which the words attributed to him are found, it appears that these were used by him, not as applying to the plot, but as applying to the letter, which was sent to Lord Monteagle ; — which letter, he terms “a neat device of the secretary, to fetch him in, to whose estate or person, if not to both, he had a quarrell.” See Osborne's *Secret Memoirs* in *Ballantyne's Collection*, vol. i. p. 180. It should also be observed, that not one, who suffered, threw out the slightest intimation of Cecil's being privy to the conspiracy. It is, however, probable that he knew of it before the seizure of Fawkes. Father Juvenci, *Hist. Societatis Jesu*, l. xiii. s. 45., expressly says that “Tresham, one of the conspirators, sent to Lord Monteagle, his friend, the letter, revealing the conspiracy.” ’

ceded ;

ceded ; but, while this affords ground for suspicion, it extends no higher ; and thus, so far as it stands single, proves nothing.

‘ It is said, that some Protestant writers, as Osborn, Higgins, and the authors of “The Protestant’s Plea,” and “The Politician’s Catechism,” accuse Cecil of fomenting the plot, and reaping its fruits : but not one of these writers mentions a single fact, which supports the accusation : now, where there is not evidence, there cannot be proof.

‘ It is observable, that the expression of Osborn is misquoted : he is cited for having called the plot “a neat device of the secretary ;” now, he applies this expression not to the plot, but to the letter, which was sent to Lord Monteagle ; — “which letter, he terms a neat device of the secretary, to fetch him in, to whose nature and person, if not to both, he had a quarrel * :” — a loose intimation, and entitled to no regard. Higgins wrote at the distance of more than a century after the event took place ; what he says is altogether assertion, and is therefore of no weight. The writers of “The Protestant’s Plea” and “The Politician’s Catechism,” wrote nearer to the time ; but, as they support their insinuations neither by fact nor argument, the testimony of neither is entitled to a voice. It has also been said, that King James used to call the 5th of November, the day on which the plot was discovered, “Cecil’s Holiday :” now, as Cecil’s favour both with his master and the public was considerably increased by the discovery of the plot, it may be supposed that the expression of James referred to this circumstance ; and this is a more probable construction of his words than to suppose them used to denote that Cecil was the contriver of the plot. His contrivance of it is intimated by Lord Castlemain, in the excellent apology which we shall transcribe in a future part of this work. This is the more important, as his Lordship lived near the time of the plot, possessed more than ordinary talents and discernment, and was extremely well informed on all subjects connected with this period of the Catholic history. It must be added, that the circumstance appears to have been generally believed by the Catholics of those times, and their immediate descendants.’

In vol. iv. p. 174. occurs the subsequent passage, as a part of Lord Castlemain’s apology :

‘ “ But let it not displease you, men, brethren, and fathers, if we ask whether Ulysses be no better known ? or who hath forgot the plots Cromwell framed in his closet ; not only to destroy many faithful cavaliers, but also to put a lustre upon his intelligence, as if nothing could be done without his knowledge. Even so did the then great minister, who drew some few desperadoes into this conjuration, and then discovered it by a miracle.” ’

Mr. Butler, in other parts of the work, extenuates at great length the conduct of Garnett, and pronounces on the inno-

‘ * See his Secret Memoirs in Ballantyne’s Collection, vol. i. p. 180.’

cence of all the other Jesuits who were implicated in the charge. Against this old and often confuted calumny on Cecil, and this acquittal of all the Jesuits besides Garnett, we think it is sufficient to oppose the following extract from Lord Strafford's speech at the bar of the House of Lords, to which Mr. Butler has not adverted. It seems to us an unquestionable and conclusive authority on the subject.

"My Lords," said he, "I have heard very much of a thing that was named by these gentlemen of the House of Commons, and that very properly too, to wit, of the gunpowder treason. My Lords, I was not born then, but some years after heard very much discourse of it, and very various reports; and I made a particular enquiry, perhaps more than any one person did else, both of my father, who was alive then, and my uncle and others; and *I am satisfied, and do clearly believe by the evidence I have received, that that thing called the gunpowder-treason was a wicked and horrid design (among the rest) of some of the Jesuits,* and I think the malice of the Jesuits or the wit of man cannot offer an excuse for it, it was so execrable a thing. Besides, my Lords, *I was acquainted with one of them that was concerned in it, who had his pardon and lived many years after. I discoursed with him about it, and he confessed it, and said he was sorry for it then;* and I here declare to your Lordships, that I never heard any one of the church of Rome speak a good word for it: it was so horrid a thing it cannot be expressed nor excused." *

The author's palliation of Garnett's conduct in not revealing the plot (vol. iii. from p. 349. to p. 358.) seems to us to contain much objectionable and dangerous reasoning; and the principal ground of defence fails, when we recollect that Garnett was acquainted with the plot from other sources besides the communication made under the bond of sacramental confidence.

The reigns of the Stuarts, indeed, exhibited one system of duplicity in matters of religion. James the First, who when in Scotland had scoffed at the church of England as ceremonious and papistical, though on his accession to the English throne he fawned on those courtiers who had procured his mother's death, had nevertheless a great tendency to his mother's religious sentiments lurking in his mind; and, when firmly seated on his throne, he was as fond of persecuting Puritans as he had been in his earlier days of reviling Papists. Charles the First, also, besides his hereditary propensities, and a constitutional turn to superstition, felt the strong influence of his

* See Lord Strafford's Trial in the State-trials.

queen and her favourites. Mr. Butler very justly animadverts on some instances of Charles's insincerity; when, in his solemn addresses to Parliament, he affected to impute the consequences of his own connivance towards the Catholics to the negligence of those officers whose department it was to carry the laws into effect. Of the profligate duplicity of Charles the Second we forbear to speak: but we cannot think of the judicial murder of Lord Strafford without execrating the memory of the monarch who sanctioned it. The expulsion of James the Second, and the misfortunes of the whole family, may be traced to the jargon about absolute power which James the First so anxiously instilled into the mind of his son; and to the marriage of that son with a Catholic princess, whom education, and weak advisers, and her own personal character, inclined to bigotry and precipitate counsels.

As to the severities towards the Catholics which ensued, and the suspicion with which that part of the community was always regarded by the government, as long as any one of that faith remained alive who laid claim to the throne, these are matters well known to all: but it is not equally notorious by what means the Catholics first regained any footing at court, or what secret impulses contributed to bring Lord Mansfield forwards as the powerful advocate for a relaxation of the laws. The exertions of that great Judge, however, in favour of the freedom of religious opinions, form one of the most brilliant points of view in which his character can be considered.

' The first approximation of Catholics to the notice of their sovereign took place, in consequence of some attentions, which Edward Duke of Norfolk, (to whom the present (late) duke is third in succession,) and Mary, the wife of Duke Edward, had an opportunity of showing to Frederick, Prince of Wales, during the variance between his Royal Highness and George the Second, his father. King George III. was born at Norfolk-House. It is known that, at this time, George the Second and the Prince were at variance. The Duke and Duchess conducted themselves, on this occasion, in a manner highly pleasing both to the parent and the son, and to the consorts, of each. It was signified to them, that their frequent attendance at court was expected; and Queen Caroline often invited the Duchess to her private parties. The Duchess was gifted with great talents: was easy, dignified, and, when she pleased, singularly insinuating. Her Grace, Lady Clifford, and the lady of Mr. Philip Howard, were daughters and co-heiresses of Mr. Edward Blount, the early patron and correspondent of Pope. Through Pope, she became acquainted with Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, — in his early life, — while he yet lived at No. 5. in King's Bench Walks, — where he is so well described by the bard:—

‘ “ To *number Five* direct your doves :
 There, spread round *Murray* all your blooming loves ;
 Noble and young, who strikes the heart,
 With every sprightly, every decent part :
 Equal, the injured to defend,
 To charm the mistress, or to fix the friend.”

‘ She loved business, Her talents for it, and her high rank, made her the refuge of the Catholics, in all their vexations ; and she availed herself of her intimacy with Lord Mansfield to render them every service in her power. — Her house was the centre of whatever was great and elegant, in either communion ; and, by familiarising them with one another, their prejudices were softened, and their mutual good will increased.’

To give instances of the address of which Mr. Butler is master in the arrangement of his arguments, and of the great lengths to which his peculiar doctrines induce him to approve of all that is connected with the Catholic religion, or incorporated with the institutions of any Catholic country, we make the two succeeding quotations. The first relates to the Inquisition ; after a history of which, Mr. B. says every thing that can be offered in extenuation of that horrid tribunal, though he condemns the injustice and barbarity of its proceedings : the second is written in exculpation of the Jesuits.

‘ Such is, — or rather such, in its original construction, — was the Inquisition. — As a systematic perversion of forms of law to the perpetration of extreme injustice and barbarity, it holds, among the institutions most outraging humanity, a decided pre-eminence. Yet an informed and impartial reader will make some reflections : — 1. He will admit that its crimes have sometimes been exaggerated. — 2. While he admires the present equitable and humane administration of criminal justice in England, he will recollect, that, during the middle ages, even in our own favoured country, but still more in the European states on the continent, all criminal process, especially in cases of treason, was conducted by unjust and merciless principles, and executed with circumstances of great cruelty ; — that in all such cases, torture might be applied to extort a confession of guilt ; and that, even in England, it was not until our own times that counsel, in cases of treason, was allowed to the prisoner. The founders of the Inquisition, especially as the imperial law assimilated heresy to treason, would naturally adopt the system of the secular codes, as a model for their proceedings. — 3. He will see reason to suspect, that the number of those who perished by the fires of the Inquisition has not been so great as it has been represented. In the Book of the Sentences of the Inquisition of Toulouse*, the

‘ * Liber sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholozane, published by Limborch at Amsterdam, in 1692.’

list of the criminals from 1307 to 1323 fills nineteen folio pages; now fifteen men and four women only of this number were delivered to the secular arm. — 4. He will acknowledge, that Limborch, from whose *History of the Inquisition* Protestants mostly derive their knowledge and form their notions of it, is universally considered to be a credulous and an inaccurate writer. — 5. Politics often mixed with religion in the acts of the Inquisition, and the sovereigns or ministers who counselled should therefore share the blame of their proceedings. — 6. From the beginning of the seventeenth century till the present time, the ferocity of the Inquisition has always been on the decrease. — 7. Though the popes and sovereigns, and their particular adherents, favoured the Inquisition, it was generally as much detested by Catholics as by Protestants. A gentleman*, whose testimony on this subject every Catholic allows to be above contradiction, thus expresses himself on the Inquisition: — “No tribunal of an inquisition is an article of Catholic faith or practice. It is a human law of policy or state government, in certain countries, which other kingdoms are no less jealous to exclude. It is even odious to an excess, in several Catholic kingdoms, and a person may be a very good Catholic, and entertain what sentiments he pleases of it. — The Inquisition established in Italy and Spain makes no term of the Catholic communion, any more than the execution of the anti-Trinitarians, who suffered at Geneva, or under Henry VIII., and Queen Elizabeth in England, constitute a part of the Protestant creed. — The Roman Inquisition is certainly one of the mildest of courts; and there is no one that knows it, who would not, in most cases, rather have his cause tried there, than in any spiritual court in England. No execution has happened in it for above a century. — In Spain and Portugal that tribunal is indeed said to be of a different nature. But the Inquisition in Spain is much misrepresented, both among the English and the French, as the *Sieur de Vairac*, the impartial author of the *Present State of Spain*, (1719), complains, though himself no friend to any court of that sort.” — 8. It is very remarkable that, though the recent order of the Cortes for its destruction was loudly and with great reason applauded by the Liberals, it gave no pleasure to the Spanish multitude: in fact, the Inquisition had long served in Spain rather as an aid to the police, — and sometimes, but not often, as a political engine in the hands of a minister, than as an instrument of hostility towards heretics. † — 9. It was always thought by the people to be some bulwark against the oppressions of them, by the sovereign and the nobility, and some defence against flagrant

* Mr. Alban Butler, in his “*Remarks on the two first Vols. of Mr. Bower's Hist.*” 1754. 8vo. p. 12—17.’

† This account of the Inquisition is taken chiefly from the *Institution du Droit Ecclesiastique*, of Fleury, troisième partie, ch. 9, 10. Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum Universum*, pars i. tit. xxii. cap. 3. *Histoire des Inquisitions*, by Marsollier Charoine d'Usés, the elegant biographer of St. Francis of Sales,’

violations of the national constitution.—10. Finally, he will admit that the persecutions, which Protestants have exercised, not only upon Catholics, but even upon other Protestants, have been at least equally severe and unjustifiable.'—

'We are now led to consider the general charge of ultramontane doctrine respecting the temporal power of the Pope in spiritual concerns, which has been often brought against the sons of Loyola. Upon this charge, we beg leave to present our readers with the following short exculpatory observations.

'1. It is certain that the belief of the Pope's right to direct supreme temporal power was once prevalent in every state, and among every description of men in Christendom. This opinion the Jesuits did not introduce; they found it fully established: it would therefore be monstrous to attribute the origination of it to them.

'2. Especially as so far from introducing, they were the first who opposed it. Bellarmine, one of the most eminent lights, absolutely denied, that the Pope, by divine right, possessed directly, out of his own state, any temporal power: he taught that the temporal power of the Pope was merely indirect, being confined to a right of exercising a temporal power, or of causing it to be exercised, when this was absolutely necessary to effect a great spiritual good, or to prevent a great spiritual evil. This was a considerable reduction of the power ascribed, till that time, to the Pope; and it gave great offence to the Roman see.

'3. Even this mitigated doctrine was never taught by the Jesuits in any state by the government of which it was not avowedly tolerated. It was tolerated, and the Jesuits therefore taught it, in Rome, Spain, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and several states of Italy: but it was not tolerated, and the Jesuits therefore did not teach it, in France, or the Venetian states.

'4. Where it was formally proscribed by the state, it was formally proscribed by the Jesuits. Several instances of this will be produced in the following section.*

'5. To this, England unhappily forms an exception. There, the deposing doctrine was proscribed by the state; and, for a period, — much too long, — was not disavowed either by the Jesuits or the general body of the clergy: but the cause of this protracted delay of the disavowal, is its excuse. The heap of sanguinary, penal, and disabling laws, passed by Elizabeth, and the three first princes of the house of Stuart, against the Catholics, drove all persons educated for the priesthood to the territories of the Pope or the Spanish monarch. This rendered them, in a great measure, dependent, for their subsistence and education, on those powers; they were therefore taught the doctrines of their schools. This circumstance we may lament, but no person of candour who does lament it, will ever be inattentive to its exculpatory cause.

* See the excellent defence of the Society against this charge, in Father Griffet's *Réponse aux Assertions*, vol. iii. ch. ii. art. 2.'

'6. He

‘ 6. He will also acknowledge, that no sooner did England cease to be cruel, than every idea of the Pope’s temporal power began to vanish. The Catholics crowded to take the oaths prescribed by the acts of 1778, 1791, and 1793; and the Jesuits took them as readily and unreservedly as the others. *

‘ 7. It should be added, that the constitutions of the Order most explicitly prohibited to its members every kind of interference in state concerns, or temporal matters; and that this was specially prohibited by Aquaviva, general of the Order, to the English Jesuits: therefore, if Parsons or any other individual offended in this respect, the offence was his own, the Order was blameless.

‘ 8. It is idle to pursue the subject further. To quarrel with the Jesuits of the nineteenth century because some of the Order advocated the Pope’s temporal power in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or her immediate successor, is as preposterous, as to charge the present Presbyterians with maintaining the lawfulness of religious persecution, because Calvin consigned Servetus to the flames, and Beza lauded him; or to impute the belief of sorcery to his Majesty’s present Judges, because Lord Hale convicted some witches capitally in the 17th century; or to impute the doctrine of passive obedience to the present bishops, because the divine right of kings was maintained by some of their predecessors in the eighteenth. †

‘ * After all, — the indirect power of the Pope, though a doctrine absolutely insupportable in argument, was not found to be in practice quite so mischievous as it is generally described. It had even this advantage, that, on several occasions, during the boisterous governments of the feudal princes, it often proved an useful restraint, in the absence of every other, both on the king and the great nobility, and protected the lower ranks of society from their violence and oppression. Add to this, that when the Pope proceeded to extremities against any sovereign, the clergy generally rallied round the monarch, and the people adhered to the clergy. — This produced a suspense of aggression: — the Pontiff had time to think of his rashness, the monarch of his violence; and some expedient was devised which led to good.

‘ Contraries often meet in extremes. — Many a bitter word has been applied to the deposing doctrine of Parsons and Mariana: but it bears a nearer affinity to the whiggish doctrine of resistance, than is generally supposed. The Whigs maintain that the people, where there is an extreme abuse of power, — of which abuse, the people themselves are to be the judges, — may dethrone the offending monarch. The good fathers assigned the same power to the people, in the same extreme case, but contended that, if there were any doubts of the existence of the extremity, the Pope should be the judge. — Of the two systems, when all Christendom was Catholic, was not the last, speaking comparatively, the least objectionable?’

† In a note to this passage, Vol. IV. p. 342., the late learned *Richard Porson* is erroneously called *John*.

As to the Inquisition, we shall not now make any comments, except to observe that we think Mr. Butler must have been very essentially misinformed about the sentiments of the community in Spain. With respect to his *indirect* apology for the *indirect* deposing power of the Pope, it is surely a great stretch of ingenuity to discover similarity between the opinions of those who maintain that power is a trust to be fulfilled for the benefit of the community,—and that the depositaries of power are responsible to the community who are interested in the due exercise of it,—and the ideas of those who admit that a prince, however faithful in the discharge of all his duties to his subjects, may be deposed for heresy at the will of an alien Pontiff. That the Whigs considered James as having abdicated his throne, not merely by his change of religion but by his infringement of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, is evident from a perusal of the act of parliament, or of Sacheverell's trial, or of any whig-document; and that the deposing power attributed to the Pope rests merely on heresy will appear sufficiently from the Bulls of Paul the Third, of Pius the Fifth, and of Sixtus the Fifth.

With regard to the Jesuits, we allow the merits of that Society to be great in developing the paramount importance of education, as well as in the admirable methods of study which they devised; we also think very highly of their exertions in Paraguay: but, in opposition to Mr. Butler, we should contend that modern inquiries have shewn that the value of the information which they communicated respecting China has been strangely over-rated; and we are of opinion that all these merits of the Society have been much more than counter-balanced by the degrading principles of implicit obedience in religious matters which they instilled,—by the mischievous tenets of the infallibility and deposing power of the Pope which they endeavoured to retain as dogmas of Catholic faith,—and by the abominable subtleties of the double doctrine of mental reservation, of pious frauds, and of holy murders, which they introduced and justified in their systems of casuistry. By their pernicious dogmas, they tried to pervert religion into an instrument of sedition and treachery, while by their vile chicanery they subverted every principle of morality. The good, therefore, which they effected among barbarous nations, we confess, appears to us but a feather in the balance, when compared with the mischief which they introduced in civilized states; and the mighty machine of education was only set to work by them for the purpose of reducing the human intellect by bondage.

We gladly quit subjects of speculation so thorny and so unproductive; and on which we have been compelled to enlarge
much

much more than we wished, because we could not express ourselves strongly on any part of the production of so able a writer as Mr. B., without feeling that we were required to justify our animadversions by extracting some of the passages which we deemed most objectionable. From the recollection of Campion, and Parsons, and Allen, and the violences of antient times, we now willingly turn to the mild and conciliatory author of these memoirs himself, and to his contemporaries.

Mr. Butler has prefixed to the third volume a most interesting sketch of his own literary life, which gives his readers some slight idea of that profitable division of time, and of that astonishingly industrious employment of every leisure-moment, which have enabled him, notwithstanding his extensive professional labours, to contribute so largely as he has done to the literature of his country. The view is most pleasing, too, when considered as the retrospect of studies which have been in an eminent degree directed to the promotion of piety; and of that enlarged benevolence which would forget the distinctions of creeds and of party, while it dwells on what is good and amiable wherever it is to be found, and cultivates those more important principles of devotion and humanity which are common to all. The author's reminiscences breathe the calm and meek spirit of a man who considers himself as quitting a stage where he has not played any part of which he needs to be ashamed, and who looks forwards with hope because he can look back without regret. It is, moreover, the confession to the world of one who has often had communion with his own heart, and has profited by the intercourse. Our readers are in possession of our judgment on Mr. Butler's former publications, which has been expressed as they successively appeared before the world: but in some of his professional works, we believe, his merit cannot be duly appreciated by any persons who are not of the same profession. In his literary labours, he has shewn most judicious selection, great happiness of arrangement, and the rare faculty of compressing much matter within a small compass.

Among the curious particulars contained in this sketch is an account of an inquiry carried on by the author, in conjunction with the celebrated Mr. Wilkes, to discover the writer of the letters of *Junius*. It originated in the circumstance that a letter written by Mr. Butler from Holyhead to Mr. Wilkes had been stopped at the post-office, on account of the similarity of the hand-writing to that of *Junius*; and the result of it was published in some periodical work of the day. It contains one passage, however, in the justness of which we think few readers will concur: viz. Mr. Wilkes and Mr.

Butler

Butler both thought that *Junius's* high wrought panegyric of Lord Chatham was ironical. Mr. B.'s subsequent inquiries leave him equally at a loss as to the author, but he inclines to think that the late Sir Philip Francis was *Junius's* amanuensis. We agree with him that all internal evidence is conclusive against the idea of Sir Philip being the author himself: but we, moreover, doubt whether the external evidence of his being concerned is sufficiently strong to counterbalance the improbability that *Junius* would employ an amanuensis; and we think that Sir Philip Francis had nothing to do with the matter.

Mr. Butler has interspersed in his brief memoir several slight sketches of the principal public characters with whom he has been acquainted; and the following account of Mr. Fearne, whose name is but little known except among lawyers, but whose writings, we understand, are idolized by those who are conversant in that department of the science to which he devoted himself, is singular and interesting:

‘ Mr. Fearne was a general scholar: he was profoundly versed in mathematics, chemistry, and mechanics. He had obtained a patent for dyeing scarlet, and solicited one for a preparation of porcelain. A friend of the writer having communicated to an eminent gunsmith a project of a musket, of greater power and much less size than the musket in ordinary use, the gunsmith pointed out to him its defects; and observed, that “ a Mr. Fearne, an obscure law-man, in Bream’s Buildings, Chancery-Lane, had produced a musket, which, although defective, was much nearer the attainment of the object.”

‘ Mr. Fearne had composed a treatise, in the Greek language, on the Greek accents; another on the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. He mentioned to the present writer, that, when he resolved to dedicate himself to the study of the law, he burned his profane library and wept over its flames: and that the works, which he most regretted, were the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom to the people of Antioch, and the Comedies of Aristophanes.

‘ Of the transcendent merit of the Essay on Contingent Remainders there is only one opinion: the writer’s edition of it appears to have been favourably received: he cannot flatter himself that it has added much to the intrinsic value of the work, unless it has been by pointing out its beautiful method and analytical arrangement, which, except by those who were familiar both with the subject and the work, were, from the mode of its publication, scarcely to be observed.’

The author was present when Lord Thurlow delivered his noble reply to the Duke of Grafton, who reproached him with his plebeian extraction and his recent admission into the peerage. The nature of that answer is well known, but we cannot forbear from giving it in the words of Mr. Butler:

‘ His

‘ His Lordship rose from the woolsack, and advanced slowly to the place from which the Chancellor generally addresses the House; then fixing on the Duke a look of lowering indignation, — “ I am amazed,” he said, in a level tone of voice, “ at the attack which the noble Duke has made on me. Yes, my Lords,” considerably raising his voice, “ I am amazed at his Grace’s speech. The noble Duke cannot look before him, behind him, or on either side of him, without seeing some noble peer, who owes his seat in this house to his successful exertions in the profession to which I belong. Does he not feel that it is as honourable to owe it to these, as to being the accident of an accident? — To all these noble lords, the language of the noble Duke is as applicable and as insulting as it is to myself. — But I don’t fear to stand single and alone. No one venerates the peerage more than I do, — but, my Lords, I must say that the peerage solicited me, — not I the peerage. — Nay more, — I can say and will say, that, as a peer of parliament, — as Speaker of this right honourable House, — as Keeper of the Great Seal, — as guardian of his Majesty’s conscience, — as Lord High Chancellor of England, — nay, even in that character alone, in which the noble Duke would think it an affront to be considered, — but which character, none can deny *me*; as a MAN, I am at this moment as respectable, — I beg leave to add, — I am at this time as much respected, as the proudest peer I now look down upon.” ’

We think that the character of Lord Loughborough, afterward Earl of Rosslyn, is much overdrawn: while the following account gives, as we conceive, a much juster view of Sheridan than is generally taken.

‘ Strange as it may appear, it nevertheless is true, that common sense and dignity were possessed by *Mr. Sheridan* in an extraordinary degree; but they were so counteracted by habitual procrastination and irregularity, that he was scarcely known to possess them. He had very little information; — had even little classical learning; — but the powers of his mind were very great. He had a happy vein of ridicule, — but he could rise to the serious and the severe; — and then his style of speaking was magnificent. Even in his happiest effusions there was too much of prettiness. He objected to the coalition, to Mr. Fox’s secession from parliament, to his strong language in favour of the French Revolution, and predicted, as is said, the disastrous consequences of his India bill; but he uniformly adhered to Mr. Fox, and supported his politics. He required great preparation for the display of his talents: hence he was not a debater, — one who attacks and defends on every occasion that calls him forth. It is observable that, of this kind of oratory, antiquity has left us no specimen; and that in modern Europe it has not existed out of England. Lord North, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox excelled in it: the first, perhaps, surpassed the two others in this useful, it may, perhaps, be called, — *most* useful species of oratory. But, though Mr. Sheridan was no debater, he was sometimes most felicitous in an epigrammatic reply.’

On this subject of public men, we must also observe that Mr. Butler has given some interesting sketches and particulars of the chief political characters in 1791, when the bill for the relief of the Catholics was brought forwards; and the mention of Lord North has occasioned a reference to his predecessor, the great Lord Chatham, of whom the author has drawn an able portrait and related several striking anecdotes.

We cannot quit these volumes without repeating our sincere commendation of the mild temper which pervades them, and of that spirit which in the true sense of the word we should term *Catholic*; nor without again declaring that, if we had entertained less respect for the authority of the writer, we should not have deemed it necessary to be so particular as we have been in our strictures on what appeared to us censurable. We scarcely dare indulge the hope that, when he shall be removed from a scene which he has so long adorned, he may be succeeded by some other member of the same body who is capable of imitating his moderation, his benevolence, and his zeal accompanied by knowledge. To the author himself the approbation or the frowns of the world can now be of little value: yet to a septuagenarian who closes his literary career with so much vigour and grace, — *if it be now closed*, — we cannot refrain from offering our tribute of respect and our parting, lingering, plaudits.

“ But we *may* meet perchance yet once again
In bloodless contest, or in bland exchange
Of letter'd courtesy, on the wide field
Of mental exercise; where argument supplies
The only shield, and wit the only spear,
And heroes tilt on none but winged steeds.”

ART. III. *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia*: including various Political Observations relating to them. By William Wilkinson, Esq., late British Consul to the above-mentioned Principality. 8vo. pp. 300. 9s. Boards. Longman and Co.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immense number of books of travels which continually issue from the British press, a description was yet wanting of two important and curious provinces, which, under the modern names of Wallachia and Moldavia, occupy the site of the antient kingdom of Dacia. We are glad, therefore, that an official residence of some years in these principalities has enabled Mr. Wilkinson, the British consul there, to collect a mass of new information respecting them, partly his-
torical

torical and literary, but principally derived from inspection and observation. In the mineralogical department, perhaps, the present survey will be considered as somewhat defective: but the author promises a separate treatise concerning the fossil-productions of the country, when he shall be better qualified by appropriate study to appreciate them scientifically.

The Carpathian mountains separate these provinces on the west from the Austrian dominions, and the river Pruth divides them from Russia. They include the Delta of the Danube, and are bounded on the east by the Black Sea; while they abut on the south against the Turkish provinces of Bulgaria and Servia. Galatz is the principal sea-port, and Bukorest the most considerable of the inland towns: Yassi has the second rank. The navigation of the Danube closes in November, and it is usually frozen over for five or six weeks during the winter: but in March ships make their appearance again. Hitherto, the country has been supplied from Smyrna with its principal imports, but a direct trade is gradually establishing itself at Galatz.

The present volume is divided into nine chapters, of which the first describes the geographical boundaries, and sketches the political history of these provinces from the decline of the Dacians to the last century. The country was sometimes tributary to and sometimes independent of the kings of Hungary: but in 1241 it received, in consequence of an invasion conducted by Raddo Negro, its present peculiar constitution, which allots to a Voïvode, or elective military chieftain, the practical supremacy: he is chosen by nobles called Boyars. In 1391, the successors of Raddo were compelled to become tributary to the Turks, who assessed on the country a levy of three thousand piastres annually. Notwithstanding a short interruption of this arrangement during the ascendancy of Hunniades in Hungary, it remains, with a heavy increase of tribute, the practical constitution of the country at this day. The treaty is thus detailed:

‘ 1. “ The Sultan consents and engages for himself and his successors, to give protection to Wallachia, and to defend it against all enemies, assuming nothing more than a supremacy over the sovereignty of that principality, the Voïvodes of which shall be bound to pay to the Sublime Porte an annual tribute of ten thousand piasters.”

‘ 2. “ The Sublime Porte shall never interfere in the local administration of the said principality, nor shall any Turk be ever permitted to come into Wallachia without an ostensible reason.”

‘ 3. “ Every year an officer of the Porte shall come to Wallachia to receive the tribute, and on his return shall be accompanied

panied by an officer of the Voïvode as far as Giurgevo on the Danube, where the money shall be counted over again, a second receipt given for it, and when it has been carried in safety to the other side of that river, Wallachia shall no longer be responsible for any accident that may befall it."

' 4. "The Voïvodes shall continue to be elected by the archbishop, metropolitan, bishops, and boyars*, and the election shall be acknowledged by the Porte."

' 5. "The Wallachian nation shall continue to enjoy the free exercise of their own laws; and the Voïvodes shall have the right of life and death over their own subjects, as well as that of making war and peace, without having to account for any such proceedings to the Sublime Porte."

' 6. "All Christians who, having once embraced the Mahometan faith, should come into Wallachia and resume the Christian religion, shall not be claimed by any Ottoman authorities."

' 7. "Wallachian subjects who may have occasion to go into any part of the Ottoman dominions, shall not be there called upon for the haratsh or capitation-tax paid by other *Rayahs*."†

' 8. "If any Turk have a law-suit in Wallachia with a subject of the country, his cause shall be heard and decided by the Wallachian divan, conformably to the local laws."

' 9. "All Turkish merchants coming to buy and sell goods in the principality, shall, on their arrival, have to give notice to the local authorities of the time necessary for their stay, and shall depart when that time is expired."

' 10. "No Turk is authorised to take away one or more servants of either sex, natives of Wallachia; and no Turkish mosque shall ever exist on any part of the Wallachian territory."

' 11. "The Sublime Porte promises never to grant a Ferman at the request of a Wallachian subject for his affairs in Wallachia, of whatever nature they may be; and never to assume the right of calling to Constantinople, or to any other part of the Turkish dominions, a Wallachian subject on any pretence whatever."

The second chapter treats of the inauguration of the Hospodars, local laws, tribunals of justice, public functionaries, and formalities of government. — The third chapter estimates the population and revenue, and details the ecclesiastical constitution, which is a branch of the Greek church, with an archbishop, who is elected by the nobility: — the monasteries are prodigiously numerous. — In the fourth chapter, we have some particulars of the mines, of the agricultural productions, of the modes of conveyance, and of the commerce of the country. It is observed that the natives of the Ionian isles are beginning to trade considerably at Galatz, and that this sea-port is likely to become in the Black Sea not less important than Odessa. The natural riches and the various re-

* Nobles.

† Christian tributary subjects.

sources of Wallachia and Moldavia are such, says the author, that, if those countries could enjoy the important advantages of a regular government, and a wise administration, under which industry and agriculture should receive their due encouragement, the trade of exports be laid open, the commercial intercourse with foreign nations set on a proper footing, and finally the mines be explored, they would in a short time become the most populous and flourishing provinces of Europe.

Chapter v. describes Bukorest, the capital of Wallachia, and Yassi, the capital of Moldavia: the former containing about eighty thousand, and the latter about forty thousand inhabitants. A German calèche, drawn by ponies, is the usual travelling carriage; and, as the Wallachians willingly spend much money in ornamenting their vehicles, a clever coach-maker would there meet with great success. — The sixth chapter contains observations on the Greeks in general, on their introduction to the principalities, and on their political system; with some historical elucidations of the war between Turkey, Russia, and England, in 1806, which agreeably illustrate chapters in the eloquent romance of Anastasius. The dexterous interference of General Sebastiani at that period is thus first explained:

‘ When the English fleet appeared before Constantinople, it naturally occasioned the greatest confusion and alarm. The Sultan lost no time in sending on board to offer terms of peace, and negotiations were commenced with Mr. Arbuthnot, who was in the flag-ship, the Royal Sovereign. But they were carried on with much less vigour than it was necessary to give them, and left time to the French intrigues to gain the advantage. Buonaparte’s active agents, General Sebastiani and Franchini*, were the more anxious to counteract the operations of the English plenipotentiary, as they were aware that the first result of his success would have been the expulsion of the French embassy from Constantinople. They employed for that purpose every means in their power, and they succeeded by the following stratagem.

‘ The chief of the Janissaries, Pehlivan-Aga, had formerly been colonel of a regiment, which had acted once as guard of honour given to a French embassy at the Porte. Having remained some time in that station, he had contracted a lasting connection with the French, to whose party, since that period, he devoted himself. When General Sebastiani saw that peace with England was on the point of being concluded, he sent Franchini to him to suggest a plan which the Turkish officer carried into immediate execution.

‘ * He was first interpreter to the embassy: he has since the peace entered the Russian service, and is now attached to the Emperor’s embassy at Constantinople in the same capacity.’

He went to the seraglio *, as if in great haste, and having obtained audience of the Sultan, he thus addressed his imperial chief: —

“ May God preserve your sacred person and the Ottoman empire from every possible evil ! A pure sense of duty brings me before your royal person, to represent that so strong and general a fermentation has arisen amongst my Janissaries since the appearance of the infidel's fleet before your royal palace ; they express so great a discontent at the measures pursued by your ministers in negotiating with the English, from a shameful fear that the appearance of that fleet has thrown them into ; that a general insurrection is on the point of breaking out, unless the negotiations be laid aside, and all offers of peace be rejected with scorn. They declare that it is beneath the dignity and fame of the Ottoman empire to submit to such an act of humiliation, as to sign a treaty, because a few ships have come to bully its capital, and dictate their own terms to the Ottoman sovereign. Your brave Janissaries will not suffer so disgraceful a stain to tarnish the splendour of the Ottoman arms. They are all ready to sacrifice themselves in defence of your residence, and in vindication of the honour and faith of the Ottoman nation. But they can never consent to stand tacit witnesses of a submission so ignominious to the Turkish name.”

‘ Sultan Selim, a prince naturally timid and credulous, no sooner heard a message of this sort delivered in the name of the Janissaries, then in good understanding with the chiefs of government, and apparently united with the troops of the Nisam-y-gedid †, than he ordered all communications with the English fleet to be suspended, and immediate preparations of defence to be made, in the event of its commencing hostilities.

‘ This manœuvre, unknown at the time, and with which very few persons are yet acquainted, was the true cause of the failure of the negotiations which, at the commencement, bore so sure a prospect of success.

‘ The fleet returned without even having made a show of hostile intentions, and left to the triumphant French party the most decided influence in the seraglio.’

The climate and its influence are considered in chap. vii., and the education of the boyars, the schools, and the language, pass in review ; as also the national dress, music and dancing, the amusements, holidays, social manners, marriages, divorces,

* The word “ Seraglio ” is generally supposed in England to apply exclusively to a palace in which the Grand Signior's women are kept. This idea, however, is erroneous ; the Sultan's residence in town is called “ Seraglio.” His women, indeed, reside also within its walls, but their apartment is called “ Harem.” The seraglio occupies the whole extent of ground on which the city of Byzantium stood, and is surrounded by the original Byzantine walls.’

† New military institution.’

and superstitions. The authority of the church, which is independent of the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople, is likewise defined;—and the state of literature is thus depicted:

‘ Public schools have, since several years, been established both at Bukorest and Yassi. They are supported at public expense, and attended by masters for the Wallachian, ancient and modern Greek languages, writing, and arithmetic. The number of students at each school amounts at the present moment to about two hundred. They are the sons of inferior Boyars and tradesmen. The children of the principal boyars receive their education at home from private tutors, commonly Greek priests, who are not natives of the principalities.

‘ The education of the women is not more carefully attended to than that of the men: sometimes it is inferior, on account of the prevailing custom of marrying them at a very early age.

‘ Neither sex is regularly instructed in religion, and it is by the mere intercourse of life that they derive their notions of it, and by the examples of their elders that their principles in it are regulated.

‘ These circumstances, naturally arising from the discouragement given by the government to every improvement in civilisation, keep the state of society very backward, and are productive of the most pernicious influence over its moral character.

‘ The Boyars, indeed, although so little susceptible of great virtues, cannot be taxed with a determined propensity to vice. Established prejudices, which the general state of ignorance has rooted in the two nations, and a universal system of moral corruption, render them, however, familiar with it.

‘ Money is their only stimulus; and the means they generally employ to obtain it are not the efforts of industry, nor are they modified by any scruples of conscience. Habit has made them spoliators; and in a country where actions of an ignominious nature are even encouraged, and those of rapacity looked upon as mere proofs of dexterity and cunning, corruption of principles cannot fail to become universal.

‘ The prodigality of the Boyars is equal to their avidity; ostentation governs them in one manner, and avarice in another. They are careless of their private affairs, and, with the exception of a few more prudent than the generality, they leave them in the greatest disorder. Averse to the trouble of conducting their pecuniary concerns, they entrust them to the hands of stewards, who take good care to enrich themselves at their expense, and to their great detriment. Many have more debts than the value of their whole property is sufficient to pay; but their personal credit is not injured by them, neither do they experience one moment's anxiety for such a state of ruin.

‘ The quality of nobility protects them from the pursuits of the creditor; and the hope of obtaining lucrative employments, by the revenues of which they may be able to mend their affairs, sets their minds at ease, and induces them to continue in extravagance.

Some bring forward their ruin as a pretext for soliciting frequent employment, and when the creditors have so often applied to the prince as to oblige him to interfere, they represent that the payment of their debts depends upon his placing them in office. The office is finally obtained, and the debts remain unpaid. When a sequester is laid upon their property, they contrive to prove that it came to them by marriage; and as the law respects dowries, they save it from public sale.

The Wallachian or Moldavian language is composed of a corrupt mixture of foreign words, materially altered from their original orthography and pronunciation. Its ground-work is Latin and Slavonic. For many centuries it had no letters, and the Slavonic characters were used in public instruments and epitaphs. The Boyars, whose public career rendered the knowledge of a few letters most necessary, knew merely enough to sign their names. The Bible was only known by reputation. In 1735, Constantine Mavrocordato, who had undertaken the task of replacing barbarism by civilisation in both principalities, made a grammar for the jargon that was spoken, in characters which he drew from the Slavonic and the Greek. He caused several copies of the Old and New Testament in the new language to be distributed, and he ordered the Gospel to be regularly read in the churches. He encouraged the inhabitants to study their language according to the rules of his grammar, and in a few years the knowledge of reading and writing became general among the higher orders.

The modern Greek introduced by the Hospodars is the language of the court, but it is perfectly understood by the Boyars, with whom it has become a native tongue. It is spoken in Wallachia with much greater purity than in any other country where it is in use. In many parts of Greece, different dialects have been adopted, some of which have but little affinity with the Hellenic; whilst in others the greater part of the words have been so disfigured as to render their origin difficult to trace. The Greek spoken in Wallachia differs but little from the Hellenic. The Moldavians are less in the habit of making use of it; and the study of French and other foreign languages is more general among them.

With regard to domestic manners, the account is very unfavourable; and divorces are rendered extremely frequent by the licentious conduct of the parties, and the ease with which they are obtained even on frivolous and unjust pretences.

The peasantry occupy the eighth chapter, with their mode of living, their agriculture, and the general aspect of the country. A vast gypsey-population pitches its wandering encampments in this district, and migrates, in case of dearth, to contiguous provinces better supplied. — In the concluding chapter, the author inquires how far the natives are benefited by their intercourse with foreign residents, and strongly advises

advises them to encourage a more extensive colonization of strangers.

To these official statistics of the country are attached general political observations on the position of the principalities, and their separability from any extent protecting sovereign. Russia is well adapted by her national religion to conciliate the ecclesiastics and their adherents, and will probably extend her frontier from the Pruth to the Seretz, thus usurping the contiguous Moldavia: while Austria would find as great accommodation in appropriating the more important province of Wallachia, and might in this case purchase the consent of Russia by a cession in Galicia of the left bank of the Dniester. The Turks are not in a condition to assert efficaciously the merely nominal dominion which they retain in these districts. Europe, also, has much less reason to view with alarm an extension of Austrian power beyond the Carpathian mountains than beyond the Alps. In the first case, her despotism is some improvement on anarchy, her bigotry on ignorance, and her privileged roads and havens on imperious wildernesses and wharfless shores. In the second case, her armies enchain liberty, her priests imprison philosophy, her restrictive regulations paralyze commerce, her rapacity impoverishes and her example rebarbarizes the people. The metropolis of Austria ought to descend the Danube at least as far as Buda.

An appendix of documents completes the book. They consist of, 1st, The Translation of a Berat, or Diploma, given by Sultan Mahmoud to Mr. Wilkinson; 2dly, Articles of a Treaty signed at Kainargik in 1775, relating to Wallachia and Moldavia; 3dly, Letters written from Bukorest to Mr. Wilkinson, respecting Prince Caradja's Flight from Wallachia; 4thly, Vocabulary of Wallachian and Moldavian Words; 5thly, Translation from the Turkish of the *Nizam-y-Gedid* Institution, or, Regulations for training the Militia.

The entire volume deserves the notice of the merchant and the statesman, to both of whom it may suggest profitable speculations; and now that a spirit of independence is dawning, which may awaken throughout Greece enterprizes in behalf of liberty, these provinces must attract the attention of the whole reading world. They are adapted to become the site of a new Greek empire, much better than the Morea; because they are watered by navigable rivers which facilitate the extension of internal commerce, and open to the produce of agriculture an unlimited foreign demand.

ART. IV. *Memoirs of the celebrated Persons composing the Kit-Cat Club*; with a prefatory Account of the Origin of the Association: illustrated with Forty-eight Portraits, from the Original Paintings by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Folio. pp. 261. 4*l.* 4*s.* Boards. Hurst and Co. 1821.

VARIOUS are the accounts given of the origin of this famous Club: but the most amusing, and in some respects we think the most correct, is that which was written by Ned Ward in his “Secret History of Clubs,” and which is inserted by the compiler of the volume before us, not in the ‘prefatory account,’ but in the course of the memoirs of Jacob Tonson. The whimsical and quaint style in which it is written may afford some diversion to our readers, though the quotation is rather extensive:

“ This ingenious society of Apollo’s sons, who for many years have been the grand monopolizers of those scandalous commodities in this fighting age, viz. Wit and Poetry, had first the honour to be founded by an amphibious mortal, chief merchant to the Muses; and, in these times of piracy, both bookseller and printer; who, many years since, conceived a wonderful kindness for one of the greasy fraternity, then living at the end of Bell Court, in Gray’s Inn Lane. This worthy, finding out the knack of humouring his neighbour Jacob’s palate, had, by his culinary qualifications, so highly advanced himself in the favour of his good friend, that, through his advice and assistance, he removed out of Gray’s Inn Lane to keep a pudding-pie shop, near the Fountain tavern, in the Strand, encouraged by an assurance that Jacob and his friends would come every week to storm the crusty walls of his mutton-pies, and make a consumption of his custards. About this time, Jacob had wriggled himself into the company of a parcel of poetical young sprigs that had just weaned themselves of their mother-university, and by their prolific parts and promising endowments had made themselves the favourites of the late bountiful Mecænas, (Lord Dorset,) who had generously promised to be an indulging father to the rhyming brother-hood, who had united themselves in friendship, but were as yet unprovided for. So that now, between their youth and the narrowness of their fortunes, being just in the zenith of their poetic fury, Tonson had a fair prospect of feathering his nest by his new profitable chaps, who, having more wit than experience, put but a slender value, as yet, upon their maiden performances. Besides, the happy acquaintance of these sons of Parnassus gave him a lucky opportunity of promoting the interest of his beloved engineer, so skilled in the manufacture of cheese-cakes, pies, and custards; so that Tonson, to ingratiate himself with his new set of authors, invited them to a collation of oven-trumpery, at his friend’s house; where they were nobly entertained with as curious a batch of pastry delicacies as ever were seen at the winding up of a lord mayor’s feast upon the day of his triumph. There was not a mathematical figure

figure in all Euclid's Elements, but was presented at the table in baked wares, whose cavities were filled with fine eatable varieties fit for gods or poets. This procured the cook so mighty a reputation among his new rhyming customers, that they thought it a scandal to the Muses that so heavenly a banquet should go untagged with poetry, when the ornamental folds of every luscious cheese-cake, and the artful walls of every golden custard, deserved to be immortalized. They could, therefore, scarce demolish the embellished covering of a pigeon-pie without a distich, or break through the sundry tunics of a puff-paste apple-tart, without a smart epigram upon the glorious occasion. Jacob wisely observing the good effects of this pastry entertainment; and finding that pies to poets were as agreeable food as ambrosia to the gods, very cunningly proposed their weekly meeting at the same place; and that himself would be obliged to continue the like feast every club-day, provided they would do him the honour to let him have the refusal of all their juvenile productions; which generous proposal was very readily agreed to by the whole poetic clan, and the cook's name being Christopher, for brevity called Kit, and his sign being the Cat and Fiddle, they very merrily derived a quaint denomination from puss and her master, and from thence called themselves the Kit-Cat Club. Tonson, in respect that he was donor of the feast, and promoter of this new pudding-pie establishment, had the honour to be chosen chairman of the society; to which presiding authority, as most believe, he owes the stateliness of his brow, and the haughtiness of his temper. When Jacob had thus far been successful in his new manœuvre, he had now nothing else to do but to lay fresh foundations for his young artificers to build upon, and never to come empty without some project in his head, that might have a probable tendency to his own profit. Now every week the listening town was charmed with some wonderful offspring of their teeming noddles, and the fame of Kit-Cat began to extend itself to the utmost limits of our learned metropolis: not a court-countess could compassionate her lover with the tenderest of her favours, but presently the pleasing adventure was most notably handled by the Kit-Cat bards, and sung down to posterity.

“ Among the rest of the celebrated pieces that owed their original to this witty society, that most accurate banter upon the *Hind and Panther*, called the City-Mouse and Country-Mouse, from thence stole into the world, and gnawed such an ugly hole in Poet Bays's jacket, that it could never be mended, without a patch as scandalous as the flaw the unlucky mice had made in it. This unfortunate offspring, the reverse of the fabled mountain, though it only promised a mouse, produced a monster, which was so wonderfully admired by the whole town, that a man had no title to open his mouth in company for the space of six months after the publication, if he could not demonstrate, by some special observation, that he had blest his eyes with a sight of the prodigy; nothing but ‘mouse, mouse,’ was crept into every body's mouth, and the towering monuments of praise, which Mr. Bays thought

he had so firmly erected upon a lasting foundation, were at once in danger of being undermined by these diminutive bacon-eating brethren, who were formidably sent forth in battle-array to attack his Hind and Panther. This successful flirt was so well timed, so wittily penned, and met with so kind a reception from all the Protestant readers, that the fame of the Kit-Cats now spread itself universally; though through the judgment of the public, who are apt to be mistaken, he that had the least share in the work had the most of the reputation; and, in a little time after, by the favour of their *Mecenas*, was singled out from the rest of the herd, either as the best qualified for some peculiar purposes, or the most deserving of his Lordship's promotion, which of the two is something difficult to determine. But so it happened, that one mouse ran away with all the bacon, whilst the other got nothing but the empty cupboard." —

"About the time that one of the celebrated mice was happily crept into the high road of preferment, here, at home, another of the witty triumvirate, who had the honour to be called my Lord *Dorset's* boys, was put in a fair way to make his fortune abroad; so that the third, who had given much better testimonies of his wit than any of them, was the only growing genius of the three that was left unprovided for. However, the club being famed for the many smart poems and accurate productions they had sent into the world, and having usurped the bays from all the town, they had by this time raised themselves to such a pitch of reputation, that many of the quality grew fond of sharing the everlasting honour that was likely to crown the poetical society; insomuch that several great persons desired to be admitted members of the rhyming community; some in hopes to be accounted wits, and others to avoid the very opposite imputation. By the majority of the members, it was now thought high time to move out of the scent of the oven in hot weather, and to adjourn their club to the Fountain tavern, it being wisely agreed by the whole board, that a noble cellar of wine was a better foundation for a society of wits to erect their *pyramids* of fame upon, than the arch of an oven, whose voracious mouth had swallowed so many reams of their enchanting labours. But, notwithstanding they had thus determined to withdraw the Muses from the purring musician and her dancing mice, (from whence it is presumed the poetical partners had borrowed the lucky title of that celebrated piece that had so redounded to their credit,) yet, in honour to *Jacob*, they were still resolved to thankfully accept of his weekly banquet, and continue him in the post, which they had observed he was so proud of; so that though they changed their residence they preserved their customs. Being strengthened by the awful presence of right honourable wits, and other wealthy pretenders, who, though not qualified to be poets, were rich enough to be patrons, and ready with an open hand to bespeak the honour of the next flattering dedication, they began to set themselves up for *Apollo's* court of judicature, where every author's performance, from the stage-poet to the garrēt-drudge, was to be read, tried, applauded,

or

or condemned, according to the new system of revolutionary principles, of which, like zealous subjects, they have been always violent asserters. Upon the additional improvement of this high court of wit, composed of patrons, critics, great lords, and poets, Jacob, who had still the honour of the chair, thought it high time to look about him, and to charge his blunderbuss with that necessary confidence that might propagate his interest among great men, and make him a fit associate for those honourable dons who had favoured the club with their magnificent appearances. Though he had no title to set himself up for a wit, yet he had found by others, that if he did but varnish over his natural endowment with a little fawning conformity, and anoint the tip of his tongue with a due quantity of *Irish pomatum*, he might ingratiate himself as well in the favour of the high and stately, as those wits who had the knack of blinding their betters with the ashes of the old poets, and topping false quotations out of defunct authors to justify their own errors. By this sort of conduct, Jacob made a very good shift to get more by his bookselling than his authors did by their wit; and what was wanting to make his company delightful he was careful to supply with cringe, confidence, and cunning, so that he daily gained ground in respect to his interest, and was taught in a little time, by the great example of his honourable customers, to exact as much respect from his own shop-fraternity as he was forced to pay to his betters; — that though he looked but like a bookseller seated among lords, yet, *vice versâ*, he behaved himself like a lord when he came among booksellers. When their pie-feast was over, and they had done commending of the rose-water codling tarts for their Heliconian flavour, it was the drawer's next business to clear the board, bring every man his bottle and a clean glass; and then the wits, according to custom, for the diversion of the rest, would be so liberal of their talents, that not a *Roman* author or a mouldy worthy could rest in their graves for two hours, but must be boxed about the board, till every one had run over his whole catalogue of dead bards and emperors, to shew his learning in remote antiquities, neglecting all foresight to talk of things past, as if, like crabs, they had got a faculty of running backwards. The Duke of *Marlborough* could not be named without a *Scipio* to confront him, nor Prince *Eugene* mentioned without a *Hannibal* to oppose his character; Ben Jonson, Shakspeare, or Dryden remembered without such a contemptible pish, as if they were only fit to write stage-speeches for a mountebank's orators, or ballads for pie-corner. Yet their own works sometimes should be blushing repeated, that they might have a friendly opportunity of tickling each other with reciprocal flattery, and put that policy in practice, so much in vogue among scabby friends, "*I'll scratch you, — do you scratch me.*" In these sort of learned recreations, that exercise the mind instead of the body, the Kit-Cat wits used to waste their hours, while the rest of the members, who, perhaps, were not blest with so prolific a genius, would manifest by their liberality, when the reckoning came to be paid, the satisfaction they had found in the witty discourses of their

wiser brethren. Thus honest Jacob, and his fruitful seminary of transcendant wits, established and continued their Kit-Cat Club for a succession of years; till they were, at last, burnt out of their dear Parnassus, where they had so long been settled." '.

Tonson also occasionally received the Society at his house at Barn Elms in Surrey, where he built a room for their reception, which was adorned with their portraits from the easel of Sir Godfrey Kneller, presented to him by each member. On the death of Tonson's nephew Jacob, they came into the possession of his brother Richard, who removed them to his residence at Water Oakley, near Windsor.

Such was the rise of the Kit-Cat Club; and that the first syllable of the name is derived from Christopher, the pastry-cook, seems agreed by the best authorities: but it is still a matter of doubt whether the syllable *Cat* originated in a part of the sign of the eating-house, or whether, when the denomination was given to the club, Christopher's pastry had not already received the name of *Cats*, either from the cat and gridiron, or as an abridgment of *cates*, or from some other reason now undiscoverable. — The Society consisted principally of those eminent Whigs who had been the principal agents in bringing about the Revolution, and who were at the beginning of the last century the great patrons of literature and the arts. Mixed with them were some individuals of rank without eminence, and others without either rank or eminence of any kind: such personages as may be found in most clubs, who, having no pretensions of their own, cling parasitically to others, and seek to be known as keeping company with those who are of importance. Few indeed wish, or if they do will seek in vain, for any more information than ordinary books of peerage afford, respecting the Dukes of Richmond, Grafton, or Montague of that day, or the Earls of Huntingdon, Essex, Scarborough, and Carberry, or Viscount Cobham and Lord Cornwallis. Still fewer persons care for the names of John Tidcombe, Abraham Stanyar, John Dormer, Edmund Dunch, Thomas Hopkins, and Edward Hopkins, Esquires. Some of the peers, however, whom we have enumerated, were very generous patrons of literature, and were liberally repaid for their munificence by balanced periods and fulsome dedications. The commoners were in general good worthy plain men: and, though their very names would now sound strange in the literary circles, one or two of them were of some note in their day, in that swarm of ~~gossiping~~ *gossiping* ~~frivolous~~ *frivolous* which buzzes and passes away, and is succeeded by other buzzers equally trifling, and self-complacent, and short-lived. Still, all these personages were

members

members of the Kit-Cat Club;—all had their portraits taken by Sir Godfrey Kneller; and therefore a history of the club would be incomplete, unless all the information which had been forgotten about these worthies, and that was recoverable, should be retrieved, and the faces of the Dunches and the Hopkins, with the wondering looks of praise, be again revived. Memoirs of clubs, indeed, destroy all the distinctions which time has been making, and bring down the famous to a level with the forgotten: all who once associated are truckled together on this bed of Procrustes: the great are amputated or pressed down to a size with the little, and the little are stretched, if possible, to the length of the great. Those high and exalted beings, whose memory will survive as long as wisdom is revered or liberty cherished by man, are thus expected to scatter around some portion of their immortality on their less gifted compeers, whose dull and dead bodies (dead though living) were tied to theirs in their earthly sojourn, and the shadows of whose names still flit around *their* shades.

The most complete memoirs in the volume before us are those of the Duke of Marlborough and Sir Robert Walpole; being in fact a compilation from the very valuable biographies of Archdeacon Coxe. The compiler's gratitude, however, for the materials thus supplied to him, may be appreciated by the following paragraph among others: 'The completion of a History of the Duke of Marlborough, alternately resolved upon by Mallet and Steele, seems to have been reserved for the ponderous powers of the voluminous Archdeacon Coxe; whose biographies of the great men of Queen Anne's age make up in weight of paper for what they want in solidity of argument, and compensate in principle for their evident deficiency of interest.'

We cannot refrain from observing that the account of the Duke of Newcastle is one tissue of unmerited and inefficient justifications and apologies, written with that sort of affected candour which can impose on nobody because it attempts equally to gloss over every thing. The Duke, it is argued, must have been well informed, and a man of capacity, because he was ridiculed for ignorance and stupidity by the Opposition, and an Opposition will misrepresent any fact or any person. By the same kind of reasoning, no talent or virtue can be withholden from any minister.—Of Lord Godolphin, also, the memoir is a very deficient sketch; and that of Lord Somers, except in some errors of the compiler himself, is a mere extract from the meagre hints for a life composed by Mr. Cooksey. We are told in the course of it that 'the period of Lord Somers's removal from the University (where he was entered

entered in 1675) is believed to have been about 1682; during the interim, however, he had become a student of law in the Middle Temple, and returning to college, took his degree of M. A. in June, 1681. About this time, some compositions in the *belles lettres* (to which he occasionally resorted as a relaxation from graver pursuits) introduced him to the favourable notice of Mr. Addison.' On this statement, we must remark that Addison in 1681 was not nine years old: that he did not begin his studies at Oxford till 1687; and that, according to the general account, so far from Lord Somers being introduced to *his* favourable notice, Addison was, about 1695, introduced to the favourable notice of Lord Somers: who was at that time at the height of his glory, the acknowledged patron of literature and the arts, and invested with the chief offices of his own profession and of the state, as Lord Keeper, and one of the Lords Justices. — Miss Hannah More, in her "Religion of the Fashionable World," observed of Lord Somers that he "was not only remarkable for a strict attendance on the public duties of religion, but for maintaining them with equal exactness in his family:" but Mr. Cooksey having raked up some scandal about Lord Somers's intercourse with the abandoned part of the fair sex, the writer of the present memoir expresses great surprize at Miss Hannah More's statement: observing that, 'as his Lordship's open and undisguised deportment was so far from being *pious*, not even decent, we are at a loss to conjecture what could induce this worthy lady to talk of him as though he had been a Sir Charles Grandison.' We may leave Lord Somers's deportment among women to the comments of his 'friendly biographer' Mr. Cooksey, and to the leer of those who delight to dwell on the imperfections and personal failings of great characters: but we cannot see that the existence of such improprieties disproves the statement of Miss Hannah More. The following paragraph also may perhaps shew that this lady's representation was not advanced without authority, and may impress a suspicion on some readers that Lord Somers not only had notions of decorum in religious matters, but some sense of piety, and some principles of religion, though they might not accord with the present compiler's conceptions of orthodoxy. The passage is extracted from Addison's character of Lord Somers in "The Freeholder," which was published by him on the day of that nobleman's funeral:

"His religion was sincere, not ostentatious; and such as inspired him with an universal benevolence towards all his fellow-subjects, not with bitterness against any part of them. He shewed his firm adherence to it as modelled by our national constitution, and
was

was constant to its offices of devotion, both in publick and in his family. He appeared a champion for it with great reputation in the cause of the Seven Bishops, at a time when the Church was really in danger. To which we may add, that he held a strict friendship and correspondence with the great Archbishop Tillotson, being acted upon by the same spirit of candour and moderation; and moved rather with pity than indignation towards the persons of those, who differed from him in the unessential parts of Christianity."

The most amusing memoir is that of Jacob Tonson, already mentioned; which introduces several entertaining anecdotes relative to the bookselling trade and the prices of copyrights. We extract a few of them as containing matters of some curiosity:

' In the days of our ancient friend, the subject of this notice, Little Britain was the grand emporium of books, and the resort of learned men, and, as Dr. Johnson will have it, their patrons. The Ballards, famed for more than a century for their dealings in printed paper, and remarkable for their sound adherence to church and state, had successively their shops in Little Britain. The Ballards, T. Green, C. Davis, and John Whiston, were the first booksellers who sold books by a marked catalogue, at fixed prices for ready money. This plan is now pursued universally, and thus people obtain a knowledge of the value of the works they wish to purchase; and the trader, where the disposition to cheat exists, is precluded from the practice of any gross imposition upon his customer. Baker was the first who brought selling books by auction into vogue. This practice is much abused at the present day, but is found extremely serviceable in disposing of works to the trade; at each of whose sales, an auctioneer chosen by general consent presides, whose province it is to offer the various works in sheets, sometimes to be knocked down at what they will fetch, but oftener with a reserve not to be sold at a price lower than the proprietor may have previously fixed. On these occasions, splendid dinners are given, and invitations to all trust-worthy persons of the trade, in and out of Paternoster Row, are issued; a catalogue being the card of admission. To return to Little Britain; the New View of London, in 1708, describing the place, says, "This street is well built, and principally inhabited by booksellers; especially from the pump in Duck Lane, which is also taken up by dealers in old books." Macky, in his Tour through England, in 1724, thus notices the situation of trade at that period: "The booksellers of ancient books in all languages, are in Little Britain and Pater Noster Row; — those for divinity and classics, on the north side of St. Paul's Cathedral; — law, history, and plays, about Temple Bar; — and the French booksellers in the Strand." It was about the commencement of George the First's reign, that booksellers first shewed a disposition to desert Little Britain and Duck Lane, and live in swarms in Paternoster Row. The last of the trade who inhabited Little Britain

Britain was Edward Ballard, who died in 1796, at the age of eighty years, in the house in which he was born. We learn from Stowe that the Company of Stationers, or Test-writers, who wrote and sold all sorts of books then in use; namely, A, B, C, with the Paternoster, Ave, Crede, Grace, dwelt in and about Paternoster Row. It appears that this neighbourhood was also the resort of certain turners of beads, who were called *paternoster* makers. — Hence, it may be presumed, originated the names of Paternoster Row, Creed Lane, Amen Corner, Ave Maria Lane, &c. Caxton, however, our first printer, was certainly not a member of the above association of stationers, as most of those who succeeded him were. The first book he printed was in 1474, except the “Recueil of the Histories of Troye,” which he printed abroad in 1471. His successor, Wynkyn de Worde, had a shop at the Sun, in Fleet Street, near upon the scite of the respectable medical booksellers, Messrs. Underwoods.’ —

‘The following facts will shew the value of literary property in former days; immense profits and cheap purchases. The manuscript of Robinson Crusoe ran through the whole trade, and no one would print it; the bookseller, who, it is said, was not remarkable for his discernment, but for a speculative turn, bought the work, and got a thousand guineas by it. How many more thousands have his successors since accumulated by it! Burn’s Justice was disposed of by its author for a mere trifle, as well as Buchan’s Domestic Medicine; both of which yield immense incomes. The Vicar of Wakefield, the most delightful novel in our language, was sold for a few pounds, and Miss Burney’s Evelina produced only five guineas. Dr. Johnson fixed the price of his Lives of the Poets at two hundred guineas; and, as Mr. Malone observes, “the booksellers, in the course of twenty-five years, have probably cleared five thousand.” —

‘The publishers of Lalla Rookh gave three thousand guineas for the copyright of that poem; which, with all its beauties, and they are numerous, is certainly not worth one single book of the Paradise Lost of our blind Mæonides; and what would seem still more extraordinary is, that the spirited purchasers of the work have had no reason to repent of their bargain. The great Scottish novelist, (but we hardly conceive it possible to overpay him for his admirable productions,) has, it is reported, netted nearly 100,000*l.* by his works; which he has received, it is said, from Archibald Constable and Co. of Edinburgh. This circumstance is, perhaps, the most extraordinary example that could be adduced in illustration of the patronage of the public, and the princely generosity of booksellers to authors of the nineteenth century. Nor is this liberality confined to any particular branch of literature; a successful tragedy, for which, in the days of Tonsen, fifty pounds was thought a munificent remuneration, will, in these times, produce an author from six to seven hundred pounds.’

Such facts are worthy of being recorded; and if the writer, instead of attempting a history of the Kit-Cat Club, had confined

finer his attention to a life of Jacob Tonson and a history of the bookselling trade, we think that he might have produced a work not unsuitable to his talents, and likely to engage the notice of general readers. As the case now is, while he has endeavoured to delineate many personages of very different degrees of merit, he has made some interesting subjects very dull, and, with the exception of "honest Jacob," has failed to make any dull subject interesting. We scarcely know in what terms to speak of an author's ingenuity, who, to enliven his memoir of Steele, has found it necessary to copy at full length "Partridge's Manifesto, or an impartial History of Issac Bickerstaff;" an exceedingly witty but tolerably long performance, which is to be found in every edition of Swift's works, and which has nothing to do with Steele, except as a part of that *nominis umbra* Isaac Bickerstaff. Yet the compiler's wit is not always borrowed, for we perceive many brilliant excursions of it in which we doubt not its originality. Indeed, his wit seems to be his principal hobby, though by no means his *forte*. We give one as a sample of many kindred flights. 'Among other manias at the time of the South-Sea scheme, there were projects for importing a large number of jackasses from Spain in order to propagate a breed of mules. Surely the importation of jackasses from foreign countries would have been ill-timed and uncalled for, since the markets of England appear to have been indifferently well stocked with these animals about the year 1721.' — The great respect for freedom of private judgment in matters of religion, and the very charitable construction of any peculiarities in others, which distinguish the composition of this volume, may be seen in two passages, the first of which relates to the celebrated Countess of Huntingdon and the other to the Marchioness of Wharton :

'She survived her husband forty-five years, and devoted, it is conjectured, upwards of 100,000*l.* to building conventicles, and distributing fanatics throughout the three kingdoms. The real character of this *aged hypocrite* may be inferred from the circumstance of her leaving her property to support chapels, and provide for inspired coal-heavers, to the entire prejudice and exclusion of her own friends and relations — "Verily she has her reward." ' —

'The Marchioness was a rigid Presbyterian, with all the bitterness and bigotry peculiar to her sect; one who, while she condemned the remotest approach to gaiety or enjoyment in another, was ever disposed to indulge in the good things of this life herself.'

For liberal views, also, on the gradation of ranks and the harmonious intercourse of the different classes, and for singular

gular judgment as well as truly constitutional principles, we may refer our readers to the subsequent extracts :

‘ The Duke of Dorset went to Ireland in August, 1721, and was received by the greater portion of the assembled nobility and gentry of Ireland with every demonstration of respect and satisfaction. Nor were the common people less decided in the expression of their sentiments towards him. They hailed his landing with as much noisy acclamation, as the most mob-loving nobleman of our own day could desire. His Grace seems to have done his duty, as became a loyal subject to his prince, and yet to have managed to keep upon good terms with the rabble ; and to have effected this, even at the period to which we allude, must have required no inconsiderable generalship. In these days, it would be worse than folly for any peer to attempt as much.’

Having stated that the Marquis of Wharton was member of a Protestant association, the author subjoins this note :

‘ It would be well for the country at large, if some of the noblemen of our own day would profit by the example of their illustrious ancestors, and by associations which might be made to combine wit, mirth, good fellowship, and patriotism, shew that all the spirit of which England can boast, is not confined to a party composed principally of the sourest advocates of “sour whiggery,” and the lunatic abettors of drunken radicalism.’

Something of fierceness is also displayed whenever the writer falls on the name of Swift ; as for instance, p. 78., we read of ‘ the miscreant malevolence of that universal calumniator Swift,’ and of the ‘ determined malignity which was the sole motive of this detractor ;’ and p. 98., ‘ Swift, in that spirit of falsehood and malignity in which he is alone consistent,’ &c. This hostility can be surpassed only by the tenderness and complacency which are manifested whenever he mentions the Rev. Lisle Bowles ; and if the reader be puzzled to guess what the subject of the present work had to do with Mr. Bowles and his controversy on Pope, it is a difficulty which we cannot solve. So it is, however, that several pages are crowded with critiques on that dispute ; and we are assured that, except in the opinion of some few learned Thebans who never know when a battle is finished, Mr. Bowles has achieved a most decisive victory, and laid the question at rest. It may be of very little consequence to the public whether Bishop Warburton, for instance, was or was not a libertine in his early days ; whether Lord Mansfield was or was not a profligate in his youth, and an usurer in his old age ; whether Pope was or was not sordid in his love of money, and whether he did or did not ever commit fornication : but we have only one feeling, and that not of the most absolute respect, towards those literary eaves-droppers and ‘ friendly biographers’ with whom

whom the present compiler so strongly sympathizes; and who can pry with restless curiosity into the infirmities and frailties of men whose general conduct has been exemplary, and some of whose virtues have been pre-eminent. Higher and more creditable qualities are requisite for a biographer, than the contracted views and paltry spirit of a monk and an inquisitor.

This volume is published in a handsome style of typography, and the portraits are well engraved: but we cannot help being struck with the similarity in the countenances of many of them, with their flowing wigs, strong features, and marked or arched eyebrows; though the biographer, in his account of Sir Godfrey, when stating that such has been a general impression, endeavours to obviate it by ascribing such an apparent effect to the uniformity of the large curling perukes in which, according to the invariable custom of the time, each head is involved.

In the account of Lord Shannon, his title is mis-printed *Stannon*.

ART. V. *Fifteenth Report of the Directors of the African Institution.* With an Appendix. 8vo. 2s. Hatchard. 1821.

ART. VI. *Abstract of the Information recently laid on the Table of the House of Commons on the Subject of the Slave-Trade;* being a Report made by a Committee specially appointed for that Purpose to the Directors of the African Institution, 8th May, 1821, and by them ordered to be printed as a Supplement to the Annual Report of this Year. 8vo. pp. 180. Hatchard, &c.

WE have great pleasure in announcing to our readers the farther labours of this benevolent Institution, and are glad to find that their recent exertions have been attended with considerable success, particularly in the islands of the Eastern Ocean. It is afflicting, however, to add that the slave-trade continues to be carried on by Portugal, *openly*, that country never having concurred in the abolition; and that it is pursued to a very considerable extent by *France*, with little disguise, as also by Spain, and it is said by America, under the protection of the French flag. The Report and Supplement contain many cases illustrative of the extent of the scandalous traffic maintained by France, and of the horrors accompanying it, from which we select two of the most flagrant instances:

‘ The case of the ship called *Le Rodeur*, whilst it proves the little risk that is run by French subjects in carrying on the slave-trade, furnishes also a most striking exemplification of some of the

worst horrors which attend the Middle Passage. This case is the more striking and important, as it was brought to light incidentally, and under circumstances which place its truth beyond the shadow of a doubt. It appeared in a periodical work published at Paris, and devoted to medical subjects; into which it was introduced, merely because the details which served to disclose the criminal nature of the voyage were required for the elucidation of some medical facts. The following is the translation of an extract from this work: — “The ship *Le Rodeur*, Captain B——, of two hundred tons burden, left Havre the 24th of January, 1819, for the coast of Africa, and reached her destination the 14th of March following, anchoring at Bonny in the river Calabar. The crew, consisting of twenty-two men, enjoyed good health during the outward voyage, and during their stay at Bonny, where they continued till the 6th April. They had observed no trace of ophthalmia among the natives; and it was not until fifteen days after they had set sail on the return voyage, and the vessel was near the Equator, that they perceived the first symptoms of this frightful malady. It was then remarked, that the Negroes, who, to the number of one hundred and sixty, were crowded together in the hold, and between the decks, had contracted a considerable redness of the eyes, which spread with singular rapidity. No great attention was at first paid to these symptoms, which were thought to be caused only by the want of air in the hold, and by the scarcity of water which had already begun to be felt. At this time they were limited to eight ounces of water a day for each person, which quantity was afterwards reduced to the half of a wine glass. By the advice of M. Maignan, the surgeon of the ship, the Negroes, who had hitherto remained shut up in the hold, were brought upon deck in succession, in order that they might breathe a purer air. But it became necessary to abandon this expedient, salutary as it was, because many of those Negroes, affected with Nostalgia, (*i. e.* a passionate desire to revisit their native land,) threw themselves into the sea, locked in each other's arms.

“The disease which had spread itself so rapidly and frightfully among the Africans, soon began to infect all on board, and to create alarms for the crew. The danger of infection, and perhaps the cause which produced the disease, were increased by a violent dysentery, attributed to the use of rain-water. The first of the crew who caught the infection was a sailor who slept under the deck, near the grated hatch which communicated with the hold. The next day a landsman was seized with ophthalmia; and, in three days more, the captain and almost the whole of the crew were infected by it.”

The means of cure which the surgeon employed are then detailed. They proved inefficient. “The sufferings of the people,” the account goes on to state, “and the number of the blind augmented every day; so that the crew — previously alarmed by the apprehension of a revolt among the Negroes — were seized with the farther dread of not being able to make the West Indies, if the

the only sailor who had hitherto escaped the contagion, and on whom their whole hope rested, should become blind like the rest. This calamity had actually befallen the *Léon*, a Spanish vessel which the *Rodeur* met with on her passage, and the whole of whose crew, having become blind, were under the necessity of altogether abandoning the direction of their ship. They entreated the charitable interference of the *Rodeur*; but the seamen of this vessel could not either quit her to go on board the *Leon*, on account of the cargo of Negroes, nor receive the crew of the *Leon* on board the *Rodeur*, in which there was scarcely room for themselves. The difficulty of taking care of so large a number of sick in so confined a space, and the total want of fresh meat, and of medicines, made them envy the fate of those who were about to become the victims of a death which seemed to them inevitable, and the consternation was general."

' "The *Rodeur* reached Guadaloupe on the 21st of June, 1819, her crew being in a most deplorable condition. Three days after her arrival, the only man who, during the voyage, had withstood the influence of the contagion, and whom Providence appeared to have preserved as a guide to his unfortunate companions, was seized with the same malady. Of the Negroes, thirty-nine had become perfectly blind, twelve had lost an eye, and fourteen were affected with blemishes more or less considerable. Of the crew, twelve lost their sight entirely, among whom was the surgeon; five became blind of one eye, one of them being the captain; and four were partially injured." Of the captain it is added, that "he did not cease, in the midst of the greatest danger, to lavish his attentions on the Negroes and the sailors, with a zeal and devotedness which exceed all praise."

' Such is the account of the voyage of the *Rodeur*, as given in this work. The following additional circumstances connected with this transaction, though there omitted, probably because they illustrated no medical principle, have since been given to the public on very credible authority, and, having met with no contradiction, may be assumed to be correct. It is stated among other things, that the captain caused several of the Negroes who were prevented in the attempt to throw themselves overboard, to be shot and hung, in the hope that the example might deter the rest from a similar conduct. But even this severity proved unavailing, and it became necessary to confine the slaves entirely to the hold during the remainder of the voyage. It is further stated, that upwards of thirty of the slaves who became blind were thrown into the sea and drowned, upon the principle that, had they been landed at Guadaloupe, no one would have bought them, and that the proprietors would consequently have incurred the expense of maintaining them without the chance of any return. While by throwing them overboard, not only was this certain loss avoided, but ground was also laid for a claim on the underwriters by whom the cargo had been insured; and who are said to have allowed the claim, and made good the value of the slaves thus destroyed.

‘ Another most important fact, resting on the same authority, is, that the *Rodeur* having returned to Havre was refitted by the same owners, and dispatched early in the last year on a second slave-voyage; and that the command of her has been given to the same captain who had her in charge on the former voyage.

‘ The case of the *Rodeur*, it will be seen, exemplifies many of the horrors of the Middle Passage. It furnishes likewise a striking proof of the impunity with which the most open contraventions of the abolition-laws have been committed in France. The facts of the case must have been well known in Guadaloupe, where the slaves that remained alive are stated to have been sold. The case has also acquired great notoriety in France by means of the above publication, and also of a petition addressed to the Chamber of Deputies in June, 1820, by M. Morenas, in which many of the above facts were detailed. Yet it does not appear, that any steps have been taken, either at Guadaloupe or in France, to bring the parties concerned in this flagrant contravention of their municipal laws to punishment. On the contrary, the captain of the *Rodeur* has been again invested with the command of the same ship, in order to enable him to renew his former enterprise; and the owners have been allowed to enjoy, apparently without question, the fruit of their nefarious and illicit commerce, and to devise and perpetrate fresh atrocities against the natives of Africa.

‘ In this case also there appears to have been no want of proof; the surgeon, M. Maignan, and many, if not all, of his eleven blind companions, as well as the rest of the crew, having, it is said, returned to France. Surely, if ever there was a case which, independently of these facilities of proof, called for interference, it is the case which has now been detailed.’ —

‘ On the 4th of March, 1820, after a long chase, a vessel was boarded by the boats of his Majesty’s ship *Tartar*, commanded by Sir George Collier, which proved to be *La Jeune Estelle*, of Martinique, M. — master. On being boarded, he declared that he had been plundered of his slaves, and that none remained on board. His agitation and alarm however excited suspicion, and led to an examination of the vessel’s hold. During this examination, a sailor who struck a cask, which was tightly closed up, heard a faint voice issue from it, as of a creature expiring. The cask was immediately opened, when two girls of about twelve or fourteen years of age, in the last stage of suffocation, were found to be inclosed in it, and by this providential interposition were probably rescued from a miserable death.

‘ These girls, when brought on the deck of the *Tartar*, were recognised by a person on board, who had been taken prisoner in another slave-ship, as having been the property of the captain of a schooner belonging to New York. An investigation having taken place, it appeared that this American contrabandist had died at a place on the coast called Trade Town, leaving behind him fourteen slaves, of whom these two girls formed a part; and that after his death the master of the vessel had landed his crew, armed with
swords

swords and pistols, and carried these fourteen slaves on board the *Jeune Estelle*. Sir George Collier, conceiving that the other twelve slaves, who had been procured by this piratical act, might still be secreted in that vessel, ordered a fresh search. The result was, that a Negro man, not however one of the twelve, was rescued from death. A platform of loose boards had been raised on the water-casks of the vessel, so as to form an entre-pont, or between-decks of twenty-three inches in height, which was the only space allotted for the accommodation of this unfortunate cargo of human beings, whom M. — intended to procure and carry from the coast. Beneath this platform, one of the boards resting on his body, jammed between two water-casks, appeared the above wretched individual, whom it was a matter of astonishment to find alive. Sir George Collier was inclined to remove him on board the *Tartar*, as he had done the two girls: but M. — having proved that the poor African had been bought by him for eight dollars worth of brandy and iron, Sir George did not feel himself authorized to do so; although, had the vessel been capable of beating up to Senegal, he would have sent her thither for judgment, as he had done the two former ships.

With respect to the other twelve slaves taken by force from Trade Town, no distinct information could be obtained beyond the assertion of M. —, that he had been plundered of them by a Spanish pirate. But it was recollected with horror by the officers of the *Tartar*, that when they first began the chase of *La Jeune Estelle*, they had seen several casks floating past them, in which they now suspected that these wretched beings might have been enclosed, having been thrown overboard by this man to elude the detection of his piratical proceedings. It was now impossible, however, to ascertain the fact, as the chase had led them many leagues to leeward; and even after they had consumed the time which would have been necessary, by beating to windward to reach the place where the chase commenced, there were many chances against their again seeing the casks, and not the slightest probability that any of the slaves inclosed in them, if they were so inclosed, would be found still alive.

Neither France nor America admits the right of search: but the Americans, for the purpose of aiding in giving effect to the measures of abolition, have stationed a squadron on the African coast, with orders to seize and carry into port all vessels of their own country that it may find engaged in that trade; and the commanders of it seem to have acted with great energy and zeal, one sloop of war alone, the *Cyane*, having lately detained ten slave-ships, and sent in four of them for adjudication.

The principal measures, which this Society seem anxious to pursue at present, are the enforcement of the treaty of 1783, by which France relinquished all right to the occupation of Albreda, on the river Gambia, and ceded the whole of

that river to England; the enactment of laws in France, annexing ignominious punishment to the traffic in slaves, and prohibiting the purchase and sale of slaves in the settlements on the coast of Africa; the institution of a law in Spain, to prevent the abuse of the protection afforded by the French flag; the circulation of knowledge relating to the nature of the slave-trade throughout Portugal, for which purpose they have already procured the translation of some works into the Portuguese language; the excitement of the Dutch settlers at the Cape of Good Hope to follow the example of their countrymen in Ceylon and the Malaccas; and the formation of laws in England to prohibit slavery in the new settlements in southern Africa, to extend bounties to captors for slaves condemned under the treaties of reciprocal search and detention, made with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, and for the more efficient registration of slaves in the different British colonies in which slavery is tolerated.

The Appendix and Supplement contain several very interesting details; particularly a memoir on the slave-trade at Zanzibar, an account by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles of the regulations adopted at Bencoolen, and a report on the present state of Sierra Leone, by Sir George Collier, lately commanding the British naval force on that station.

ART. VII. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the Year 1821. Part I.* 4to. pp. 190. and 10 Plates. Sold by Nicol and Son.

MEDICINE, CHEMISTRY, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, &c.

ON the Black Rete Mucosum of the Negro being a Defence against the scorching Effects of the Sun's Rays. By Sir E. Home, Bart., &c. — It appeared by experiments that the power of the sun's rays to scorch the skin of animals is destroyed when applied to a black surface, although the absolute heat in consequence of the absorption of the rays is greater; and, accordingly, less effect was produced by the rays of the sun on a Negro's skin than on a white man. This is consistent with the case which we know to happen at the bottom of the eye in a strong light, the retina allowing it from its transparency to pass through without injury. That the *nigrum pigmentum* is not necessary for vision, but only provided against strong light as a defence, is proved by its being darker in the Negro than the European; and by its being of a lighter colour in fair persons than in dark, and therefore lightest in those countries which are farthest removed from the effects of the

sun. In the monkey, and in all animals that look upwards, it is dark, and in birds it is black. Fishes, as the basking shark, which lie much on the surface of the water, have a *nigrum pigmentum* as well as the turbot and skate: but the owl, which never sees the sun, has not any. That the *coup de soleil* should arise, according to the present author, from the scorching effects on the scalp and the Egyptian ophthalmia from the sun's rays, and the glare of reflected light, seems to us highly improbable. The explanation, also, that the radiant heat is absorbed by the black surface, and converted into sensible heat, is unsatisfactory to our minds.

On the Magnetic Phænomena produced by Electricity. By Sir H. Davy, Bart. — The similarity of the laws of electricity and of magnetism has often been mentioned by philosophers. Many years ago, Mr. Ritter reported that a needle, composed of silver and zinc, arranged itself in the magnetic meridian, and was slightly attracted and repelled by the poles of a magnet; and he seems to have had some vague notion that electrical combinations, when not exhibiting their electrical tension, were in a magnetic state, and that there was a kind of electromagnetic meridian, depending on the electricity of the earth. M. Mojon is said to have rendered steel magnetic, by placing it in a Voltaic circuit for a great length of time. The chemical and electrical phænomena of the apposition of metals, &c. absorbed for a while all other facts, till the true connection between electricity and magnetism was discovered by M. Oersted. Sir Humphrey Davy now informs us that a Voltaic apparatus, of 100 pair of plates of four inches, occasioned the south pole of a common magnetic needle, (suspended in the usual way,) placed under the communicating wire of platinum, and the positive end of the apparatus being on the right hand, to be strongly attracted by the wire; and to remain in contact with it, so as to alter entirely the direction of the needle and to overcome the magnetism of the earth. This fact shewed that the wire itself became magnetic during the passage of the electricity through it; and direct experiments, which Sir Humphrey immediately made, proved that this was the case. Iron-filings thrown on a paper, and brought near the communicating wire, were attracted by it; and on breaking the communication they immediately fell off, evincing that the magnetic effect depended entirely on the passage of the electricity through the wire. The magnetic effects of the electrified wire being supposed to be communicable to steel, it was found that steel and iron wires acquired poles in the same manner as in other similar experiments, but wires of different metals gave no magnetic result. The contact of needles was not necessary, and

the effect was produced instantaneously by the mere juxtaposition of the needle in a transverse direction, even through very thick plates of glass; for a needle that had been placed in a transverse direction to the wire, merely for an instant, was found as powerful a magnet as one that had been long in communication with it. — Lastly, the author points out a simple mode of making powerful magnets; namely, ‘by fixing bars of steel across, or circular pieces of steel fitted for making horse-shoe magnets, round the electrical conductors of buildings in elevated and exposed situations.’

Various conjectures, adds Sir H. Davy, may be entertained in consequence of the facts developed in this paper, and others on the same subject; such as whether the magnetism of the earth may not be owing to its electricity, and the variation of the needle to the alteration in the electrical currents of the earth by internal chemical changes, or by its relations to solar heat; and whether the luminous effects of the Aurora Borealis, at the poles, do not depend on electricity. ‘This is evident that, if strong electrical currents be supposed to follow the apparent course of the sun, the magnetism of the earth ought to be such as it is found to be.’ — In a note is added the curious fact that a stroke of lightning, passing through a box of knives, made most of them powerful magnets.

The author’s candor is shewn by owning that he has been anticipated by M. Arrago in the publication (though not in the performance of the experiments) of the discovery of the attractive and magnetizing powers of the wires in the Voltaic circuit; but he fairly claims the discovery of the action of common electricity. — The investigations of Professor Oersted, MM. Arrago and Ampere, and Sir H. Davy, on magnetism produced by electricity, if they do not prove the identity of electricity and magnetism, at least must be ranked among the most important new facts of the present century; and they have excited a sensation in the physical world, which produces great accessions to science.

A Communication of a singular Fact in Natural History. By the Earl of Morton, F. R. S. — This fact was that of breeding from a species of the *Equus* known by the name of Quagga, and a chestnut-mare seven-eighths Arabian blood. She bore a hybrid female, resembling in form and colour her mixed origin. The subsequent produce with an Arabian horse was decidedly fifteen-sixteenths Arabian blood: but the hair of the mane and the colour resembled those of the Quagga.

Particulars of a Fact nearly similar to that related by Lord Morton, in a Letter from Daniel Giles, Esq. — We are here informed that a sow, of a well known black and white breed, was

was put to a boar of the wild breed, and of a deep chesnut colour: when the pigs produced, which were the mother's first litter, partook of the appearances of both parents. She was next put to a boar of a common breed, and the produce was a litter stained and clearly marked with the chesnut colour of the former litter.

The Croonian Lecture. Microscopical Observations on the Brain and Nerves, showing that the Materials of which they are composed exist in the Blood; — on the Discovery of Valves in the Branches of the Vas Breve, lying between the Villous and Muscular Coats of the Stomach; — and on the Structure of the Spleen. By Sir Ev. Home, Bart. — The indefatigable author of this paper asserts that he has shewn in the Croonian lectures of three preceding years, from M. Bauer's microscopical observations, that the blood 'is made up of a greater number of ingredients than it was known to contain.' We must beg leave, however, to protest against the credit which Sir Everard Home thus assumes, for we know of no *additional* parts of the blood from his experiments: but we dispute not the next assertion, that we find in this fluid 'materials for the formation of most of the structures of an animal body,' provided that the words '*ready prepared*' be not added.

In the lecture before us, the brain and nerves are the first subject of investigation. Sir Ev. observes that 'the retina is perfectly transparent in the living body, and is only rendered visible by *coagulation* after death'*; and this, the only known medullary expansion, was examined by M. Bauer in the microscope. He found the optic nerve to consist of many bundles of extremely delicate fibres, formed of minute globules connected by a gelatinous substance which readily dissolves in water. The micrometer denoted the admeasurement of the globules to be from $\frac{1}{1000}$ to $\frac{1}{600}$ parts of an inch, mixed with very few of $\frac{1}{1000}$ parts, the size of the red globules deprived of their colouring matter.

'The retina appeared as a continuation of the bundles composing the optic nerve, and consists entirely of the same sized globules connected into fibres, and forming bundles, which go off distinctly from the end of the nerve, like rays: towards the circumference they almost disappear, and end in smooth membrane.

* It would have been chemically accurate to have said, "is rendered visible by *coagulation of the fluids of the retina*;" for the membranes do not consist of coagulable matter by heat, but of *gelatinable* matter. In so meritorious a physiologist, an inaccuracy of this sort may well be excused.

‘ The whole retina is interwoven with innumerable blood-vessels, both arteries and veins ; the gelatinous substance, that holds the globules together, dissolves in water very readily ; so that, if the parts are soaked in water for three or four days with a portion of the optic nerve, they become a mass of globules, and the blood-vessels, when separated, form a beautifully delicate net-work, their branches anastomosing freely with one another.’

These appearances are represented in plates magnified 400 times. Sir Everard goes on to say that this discovery makes us acquainted with the nature of the medullary structure of the nerves : that ‘ the nerves as well as the retina are composed of this newly discovered transparent membrane, which is very elastic, and soluble in water, and globules of $\frac{1}{1000}$ and $\frac{1}{2000}$ parts of an inch in diameter : that its transparency and solubility account for its having remained concealed ; and, were it not coagulable, in which state it becomes opaque, its existence might even now be considered as equivocal.’ — Any person, acquainted with the elementary part of animal chemistry, must perceive the utter inconsistency with fact or the known properties of animal matter which this reasoning betrays ; and the inconsistency is continued : but to quote farther is unpleasant to our feelings, and we trust unnecessary.

We cannot, however, refrain from giving the following paragraph :

‘ As the transparent mucus is not only one of the most abundant materials of which the brain itself is composed, but is the medium by which the globules of the retina are kept together, and serves the same purpose in the medullary texture of the nerves, there can be *no doubt that the communication of sensation and volition, more or less, depends upon it.* And it would appear from the following case that, when parts are regenerated, they contain a sufficient quantity of this mucus to connect them with the nerves of the body, and enable them to partake of its sensibility. — A lady, who had a wound on the breast in a healing state, had a prominent spot of a black colour suddenly make its appearance on the surface ; it was very tender to the touch ; next day it disappeared, and the tenderness was gone. This must have been blood coagulated upon the termination of a nerve, and therefore the impression made by touching it was communicated along the nerve ; but when it was absorbed, the bare nerve received a coating of coagulable lymph, and there was no more pain.’

It would not, we think, be credited if merely colloquially related that such reasoning was uttered by a man so able in many parts of physiology, and so accurate in anatomy, as Sir Everard Home. 1st, The fact is not proved, nay it is known to be otherwise, that mucus in any just chemical sense of the term is one of the most abundant materials of the brain.

2dly,

2dly, It is not yet accepted that the retina is composed of globules, and serves the purpose of medullary texture to the nerves. 3dly, That the communication of sensation and volition depends on this unproved mucus binding strings of globules, seen only in the microscope, is a mere offspring of the imagination. 4thly, The explanation of the lady's case must of course be equally imaginary. If the ingenious author, instead of making bold and positive assertions, had given his conclusions as hypotheses for the promotion of farther inquiry, or had delivered them in the shape of queries, we think that he would have acted more judiciously. We may refer the reader to the paper, pp. 32. and 34., to satisfy him that no unjust representation has been made by us: on the contrary, much wilder hypotheses will yet be seen introduced as great discoveries, which it was reserved for Sir Everard Home to complete from the grand ideas of Mr. Hunter by the instrumentality of M. Bauer's microscope.

We feel happy to enter on another subject, which is investigated in a manner more worthy of the author: viz. *On the Branch of the Vas Breve carrying the Fluids from the Stomach through the Splenic Vein to the Vena Portarum.* — Injections, and microscopic inspections with M. Bauer's microscope, demonstrated vessels for directly conveying fluids from the stomach, not by the circuitous route of the thoracic duct, but by blood-vessels acting as absorbents from the coats of the stomach; which is the use of the branches of the *vas breve*, so abundant in the coats of that viscus. The branches of the splenic artery and vein going to the stomach were also injected, when a part of the injection passed into the stomach, without any rupture of vessels: but none of the injections, as in other parts of the circulation generally, got into the veins. Minute branches of the splenic artery, spread on the great curvature of the stomach, were found to have valves, and were quite empty.

‘ To show the course of the absorbed fluids, as well as to give a clear idea of every thing connected with so *important* a discovery, a drawing of the spleen, the *vas breve*, and the cardiac portion of the stomach, is annexed; and, as the trunk of the splenic vein forms one of the trunks of the *vena portæ*, the liquids are directly carried to the liver, forming a part of the materials employed in producing the bile; the remainder only returning by the *vena cava* to the heart. This additional quantity of liquids passing along the splenic vein accounts for its being five times the size of the artery, as well as for the blood in that vein having a greater proportion of serum than the blood in any other, which has been long asserted, and which I found by actual experiment to be the case;

case ; but being unable to account for it, as I can now, I was willing to admit that the mode of measuring might be erroneous.'

The physiologist will no doubt be gratified by these researches on the function of the *vas breve*, although he may not give his unqualified assent to the conclusions from the microscopic phænomena. The deceptions from Leuwenhoeck's observations are not yet forgotten.

We proceed to the next subject of this paper, *the Structure and Uses of the Spleen* ; and here the author resumes his tone of bold assertion as to a discovery of the use of the spleen. From an examination of the structure of a spleen cut into slices, it appears to consist of blood-vessels, between which there is no cellular membrane, but the interstices are filled with serum and the colouring matter of the blood from the lateral orifices in the veins, when these vessels are in a distended state ; which serum is afterward removed by the numberless absorbents belonging to the organ, and carried into the thoracic duct by a very large absorbent trunk. That all the apparent fibres are vascular is proved by injections. This is a just inference : but " oh what a falling off " comes next ! a mere hypothesis, in terms unqualified ; — strong assertion, — and some things assumed as facts which every well-informed man knows to be not facts, or which at best are not proved : ' *As soon as the lymph is at rest, the carbonic acid gas being let loose forms the cells that surround the lymph globules, the sides of which are held together by the mucus, putting on the appearance of corpuscles without colour, and are thus mistaken for glands ; the gas is absorbed by the blood in the arteries and veins.*' The latter part of this hypothetical reasoning we insert because it is not at variance with facts : viz. ' *The spleen, from this mechanism, appears to be a reservoir for the superabundant serum, lymph globules, soluble mucus, and colouring matter, carried into the circulation immediately after the process of digestion is completed.*'

On Two new Compounds of Chlorine and Carbon, and on a new Compound of Iodine, Carbon, and Hydrogen. By Mr. Faraday, Chemical Assistant in the Royal Institution. — It is, we believe, generally known that the circumstance of charcoal ignited, and oxymuriatic acid, not exerting any chemical agency on one another, suggested to Sir H. Davy that this acid was not a compound, as its name imported, of oxygen and muriatic acid ; and by subsequent experiments he ascertained that it was a simple substance, which, from its greenish colour, he denominated *chlorine*. Lord Bacon would have classed this discovery among his *instantiæ luciferæ*, on account of the range of phænomena that were explicable by means of this fact,

fact, and the numerous successful experiments which it occasioned.

While chemists succeeded in making various combinations with chlorine, the combinations with charcoal remained uneffected: but Mr. Faraday's sagacity enabled him to perceive that this combination really is accomplished in the well-known experiment of mixing together olefiant gas and chlorine. In *due proportions*, this commixture produces a compound consisting of chlorine and carbon, affording crystals of sublimate lining the retort in which the chlorine is added to the olefiant gas: but *exposure to the sun's rays is necessary*. After many trials, it was found that, if to a given portion of olefiant gas eight or nine times its bulk of chlorine be added, and the mixture be exposed to the sun's rays, at first a fluid (chloric ether) is produced: but this soon disappears; and instead of it crystals lining the retort are seen, forming the compound which is the object of investigation, viz. of carbon and chlorine. On this occasion, the hydrogen of the olefiant gas unites to the chlorine, producing muriatic acid; while carbon of this gas remains united to part of the chlorine of the olefiant gas, producing the crystals of the new combination. By elutriation and sublimation, this new *chlorite* or *chloruret* is purified; and it is then a white powdery substance, not leaving a trace of carbon, nor liberating any muriatic acid.

The light of a fire will not effect the union so well as the solar rays: but, by after-exposure for a due length of time, it takes place even in the dark.

Two or perhaps three chlorides of carbon may be formed, viz. the proto-chlorite, consisting of one proportion of each of the ingredients: the per-chlorite, consisting of three of chlorine and two of carbon; and a third, the ingredients of which are two proportions of chlorine and one of carbon.

Mr. Faraday next calls our attention to *the Compound of Iodine, Carbon, and Oxygen*. — The analogy between chlorine and iodine suggested the probability of obtaining an iodide of carbon by the same means which had produced the chlorite of carbon. Iodine and olefiant gas were therefore exposed in a retort to the sun's rays, and colourless crystals were produced. The vessel contained no hydriodic acid, but superabundant olefiant gas. The new compound was purified by potash, which dissolved all the free iodine; and it was found to be heavier than sulphuric acid, and to resemble remarkably the compound of olefiant gas and chlorine. Thus two new compounds are formed, requiring new names; and, as they belong to the class of inflammable bodies, Mr. F. suggests the terms hydro-carburet of chlorine

chlorine and hydro-carburet of iodine as appropriate. The ingenious author has not been able to produce iodide of carbon, but hopes to obtain it at a brighter season of the year. — This is an excellent paper.

An Account of the Urinary Organs and Urine of Two Species of the Genus Rana. By John Davy, M.D. F.R.S. — This communication is dated Colombo, Ceylon, January 28. 1819. The two species of frog examined were the Bull-frog, (*Rana taurina* of Cuvier,) and the Bufo toad, (*Bufo fuscus*, Laurenti,) both very common in Ceylon. The kidneys of the Bull-frog are described: but the chief peculiarity seems to be that ‘the ureters do not terminate in the bladder but in the rectum, by two soft papillæ projecting a little, and situated between the orifice of the bladder and the anus.’

The urinary organs were also examined. From 36 frogs, 300 grains of urine were collected, which was tasteless, smelled slightly of serum of blood, and was almost colourless. Specific gravity, 1003. It had no effect on litmus or turmeric paper. It afforded sometimes urea, muriate of soda, and phosphate of lime. — Eighty-four toads caught in the streets of Pettah supplied 732 grains of urine. In smell, taste, and appearance, it resembled human urine, with a specific gravity of 1008; had likewise no effect on litmus or turmeric paper; contained muriate of soda, with nitric acid; and afforded nitrate of urea. The conclusion is that the urine of the bull-frogs and brown toad contains urea; and that the urine of frogs and of toads is of a similar nature, but altogether different from that of other *amphibia*.

A further Account of Fossil Bones discovered in Caverns inclosed in the Lime-stone Rocks at Plymouth. By Joseph Whidbey, Esq. — These bones were found in the lime-stone quarries at Oreston, near Plymouth, in a cavern one foot high, 18 feet wide, and 20 feet long. All of them were from the same animal, of the size of a bear; probably the black or brown bear.

On the Aëriform Compounds of Charcoal and Hydrogen; with an Account of some additional Experiments on the Gases from Oil and from Coal. By William Henry, M.D. F.R.S., &c. — The experiments in this paper are supplementary to a memoir on the same class of bodies by the same author, published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1808, and also in the Memoirs of the Manchester Society. The gases from wood, peat, pit-coal, oil, wax, &c., and from other inflammable bodies, are mixtures of a few well known gases, chiefly carburetted hydrogen, with variable portions of olefiant gas, simple

simple hydrogen, sulphuretted hydrogen, carbonic acid, carbonic oxyd, and azotic gases: also an inflammable vapour.

In opposition to Berthollet and Murray, the author contends that the general law holds good, that in a few definite proportions only do the hydrogen and charcoal combine. The known compounds of the element are probably not all that exist in nature; and in every instance in which one body combines with another in different proportions, *the greater proportions are multiples of the less by an entire number*. Lately, it has been asserted that carburetted hydrogen, or light carburetted hydrogen, or hydro-carburet, are not a distinct species: but that the only compound with certainty known of hydrogen and carbon is the olefiant gas, or bi-carburetted hydrogen, and that the gases from coal are nothing more than mixtures of simple hydrogen and olefiant gases.

Carburetted hydrogen is distinguished by the complete saturation of one volume of it by two volumes of oxygen, giving one volume of carbonic acid. According to Dalton, the gas from marshes and from stagnant water, and the fire-damp also of coal mines, are alike. Gas may be obtained by stirring any stagnant pool. 100 cubical inches of carburetted hydrogen weigh 16,95 grains, compounded of 12,69 grains of charcoal and 4,26 grains of hydrogen; or 100 grains in weight consist of 85,63 grains of charcoal and 14,37 of hydrogen. As 16,7 is to 100, so very nearly is 1 to 6; which last number is the weight of the atom of charcoal, as deduced from the composition of olefiant gas. This determination a little exceeds that which is deduced from the composition of carbonic acid (viz. 5,65), the atom of oxygen being taken at 7,5.—Dr. Henry displays much ingenuity in the rationale of the production, by a figure exhibiting the agency of two atoms of water on two atoms of charcoal; in which it appears that two atoms of hydrogen unite with one atom of charcoal, forming carburetted hydrogen, and the other atom of charcoal unites with two atoms of oxygen, compounding carbonic acid. Hence carburetted hydrogen at the bottom of wells is never accompanied by carbonic oxyd, but always by carbonic acid.

Dr. H. endeavoured to determine how far chlorine might be employed as an instrument in the analysis of mixed gases of a combustible kind; Cruickshank having found that, on standing 24 hours, a mixture of chlorine with hydrogen, or with carburetted hydrogen, or with carbonic oxyd in certain proportions, united with one another to produce a concrete substance. He was not, however, aware of the influence of light perceived by Gay Lussac and by Lambton: for, without light, the combination does not take place: but the light
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of even a dull day is sufficient. With compound carbonic acid, four volumes of chlorine must be used for the decomposition of each volume of carburetted hydrogen; in which case, two atoms of chlorine unite with the two other atoms of hydrogen, and the two other atoms of chlorine with the two atoms of hydrogen from the water. To convert carburetted hydrogen into carbonic oxyd, three atoms of chlorine are enough; two of which are employed as in the first case, and the third is expended in saturating the hydrogen of one atom of water, which supplies to the charcoal an atom of oxygen for the composition of carbonic oxyd. Accordingly, three atoms of chlorine are adequate to form one atom of carbonic oxyd into carbonic acid. Hence it appears that chlorine cannot be employed for correctly analyzing mixtures of olefiant gas, either with hydrogen or with carburetted hydrogen, if light be admitted even feebly, and for the short time of performing such an experiment. Hence also may be explained the uncertainty as to the results of analyses of mixed gases made in this way, which was first remarked by Mr. Faraday: but, if light be totally excluded, chlorine is a most useful agent in separating olefiant gas from such mixtures. The diminution of volume, divided by 2, gives pretty correctly the quantity of olefiant gas known to be contained in the mixture. In this way, olefiant gas may be accurately separated by chlorine from hydrogen, carburetted hydrogen, and carbonic oxyd gases; or from mixtures of two or more of those gases which are left quite unchanged in volume and in chemical qualities, when light has been carefully excluded from the mixture.

With regard to experiments on gas from oil, no temperature short of ignition can decompose oil into permanent combustible gases: but the gas is far from being uniform in composition; and the great differences in its specific gravity and chemical properties are occasioned by the temperature at which it is produced. In former experiments, Dr. Henry considered oil gas to consist of *one* volume of olefiant gas and *seven* volumes of mixed gases, of which the greatest part was carburetted hydrogen. Mr. Dalton found 40 parts in 100 condensible by chlorine. It is of great importance to increase the proportion of gas condensible by chlorine, because it would augment the quantity of light that such a gas would afford.

On Gas from Coal. — The attention of the learned experimenter was especially directed to the examination of that portion of gas which remains after the action of chlorine. Wigan cannel coal was employed, and the gas was prepared at the manufactory of Messrs. Philips and Lee. By ablution
with

with liquid potash, the carbonic acid and sulphuretted hydrogen were separated.

The specific gravity of gas from coal varied between ,345 and ,650, and the loss by chlorine between 0 and 13 per cent. in bulk. It is only by firing that we can separate hydrogen, carburetted hydrogen, and carbonic oxyd, leaving the other parts of the coal-gas in their original state and quantity. A table is given, exhibiting the effects and characteristic properties of the different combustible gases on firing. We have also tables shewing the composition of 100 volumes of the gases remaining after the action of chlorine on oil-gas and coal-gas. These residues are azote, carburetted hydrogen, carbonic oxyd, and hydrogen-gas. The azote may be traced to the impurity of the chlorine. Gas from oil is more illuminating than gas from coal. Both these gases contain a greater proportion of hydrogen as the temperature is increased at which they are formed, and it is always greatest in the latter portions of gas from coal. In no instance has gas been obtained from oil or coal which contained pure hydrogen, after the action of chlorine gas with the exclusion of light.

Some remarks are offered respecting the composition of the gas that remains after condensation by chlorine. It appears that the aëriform ingredient of oil-gas and coal-gas, reducible to a liquid state by chlorine, is not identical with the olefiant gas obtained by the action of alcohol and sulphuric acid on each other, but considerably exceeds that gas in specific gravity and combustibility. This latter gas may be *sui generis*, constituted of different known proportions of other gases of charcoal and hydrogen; or it may be the vapour of an highly volatile oil, mingled in various proportions with olefiant gas, carburetted hydrogen, and the other inflammable gases.

This most valuable paper concludes with the following inferences: 1st, that carburetted hydrogen-gas must still be considered as a distinct species; one volume of it requiring for combustion two volumes of oxygen, and yielding one volume of carbonic acid; and constituted of one atom of charcoal united to two atoms of hydrogen, provided that olefiant gas be constituted of one atom of charcoal united to one atom of hydrogen; 2dly, olefiant gas, independently of light, by combining with chlorine, produces chloric ether: but chlorine is inefficient on hydrogen, carburetted hydrogen, and carbonic oxyd gases, if light be perfectly excluded; 3dly, hence chlorine may be employed to separate olefiant gas from the three last named gases; 4thly, the gases produced by fire from coal and oil, although uncertain as to their proportions, consist essentially of carburetted hydrogen, hydrogen, and carbonic oxyd; and they

they owe much of their illuminating power to an elastic fluid resembling olefiant gas, in the property of being speedily condensed by chlorine; 5thly, the portion of oil-gas and coal-gas, which chlorine converts into a liquid form, does not precisely agree with olefiant gas, but requires for the combustion of each volume nearly two volumes of oxygen more than are sufficient for saturating one volume of olefiant gas, and affords one additional volume of carbonic acid. 'It is probably, therefore, either a mixture of olefiant gas with a heavier and more combustible gas or vapour, or a new gas *sui generis*, consisting of hydrogen and charcoal in proportions that remain to be determined.'

It is but justice to observe that, in our opinion, this memoir will powerfully support the high consideration of Dr. Henry in the chemical world.

ASTRONOMY, MECHANICS, &c.

An Account of the Comparison of various Standards of British Linear Measure. By Captain H. Kater, F. R. S., &c.—The object of this memoir is best explained in the words of the author :

'The Commissioners appointed to consider the subject of Weights and Measures, recommended in their First Report "for the legal determination of the standard yard, that which was employed by General Roy in the measurement of a base on Hounslow Heath, as a foundation for the trigonometrical operations that have been carried on by the Ordnance throughout the country." In consequence of this determination, it became necessary to examine the standard to which the Report alludes, with the intention of subsequently deriving from it a scale of feet and inches.

'On referring to the Philosophical Transactions for 1785, it may be seen in "An Account of the Measurement of a Base on Hounslow Heath," that a brass scale, the property of General Roy (and now in the possession of Henry Browne, Esq. F. R. S.), was taken to the apartments of the Royal Society, and being there, with the assistance of Mr. Ramsden, compared with their standard (both having remained together two days previous to the comparison), the extent of 3 feet taken from the Society's standard, and applied to General Roy's scale, was found to reach exactly to 36 inches, at the temperature of 65°.

'It afterwards appears that points, at the distance of 40 inches from each other, were laid off on a large plank from General Roy's scale, the whole length being 20 feet; and by means of this plank the length of the glass-rods was determined, with which the base on Hounslow Heath was measured.

'In the Philosophical Transactions for 1795, it is stated, that Mr. Ramsden compared his brass-standard with that belonging to the Royal Society, after they had remained together about

24 hours, when "they were found to be precisely of the same length." Brass points were then inserted in the upper surface of a cast iron triangular bar of 21 feet in length, from Mr. Ramsden's standard, at the distance of 40 inches from each other, the whole length of 20 feet being laid off on those points in the temperature of 54°.

' By means of this bar, the length of the hundred-foot steel chain was determined with which the base on Hounslow Heath was re-measured, and was found to be only about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches greater than the measurement with the glass rods.

' The standard scale used by Mr. Ramsden in laying off the points on the iron bar, is, it seems, no longer to be found; but from the declared equality of both this and General Roy's standard with that of the Royal Society, and the near agreement of the two separate measurements of the base with the glass rods and with the steel chain, one might have been tempted to consider General Roy's scale as precisely similar to Mr. Ramsden's, and as offering the best source from which the national standard yard might be obtained.'

Having thus stated the object of his experiments, Captain Kater proceeds to a description and illustration of the means employed in performing them: but, as it would occupy too many of our pages to follow him in the entire detail, we must content ourselves with simply stating the results, which are exhibited in the following table:

Excess of the following Standards above Colonel Lambton's Standard.	On 36 inches.
Sir G. Shuckburgh's standard - - -	+ ,000642
Bird's standard of 1760, - - -	+ ,000659
General Roy's scale - - -	+ ,001537
Royal Society's standard - - -	+ ,002007
Ramsden's bar (used in the trigonometrical survey of Great Britain) - - }	+ ,003147

As the accurate comparison of different measured terrestrial axes depends on the standards which serve for the base of the several measurements, the author has re-computed the terrestrial compression, after having corrected or reduced the several standards to one. Colonel Lambton, from a comparison of certain axes measured by him in India with others in Europe, obtained these results:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{By the French} \quad \frac{1}{305,73} \quad \frac{1}{306,7} \quad \frac{1}{315,03} \quad \text{mean} \quad \frac{1}{309,15} \\
 \text{By the English} \quad \frac{1}{310,28} \quad \frac{1}{311,36} \quad \frac{1}{318,97} \quad \text{mean} \quad \frac{1}{313,54} \\
 \text{By the Swedish} \quad \frac{1}{305,14} \quad \frac{1}{305,72} \quad \frac{1}{310,79} \quad \text{mean} \quad \frac{1}{307,19}
 \end{array}$$

and the mean of the three means = $\frac{1}{309,96}$

The standards, however, being corrected agreeably to Captain Kater's comparison, the results become,

By the French $\frac{1}{304,64}$ $\frac{1}{305,55}$ $\frac{1}{313,77}$ mean $\frac{1}{307,99}$

By the English $\frac{1}{305,57}$ $\frac{1}{306,40}$ $\frac{1}{313,50}$ mean $\frac{1}{308,49}$

By the Swedish $\frac{1}{304,44}$ $\frac{1}{306,01}$ $\frac{1}{309,09}$ mean $\frac{1}{307,55}$

and the mean of the three means $= \frac{1}{307,55}$

An Account of a Micrometer made of Rock-Crystal. By G. Dolland, F. R. S. — Rock-crystal, in consequence of its double refracting property, has been applied in various ways to telescopes, in order to answer the purpose of a micrometer; and we are here informed of an improvement on the usual applications. It consists in making a sphere, or lens, from a piece of this material, and adapting it to a telescope in the place of the usual eye-glass.

‘ The advantages of thus applying the crystal are, in the first place, the very great saving of the time required to find the proper angle for cutting the crystal; also of cutting the prisms to their proper angles, and working their surfaces with sufficient accuracy to render them useful as micrometers, in the manner that is recommended by M. Arago, Dr. Wollaston, and others.

‘ Upon the plan which is now submitted, it is only necessary to select a piece of perfect crystal; and without any knowledge of the angle that will give the greatest double refraction, to form the sphere for a proper diameter for the focal length required.

‘ The second advantage is derived from being able to take the angle on each side of zero, without reversing the eye-tube; also of taking intermediate angles between zero and the greatest separation of the images, without exchanging any part of the eye-tube, it being only required to move the axis in which the sphere is placed.

‘ Thirdly, it possesses the property of an eye-tube or lens that is not intended for micrometrical measurements; for when the axis of the crystal is parallel to the axis of the object-glass of the telescope, only one image will be formed, and that will be as distinctly formed as with any lens that does not possess the double refracting property.

‘ The eye-tube is so constructed, that the plane through which the two images move can be placed parallel to the line in the object which is to be measured; and if this motion is furnished with a divided circle, it will correctly answer the purpose of a position-micrometer.

‘ The value of the scale is found from the known diameter of any distant object, and will vary in proportion to the magnifying powers of the eye-tube; its value increasing in proportion to the increase of those magnifying powers.’

The author next illustrates the mechanical part of the apparatus; in which, however, for want of the requisite diagrams, we are unable to follow him.

The Bakerian Lecture. On the best Kind of Steel and Form for a Compass-Needle. By Captain H. Kater, F.R.S., &c.—

The doctrine of magnetism has of late much engaged the attention of philosophers in all the countries of Europe. In England, the action of magnetized iron has been reduced to concise and general mathematical laws: in Denmark, the identity of the magnetic and galvanic fluids has been established in the most satisfactory manner; while, as we have seen in a preceding article, Sir H. Davy has effected the same purpose with a common electrical apparatus. M. Ampère, also, in Paris, has extended these experiments to a much greater length, and seems to have thrown considerable light on the first principles of terrestrial magnetism.

While these theoretical experiments have been going forwards, Captain Kater has with equal diligence been attending to the practical part of the subject, by ascertaining the best form and the best species of steel for compass-needles, the effect of polishing, the best method of magnetizing, &c. We can of course give only the general inferences. The following are drawn from the first series of experiments:

‘ That of the steel I employed, shear steel is the best kind for compass-needles.

‘ That the best form for a compass-needle is that of a pierced rhombus.

‘ That polish has no influence on the directive force.

‘ That hardening the needle throughout considerably diminishes its capacity for magnetism.

‘ That a needle soft in the middle, and its extremities hardened at a red heat, appears to be susceptible of the greatest directive force.

‘ That the directive force does not depend on the extent of surface, but on the mass.’

The directive power being here proportional to the mass appears, at first sight, at variance with the discovery of Mr. Barlow, that the power of iron bodies resides wholly on their surfaces. The author’s next object, therefore, was to repeat Mr. Barlow’s experiments; and for this purpose three cylinders were formed of soft iron, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and nearly of the same height: one of the cylinders being of sheet-iron less than the 20th of an inch in thickness; the second, of chest-plate, .185 inch thick; and the third was solid. The first weighed 2760, the second 9376, and the third 22929 grains. Having with these different cylinders observed the effect on a compass-needle, Captain K. found the two latter to give precisely the same results, agreeably to the statements made by Mr. Barlow in his “*Essay on Magnetic attractions*.”—The memoir concludes with this summary of the author’s principal deduct

‘ That the best material for compass-needles is *clock-spring* ; but care must be taken in forming the needle to expose it as seldom as possible to heat, otherwise its capability of receiving magnetism will be much diminished.

‘ That the best form for a compass-needle is the *pierced rhombus*, in the proportion of about five inches in length to two inches in width, this form being susceptible of the greatest directive force.

‘ That the best mode of tempering a compass-needle is, first to harden it at a red heat, and then to soften it from the middle to about an inch from each extremity, by exposing it to a heat sufficient to cause the blue colour which arises again to disappear.

‘ That in the same plate of steel of the size of a few square inches only, portions are found varying considerably in their capability of receiving magnetism, though not apparently differing in any other respect.

‘ That polishing the needle has no effect on its magnetism.

‘ That the best mode of communicating magnetism to a needle, appears to be by placing it in the magnetic meridian, joining the opposite poles of a pair of bar magnets (the magnets being in the same line), and laying the magnets so joined flat upon the needle with the poles upon its centre ; then having elevated the distant extremities of the magnets, so that they may form an angle of about two or three degrees with the needle, they are to be drawn from the centre of the needle to the extremities, carefully preserving the same inclination, and having joined the poles of the magnets at a distance from the needle, the operation is to be repeated ten or twelve times on each surface.

‘ That in needles from 5 to 8 inches in length, their weights being equal, the directive forces are nearly as the lengths.

‘ That the directive force does not depend upon extent of surface, but in needles of nearly the same length and form is as the mass.

‘ That the deviation of a compass-needle occasioned by the attraction of soft iron depends, as Mr. Barlow has advanced, on extent of surface, and is wholly independent of the mass, except a certain thickness of the iron, amounting to about two-tenths of an inch, which is requisite for the complete developement of its attractive energy.’

Notice respecting a Volcanic Appearance in the Moon. By Captain H. Kater, F.R.S. — Sir W. Herschel has recorded, in the Philosophical Transactions, an observation of three volcanoes which he perceived in the moon on the 19th of April, 1787 ; one of which, as he stated, shewed an actual eruption of fire ; and from the position which he assigned to it, there seems no doubt that it is the same which has now been observed by Captain Kater : its position corresponding with the spot called Aristarchus. It was first noticed by the present author, February 5. 1821, and continued visible during

ing the 6th and 7th. On the first evening, it had the appearance of a star of the sixth or seventh magnitude.

The usual Meteorological Journal closes this part of the volume.

ART. VIII. *The Pirate.* By the Author of "Waverley," "Kenilworth," &c. Crown 8vo. 3 Vols. 1l. 11s. 6d. Boards. Edinburgh, Constable and Co. London, Hurst and Co. 1822.

WITH something of the same feeling of wonder with which Macbeth beheld the interminable line of the phantom-kings, we greeted the appearance of the present volumes: —

"Why do you shew me this? a fourth! — start, eyes!
What! will the line stretch out to the crack of doom?
Another yet? a seventh? I'll see no more;
And yet the eighth appears, who bears a glass
Which shews me many more." —

If any other than an agreeable sentiment was mingled with our surprize at this fresh instance of the extraordinary fecundity of the author's genius, it was caused by a dread lest the perseverance which he displays in furnishing amusement for the public, and employment for the critics, should be the means of detracting from that high reputation which he has so deservedly acquired; and to deprive him of which nobody has the power but himself. Even a considerable time ago, we had occasion to notice the dangerous path which the gifted writer of the Scotch novels was treading; and the progress, which he has since made along it, has only served to convince us of the truth of the observations which we then ventured to suggest. He had even at that time obtained the fullness of universal applause, and a pecuniary remuneration which mocked at all former success; and from his future attempts we may almost say that he had less to hope than to lose. His popularity, which is perhaps unexampled in the annals of our literature, ought not to be allowed to desert him: but a review of the principles, on which that popularity is founded, may, perhaps, shew that such a desertion is not impossible.

It is very evident that with that faculty which is the soul of fiction, — the faculty of seizing on the great principles of human action, and so combining and disposing them as to produce, in the words of Lord Bacon, "a greater variety of things, a more perfect order, a more beautiful variety than can be any where found in nature," — the author of the Scotch

novels is most eminently endowed, To the existence of this power, two of the highest qualities of mind are requisite; viz. accurate and subtle observation, and an imagination of a lofty order. By the exertion of the former, the mind becomes master of the various springs of human action: but, without the assistance of the latter to put those springs in motion, to direct and to control them, the most acute powers of observation would fail in producing the “unexpected turns and changes” in which the interest of all fictitious narratives must principally consist. The existence of these separate powers in the mind of one individual pre-supposes the possession of the most opposite qualities. The great philosopher, whom we have just quoted, has divided human genius into two classes; — “men of distinct heads, cool imaginations, and keen application, who easily comprehend the differences of things;” — and “men of warm fancies, elevated thought, and wide knowledge, who instantly perceive the resemblance of things.” The first class are men of observation, the second of imagination; and, as both those qualities are required to be united to produce a work of fiction of superlative excellence, it is not surprizing that such productions are so rarely seen. Every reader must perceive that the great defects in all fictitious narratives arise from the absence of one or both of these powers: — we are either struck with the want of nature and truth in the characters, or shocked by the inconsistency or impossibility of the incidents or the situation of the parties. In casting our eyes over a volume of the circulating trash of the day, we immediately feel that the characters are not true to the common principles of human action, and that the part which they are made to play is not even in conformity with the characters themselves. It is scarcely possible that we can have any interest in the proceedings of such personages; or, if we have, it is a certain proof that we resemble the author in the absence of those qualifications which ought to be his essential requisites. The happy *union* of these powers, however, enriched by learning and aided by industry, presents that rare instance of successful genius which the author of “Waverley” has displayed; and the public, ever ready to recognize and reward real merit, has acknowledged his claim to that high distinction. His characters have become fixed in our memories, and “familiar in our mouths;” he has been the delight of the young and the amusement of the old, the idol of our drawing-rooms and the favourite of many a happy fire-side: while the multiplied streams of his works have been to himself, and to others, as rich a source of profit as the periodical inundations of the Nile to the parched and wasted plains

plains of Egypt. Let us now inquire whether he may not be over-rating his own powers, great and unexampled as they are, in pouring forth his fictions with such "passionate prodigality."

We observed in our remarks on one of the former of these novels, that some of the author's most encomiastic admirers had ventured to compare him with Shakspeare; and we shall now advert to one great point of dissimilarity, on which we chiefly rest our doubts as to the prudence of this writer in making so frequent an appearance before the public. In the stupendous imaginative powers which have gained for our master-dramatist the dominion over all hearts, this modern novelist is evidently and palpably his inferior. Even granting that, in accurate and profound observation, the two are equally great, yet, in the power of distributing, combining, and mingling the passions, and in producing the endless changes of character which result from the operation of such a power, the immense distance at which these authors stand must be immediately acknowledged. So capacious and copious was the imagination of Shakspeare, and so endless in its variety, that scarcely ever, in the innumerable persons of his dramas, are we displeased or fatigued with the repetition of the same character: but every one is a class of itself, and even his most subordinate persons have all an individual existence, which prevents them from being confounded with their fellows. In the works of the Scotch novelist, on the contrary, it has long been obvious that, although he reproduces his *actores fabulæ* with all the beauty which distinguished their first creation, and places them amid new circumstances and in new regions, he fails to endow them with ~~that~~ air of originality which distinguishes Bottom the weaver from Starveling the tailor, and preserves so perceptible a barrier between Dogberry and Verges, those "two foolish officers," though simplicity and ignorance be common to them all. In recalling the heroes of Shakspeare's dramas, it would be impossible to draw a parallel between any two of them: but, in looking back on the heroes of the present author's novels, where shall we find any essential points in which they differ from one another? Let the reader catalogue their names, from Edward Waverley down to Mordaunt Mertoun, and then, if he can, point out the distinctive peculiarity which separates any one of them from the rest of his compeers. It is here that the comparative poverty of the author's imagination is most observable. We have no Hamlets and Romeos. The qualifications of his heroes are youth, strength, bravery, and a buoyant spirit; and their chief merit is that they have

learned to love. If such be the case with the heroes, few of his readers can have failed to remark how frequently this sameness extends to his other personages. That he possesses a rich imagination, no man can for a moment doubt, and the veins of valuable metal which it contains are apparently exhaustless: but he should bear it in mind that the estimation of this shining ore may decrease in proportion to the quantity which he brings to market; and that the public taste, which is not easily satisfied without variety, will in such case undoubtedly look for "metal more attractive."

It is certainly true that, in the works of almost every writer of fiction, a considerable resemblance both in characters and incidents may be traced. In the antient comedy, indeed, this repetition does not seem to have been considered as objectionable. A youthful lover and his mistress, a kind or a severe father, a crafty slave, and an insidious parasite, furnish nearly the whole of the *dramatis personæ* in the comedies of Terence; while an equal similarity is observed in the action and catastrophe of those dramas. The same remark may be applied to many of our modern novelists. In what do Tom Jones and Joseph Andrews differ, so much as in name and situation, — Joseph, however, being the more virtuous man; and would not the conduct of Clarissa Harlowe and Harriett Byron have displayed the same perfect propriety, if they had exchanged fortunes? In some instances, indeed, when the character has become a favourite with the public, or with the author, we have seen it introduced again in its original shape, and even with its original appellation; — it is scarcely necessary for us to cite the Falstaff of "Henry the Fourth" and the Falstaff of "The Merry Wives of Windsor." In the same manner, Miss Edgeworth has occasionally indulged herself in bringing forwards in her later works some of the characters of her earlier stories; and it is impossible not to perceive that the Rosamond of "Patronage," lively, frank-hearted, and full of sensibility, is the same Rosamond who has delighted and instructed so many young hearts in "Early Lessons." The admirers of Miss Edgeworth will also recognize in the accomplished soldier, Colonel Hungerford, the wooer of one of the Lady Pembrokes in "Patronage;" the very same individual with whom they were acquainted in the "Popular Tales" under the name of "Little Gustavus."

Perhaps, therefore, it would not be quite fair to object altogether to the re-appearance of this author's *dramatis personæ*, under their various *alias's*: but we demur to the extension of the privilege, when they become more than *bis recocæ*. No novelist can be mentioned who has incurred
this

this imputation to the degree to which the author of Waverley has risked it, because no one has tempted his fate with the same perseverance and industry:—even the voluminous Richardson produced only three novels; merely a fourth part of the number which the Scotch novelist has already published. It will be well, however, to illustrate our remarks by a reference to his works; which, by refreshing the memory of the reader, will enable him to perceive that our statements are not without foundation.

We have already mentioned that the heroes of the Waverley family bear most perceptibly the stamp of their origin; and we think that a resemblance almost as close may be traced between the various heroines. Were we inclined to indulge in the doctrine of the metempsychosis, we should say, that the souls of Flora MacIvor and Rose Bradwardine were in the present instance revived in Minna and Brenda Troil; and in the same class with the former may be reckoned the Rebecca of “Ivanhoe,” perhaps the most eminently beautiful of all this artist’s female portraits. Of many of his heroines, the mind retains but very slight impressions: though we must except from this observation the simple and true-hearted Jeanie Deans, and the vivacious and bold-spirited Diana Vernon, — the aversion of every lady-reader; and indeed we must say that not in name merely, but in character, she bears a great resemblance to no very winning personage, the Lady Di Sweepstakes of one of Miss Edgeworth’s little tales. In no other instance, however, are the extended boundaries of the author’s powers more visible than when, calling to his aid the mysterious superstitions and legends of his native land, he embodies them in his own creations, and gives birth to those wild beings which seem to partake in some degree of the existence of another world. His most successful effort in this high branch of painting is perhaps the picture of Elspeth in “The Antiquary;” who, tottering on the confines of the regions of life and death, seems equally to belong to both worlds. There are few of his novels in which some character of this class may not be found, in the shape of wizard or witch, or fairy or idiot. The effect produced by this kind of character, which is not pleasing in itself, and in some degree attacks both the understanding and the courage of the reader, must necessarily suffer in a continued repetition; and we confess that ‘Norna of the Fitful-head,’ who plays such a distinguished part in the present volumes, and whose half-insanity induces in her own mind and among the simple Zetlanders a belief that she possesses supernatural powers, affected us with a feeling very nearly

also

akin to that of fatigue. The honest Magnus Troil, the first Udaller or landed proprietor of Zetland, has been likened to our old friend the Baron of Bradwardine; though much inferior to him in *his humanities*, and altogether devoid of his polished Latinity. In the Udaller's butler, Eric Scambester, we most certainly recognize the spirit which formerly animated the frame of Saunders Saunderson, *alias* Alexander ab Alexandro; and which was afterward a transient guest in the body of Caleb Balderstone. When Eric Scambester produces the enormous punch-bowl at the Zetland feast, who can fail to call to mind the venerable Saunders bearing in his hands the blessed bear of Bradwardine. 'The Pirate' himself appears to be a younger and more cultivated Dirk Hatteraick. Perhaps the most novel persons in the present volumes are Mr. Triptolemus Yellowley and his sister Miss Baby, and the poetical musician Claude Halcro; the tediousness of all of whom is so naturally described, that it produces no inconsiderable degree of fatigue in the reader. As we shall very shortly give the principal characters in the author's own words, we shall now make a few observations on the fable of this tale.

None of the former novels of this author have been so much imbued with love as the present, where the fate of all the parties is governed and directed by that passion. Even the fortunes of the elders of the tale are represented as having been fashioned by it; and Norna and Basil Mertoun, and the stout Udaller himself, are all devoted servants of Cupid. Of many of the other Scotch novels, the chief interest depended on the shock of arms, or the contentions of rival parties: but in 'the Pirate' all the leading incidents arise out of the tender passion. In Minna Troil, the author has painted that deep and pure attachment, though ill bestowed, which threw such a charm around the character of Rebecca; and in Brenda he has described the warm and endearing affection, which captivated us so much in Rose Bradwardine.

The scene of this tale is laid so far to the north as Zetland; and thus the author seems to be repenting of his occasional southern excursions, by penetrating still more to "the Lord knows where." If he continues to travel northward with his usual celerity, perhaps we shall have tidings from the North-pole long before we receive Captain Parry's despatches. We think, however, that much prudence is manifested in returning to these bleak and gloomy regions from the tranquil plains of England, since the author's powers of description, which are of the most energetic and vivid kind, are never displayed to so much advantage as in painting all the sublimer features
of

Of natural scenery, the mountains and the cataracts of his native land, or the ocean with its perilous rocks and destructive tempests. His local knowledge, also, and his intimate acquaintance with the manners of the people, all point to the north as the true theatre of his genius. Scotland he had repeatedly traversed, and had extended his dominion alike over the Highland and the Lowland territory: but now, among the Zetlanders, he has fortunately discovered a race of people who possessed the valuable faculty of talking Scotch, though exhibiting other manners and imbued with other superstitions. In addition, he has availed himself of some of those rich stores of northern literature which are but partially known to the English reader; and he has displayed in every part of his tale that singularly minute and accurate antiquarian knowledge, which has given an air of nature to all his productions. In the *Prolegomena* to his other novels, he has generally favoured us with some light and humorous remarks: but in the advertisement to 'The Pirate' he simply relates an anecdote on which he informs us that the novel is founded, but to which in fact it bears only a slight resemblance. We think that he has managed the thread of his narrative with more art than he usually displays: but, as we do not mean to anticipate the curiosity of such of our readers as have not yet perused these volumes, we shall not give an analysis of the story, and shall rather prefer to extract a few passages which contain the liveliest descriptions both of character and scenery; with such explanations of our own as may serve to elucidate the quotations.

The following portraits of Minna and Brenda Troil are beautifully and delicately touched:

' From her mother, Minna inherited the stately form and dark eyes, the raven locks and finely-pencilled brows, which shewed she was, on one side at least, a stranger to the blood of Thule. Her cheek,

' O call it fair, not pale,

was so slightly and delicately tinged with the rose, that many thought the lily had an undue proportion in her complexion. But in that predominance of the paler flower, there was nothing sickly or languid; it was the true natural complexion of health; and corresponded in a peculiar degree with features which seemed calculated to express a contemplative and high-minded character. When Minna Troil heard a tale of woe or of injustice, it was then her blood rushed to her cheeks, and shewed plainly how warm it beat, notwithstanding the generally serious, composed, and retiring disposition, which her countenance and demeanour seemed to exhibit. If strangers sometimes conceived that these fine features were clouded by melancholy; for which her age and situation could scarce have given occasion, they were soon satisfied,

fied, upon further acquaintance, that the placid, mild quietude of her disposition, and the mental energy of a character which was but little interested in ordinary and trivial occurrences, was the real cause of her gravity; and most men, when they knew that her melancholy had no ground in real sorrow, and was only the aspiration of a soul bent on more important objects than those by which she was surrounded, might have wished her whatever could add to her happiness, but could scarce have desired that, graceful as she was in her natural and unaffected seriousness, she should change that deportment for one more gay. In short, notwithstanding our wish to have avoided that hackneyed simile of an angel, we cannot avoid saying there was something in the serious beauty of her aspect, in the measured, yet graceful ease of her motions, in the music of her voice, and the serene purity of her eye, that seemed as if Minna Troil belonged naturally to some higher and better sphere, and was only the chance visitant of a world that was scarce worthy of her.

‘ The scarce less beautiful, equally lovely, and equally innocent Brenda, was of a complexion as differing from her sister, as they differed in character, taste and expression. Her profuse locks were of that paly brown which receives from the passing sun-beam a tinge of gold, but darkens again when the ray has passed from it. Her eye, her mouth, the beautiful row of teeth, which in her innocent vivacity were frequently disclosed; the fresh, yet not too bright glow of a healthy complexion, tinging a skin like the drifted snow, spoke her genuine Scandinavian descent. A fairy form, less tall than that of Minna, but even more finely moulded into symmetry — a careless, and almost childish lightness of step — an eye that seemed to look on every object with pleasure, from a natural and serene cheerfulness of disposition, attracted even more general admiration than the charms of her sister, though perhaps that which Minna did excite might be of a more intense as well as a more reverential character.

‘ The dispositions of these lovely sisters were not less different than their complexions. In the kindly affections, neither could be said to excel the other, so much were they attached to their father and to each other. But the cheerfulness of Brenda mixed itself with the every-day business of life, and seemed inexhaustible in its profusion. The less buoyant spirit of her sister appeared to bring to society a contented wish to be interested and pleased with what was going forward, but was rather placidly carried along with the stream of mirth and pleasure, than disposed to aid its progress by any efforts of her own. She endured mirth, rather than enjoyed it; and the pleasures in which she most delighted were those of a graver and more solitary cast. The knowledge which is derived from books was beyond her reach. Zetland afforded few opportunities, in those days, of studying the lessons bequeathed

‘ By dead men to their kind ;

and Magnus Troil, such as we have described him, was not a person within whose mansion the means of such knowledge was to be acquired,

acquired. But the book of nature was before Minna, that noblest of volumes, where we are ever called to wonder and to admire, even when we cannot understand. The plants of those wild regions, the shells on the shores, and the long list of feathered clans which haunt their cliffs and eyries, were as well known to Minna Troil as to the most experienced of the fowlers. Her powers of observation were wonderful, and little interrupted by other tones of feeling. The information which she acquired by habits of patient attention were indelibly riveted in a naturally powerful memory. She had also a high feeling for the solitary and melancholy grandeur of the scenes in which she was placed. The ocean, in all its varied forms of sublimity and terror, the tremendous cliffs that resound to the ceaseless roar of the billows, and the clang of the sea-fowl, had for Minna a charm in almost every state in which the changing seasons exhibited them. With the enthusiastic feelings proper to the romantic race from which her mother descended, the love of natural objects was to her a passion capable of not only occupying, but at times of agitating her mind. Scenes upon which her sister looked with a sense of transient awe or emotion, which vanished on her return from witnessing them, continued long to fill Minna's imagination, not only in solitude, and in the silence of the night, but in the hours of society. So that sometimes when she sat like a beautiful statue, a present member of the domestic circle, her thoughts were far absent, wandering on the wild sea-shore, and amongst the yet wilder mountains of her native isles. And yet, when recalled to conversation, and mingling in it with interest, there were few to whom her friends were more indebted for enhancing its enjoyments; and, although something in her manners claimed deference (notwithstanding her early youth) as well as affection, even her gay, lovely, and amiable sister was not more generally beloved than the more retired and pensive Minna.'

The subsequent bold and impressive sketch of Norna of the Fitful-head, who throughout the whole of 'the Pirate's' career directs the storm, and influences the fortunes of the various characters, will at once remind the reader of Meg Merrilies, that more original effort of the author's genius.

'The woman who pronounced this singular tirade was as striking in appearance as extravagantly lofty in her pretensions and in her language. She might well have represented on the stage, so far as features, voice, and stature were concerned, the Bonduca or Boadicea of the Britons, or the sage Velleda, Aurinia, or any other fated Pythoness, who ever led to battle a tribe of the ancient Goths. Her features were high and well formed, and would have been handsome but for the ravages of time, and the effects of exposure to the severe weather of her country. Age, and perhaps sorrow, had quenched, in some degree, the fire of a dark blue eye, whose hue almost approached to black, and had sprinkled snow on such part of her tresses as had escaped from under her cap,
and

and were dishevelled by the rigour of the storm. Her upper garment, which dropped with water, was of a coarse dark-coloured stuff, called Wadmaral, then much used in the Zetland islands, as also in Iceland and Norway. But as she threw this cloak back from her shoulders, a short jacket of dark-blue velvet, stamped with figures, became visible, and the vest, which corresponded to it, was of crimson colour, and embroidered with tarnished silver. Her girdle was plaited with silver ornaments, cut into the shape of planetary signs — her blue apron was embroidered with similar devices, and covered a petticoat of crimson cloth. Strong thick enduring shoes, of the half-dressed leather of the country, were tied with straps like those of the Roman buskins, over her scarlet stockings. She wore in her belt an ambiguous looking weapon, which might pass for a sacrificing knife or dagger, as the imagination of the spectator chose to assign to the wearer the character of a priestess or of a sorceress. In her hand she held a staff, squared on all sides, and engraved with Runic characters and figures, forming one of those portable and perpetual calendars which were used among the ancient natives of Scandinavia, and which to a superstitious eye might have passed for a divining rod.

Such were the appearance, features, and attire of Norna of the Fitful-head, upon whom many of the inhabitants of the island looked with observance, many with fear, and almost all with a sort of veneration. Less pregnant circumstances of suspicion would, in any other part of Scotland, have exposed her to the investigation of those cruel inquisitors, who were then often invested with the delegated authority of the privy-council, for the purpose of persecuting, torturing, and finally consigning to the flames, those who were accused of witchcraft or sorcery. But superstitions of this nature pass through two stages ere they become entirely obsolete. Those supposed to be possessed of supernatural powers are venerated in the earlier stages of society. As religion and knowledge increase, they are first held in hatred and horror, and are finally regarded as impostors. Scotland was in the second state — the fear of witchcraft was great, and the hatred against those suspected of it intense. Zetland was as yet a little world by itself, where, among the lower and ruder classes, so much of the ancient northern superstition remained, as cherished the original veneration for those affecting supernatural knowledge and power over the elements, which made a constituent part of the ancient Scandinavian creed. At least if the natives of Thule admitted that one class of magicians performed their feats by their alliance with Satan, they devoutly believed that others dealt with spirits of a different and less odious class — the ancient dwarfs, called, in Zetland, Trows or Drows, the modern fairies, and so forth.

Among those who were supposed to be in league with disembodied spirits, this Norna, descended from, and representative of a family which had long pretended to such gifts, was so eminent, that the name assigned to her, which signifies one of those fatal sisters who weave the web of human fate, had been conferred in honour of her supernatural powers. The name by which she had
be

been actually christened was carefully concealed by herself and her parents; for to the discovery they superstitiously annexed some fatal consequences. In these times, the doubt only occurred whether her supposed powers were acquired by lawful means. In our days, it would have been questioned whether she was an impostor, or whether her imagination was so deeply impressed with the mysteries of her supposed art, that she might be in some degree a believer in her own pretensions to supernatural knowledge. Certain it is, that she performed her part with such undoubting confidence, and such striking dignity of look and action, and evinced, at the same time, such strength of language, and such energy of purpose, that it would have been difficult for the greatest sceptic to have doubted the reality of her enthusiasm, though he might smile at the pretensions to which it gave rise.'

We must now give a specimen of the author's powers of scenic description; and nothing in 'the Pirate' is finer than the picture of the antient church of Saint Ninian's, with the wild landscape around it.

'The ruinous church of Saint Ninian's had, in its time, enjoyed great celebrity; for that mighty system of superstition, which spread its roots over all Europe, had not failed to extend them even to this remote archipelago, and Zetland had, in the Catholic times, her saints, her shrines, and her reliques, which, though little known elsewhere, attracted the homage and commanded the observance of the simple inhabitants of Thule. Their devotion to this church of Saint Ninian, or, as he was provincially termed, Saint Ringan, situated, as the edifice was, close to the sea-beach, and serving, in many points, as a landmark to their boats, was particularly obstinate, and was connected with so much superstitious ceremonial and credulity, that the reformed clergy thought it best, by an order of the church courts, to prohibit all spiritual service within its walls, as tending to foster the rooted faith of the simple and rude people around in saint-worship, and other erroneous doctrines of the Romish church.

'After the church of Saint Ninian's had been thus denounced as a seat of idolatry, and desecrated of course, the public worship was transferred to another church; and the roof, with its lead and its rafters, having been stripped from the little rude old Gothic building, it was left in the wilderness to the mercy of the elements. The fury of the uncontrouled winds, which howled along an exposed space of shifting sands, (for the soil resembled that which we have described at Jarlshoff,) very soon choked up nave and aisle; and on the north-west side, which was chiefly exposed to the wind, hid the outside walls more than half way upwards with mounds of drifted sand, over which the gable-ends of the building, with the little belfrey, which was built above its nave, arose in ragged and shattered nakedness of ruin.

'Yet, deserted as it was, the kirk of Saint Ringan's still retained some semblance of the ancient homage formerly rendered there. The rude and ignorant fishermen of Dunrossness observed
a prac-

a practice, of which they themselves had well nigh forgot the origin, and from which the Protestant clergy in vain endeavoured to deter them. — When their boats were in extreme peril, it was common amongst them to propose to vow an *awmous*, as they termed it, that is, an alms, to Saint Ringan; and when the danger was over, they never failed to absolve themselves of their vow, by coming singly and secretly to the old church, and putting off their shoes and stockings at the entrance of the church-yard, walking thrice around the ruins, observing that they did so in the course of the sun. When the circuit was accomplished for the third time, the votary dropped his offering, usually a small silver coin, through the mullions of a lanceolated window, which opened into a side isle, and then retired, avoiding carefully to look behind him till he was beyond the precincts which had once been hallowed ground; for it was believed that the skeleton of the saint received the offering in his bony hand, and shewed his ghastly death's head at the window into which it was thrown.

‘ Indeed, the scene was rendered more appalling to weak and ignorant minds, because the same stormy and eddying winds which, on the one side of the church, threatened to bury the ruins with sand, and had, in fact, heaped it up in huge quantities, so as almost to hide the side-wall with its buttresses, seemed bent on uncovering the graves of those who had been laid to their long rest on the south-eastern quarter; and, after an unusually hard gale, the coffins, and sometimes the very corpses, of those who had been interred without the usual cearments, were discovered, in a ghastly manner, to the eyes of the living.

‘ It was to this desolated place of worship that the elder Mertoun now proceeded, though without any of those religious or superstitious purposes with which the church of Saint Ringan's was usually approached. He was totally without the superstitious fears of the country, — nay, from the sequestered and sullen manner in which he lived, withdrawing himself from human society, even when assembled for worship, it was currently believed that he erred on the more fatal side, and believed rather too little than too much of that which the church receives.

‘ As he entered the little bay on the shore, and almost on the beach of which the ruins are situated, he could not help pausing for an instant, and becoming sensible that the scene, as calculated to operate on human feelings, had been selected with much judgment as the scite of a religious house. — In front lay the sea, into which two head-lands, which formed the extremities of the bay, projected their gigantic causeways of dark and sable rocks, on the ledges of which the gulls, scouries, and other sea-fowl, appeared like flakes of snow; while, upon the lower ranges of the cliff, stood whole lines of cormorants, drawn up alongside of each other, like soldiers in their battle-array, and other living thing was there none to see. The sea, although not in a tempestuous state, was disturbed enough to rush on these capes with a sound like distant thunder, and the billows, which rose in sheets of foam half way up these sable rocks, formed a contrast of colouring equally striking and awful.

‘ Betwixt

‘ Betwixt the extremities, or capes, of these projecting head-lands, there rolled, on the day when Mertoun visited the scene, a deep and dense aggregation of clouds, through which no human eye could penetrate, and which, bounding the vision, and excluding all view of the distant ocean, rendered it no unapt representation of the sea in the Vision of Mirza, whose extent was concealed by vapours and clouds and storms. The ground, rising steeply from the sea-beach, permitted no view into the interior of the country, and seemed a scene of irretrievable barrenness, where scrubby and stunted heath, intermixed with the long bent, or coarse grass, which first covers sandy soils, were the only vegetables that could be seen. Upon a natural elevation, which rose above the beach in the very bottom of the bay, and receded a little from the sea, so as to be without reach of the waves, arose the half-buried ruin which we have already described, surrounded by a wasted, half-ruinous, and mouldering wall, which, breached in several places, served still to divide the precincts of the cemetery. The mariners, who were driven by accident into this solitary bay, pretended that the church was occasionally observed to be full of lights, and, from that circumstance, were used to prophesy shipwrecks and deaths by sea.’ *

Of the poetry in these volumes, much needs not be said, for they contain none of supereminent merit. Most of the pieces are imitations of the old Scandinavian poetry, with the style of which Mr. Herbert has enabled the English public

* How fond the author is of representing the effects of superstition on strong minds is visible in the character of Minna Troil; and he has probably, at some time of his life, been sensible of its power over his own feelings and reason. The following passage from the life of Dryden by Walter Scott, Esq. contains the secret germ of many of his finest creations.

“ Those superstitions, sciences, and pursuits, which would by mystic rites, doctrines, and inferences, connect us with the invisible world of spirits, or guide our daring researches to a knowledge of future events, are indeed usually found to cow, crush, and utterly stupify understandings of a lower rank; but if the mind of a man of acute powers, and warm fancy, becomes slightly imbued with the visionary feelings excited by such studies, their obscure and undefined influence is even found to aid the sublimity of his ideas, and to give that sombre and serious effect which he can never produce, who does not himself feel the awe which it is his object to excite. The influence of such a mystic creed is often felt where the cause is concealed; for the habits thus acquired are not confined to their own sphere of belief, but gradually extend themselves over every adjacent province; and perhaps we may not go too far in believing, that he who has felt their impression, though only in one branch of faith becomes fitted to describe, with an air of reality and interest, not only kindred subjects but superstitions altogether opposite to his own.”

P. 506.

to make some acquaintance, through his "Select Icelandic Poetry."

We give Norna's 'Song of the Reim-kennar' as a fair specimen, which the author informs us is 'a free translation.'

' " Stern eagle of the far north-west,
Thou that bearest in thy grasp the thunderbolt,
Thou whose rushing pinions stir ocean to madness,
Thou the destroyer of herds, thou the scatterer of navies,
Amidst the scream of thy rage,
Amidst the rushing of thy onward wings,
Though thy scream be loud as the cry of a perishing nation,
Though the rushing of thy wings be like the roar of ten thousand waves,
Yet hear, in thine ire and thy haste,
Hear thou the voice of the Reim-kennar.

' " Thou hast met the pine-trees of Drontheim,
Their dark-green heads lie prostrate beside their uprooted stems ;
Thou hast met the rider of the ocean,
The tall, the strong bark of the fearless rover,
And she has struck to thee the topsail
That she had not veil'd to a royal armada ;
Thou hast met the tower that bears its crest among the clouds,
The battled massive tower of the Jarl of former days,
And the cope-stone of the turret
Is lying upon its hospitable hearth ;
But thou too shalt stoop, proud compeller of clouds,
When thou hearest the voice of the Reim-kennar.

' " There are verses that can stop the stag in the forest,
Ay, and when the dark-coloured dog is opening on his track ;
There are verses can make the wild hawk pause on the wing,
Like the falcon that wears the hood and the jesses,
And who knows the shrill whistle of the fowler ;
Thou who canst mock at the scream of the drowning mariner,
And the crash of the ravaged forest,
And the groan of the overwhelmed crowds,
When the church hath fallen in the moment of prayer,
There are sounds which thou also must list,
When they are chaunted by the voice of the Reim-kennar.

' " Enough of woe hast thou wrought on the ocean,
The widows wring their hands on the beach ;
Enough of woe hast thou wrought on the land,
The husbandman folds his arms in despair :
Cease thou the waving of thy pinions,
Let the ocean repose in her dark strength ;
Cease thou the flashing of thine eye,
Let the thunderbolt sleep in the armoury of Odin ;
Be thou still at my bidding, viewless racer of the north-western heaven,
Sleep thou at the voice of Norna the Reim-kennar."

A few songs occur, in a different style, from which we select these light and beautiful verses :

‘ “ Love wakes and weeps
While Beauty sleeps !
O for Music's softest numbers,
To prompt a theme,
For Beauty's dream,
Soft as the pillow of her slumbers.
“ Through groves of palm
Sigh gales of balm,
Fire-flies on the air are wheeling ;
While through the gloom
Comes soft perfume,
The distant beds of flowers revealing.
“ O wake and live,
No dream can give
A shadow'd bliss, the real excelling ;
No longer sleep,
From lattice peep,
And list the tale that Love is telling.” ’

We have remarked several instances of the same carelessness of style, and deviation from grammar, (such as ‘scarce’ for scarcely, *passim*,) which are observable in all the works of this author, and which serve very strongly to point him out. A few palpable Scotisms may also be noticed, which proceed from the writer's own mouth. We may mention the instance at p. 50. vol. iii., “ the Udaller repeated his enquiries *at* Halcro, and more particularly *at* the factor :’ — but, when we remember the many high and singular beauties of these productions, blemishes like these

—— “ pass by us like the summer-wind
Which we regard not.”

ART. IX. *Sardanapalus*, a Tragedy. *The Two Foscari*, a Tragedy. *Cain*, a Mystery. By Lord Byron. 8vo. pp. 439. 15s. Boards. Murray. 1821.

THE *unities* of *action*, *time*, and *place*, in dramatic writing, and of *action* principally in the composition of epic poetry, have been the subject of discussion, and of *legislation*, from the days of Aristotle to those of Dacier and Bossu : but in modern times they have not with us been generally observed in the drama, though among our Gallic neighbours their greatest authors have obeyed them, and they are at this time prevalent on the scenic boards. Our immortal Shakspeare has been notoriously regardless of the laws of time and place :

yet who that witnesses the charms of his plays when well performed, or that has feelings to be touched or taste to be delighted with the perusal of them, can coldly examine into these points of probability or verisimilitude? Against such restrictive laws, indeed, we have the powerful judgment of our great critic on our great bard: who, in the preface to his edition of Shakspeare, declares that a full examination of them will shew that, as they respect *time* and *place*, they do not deserve the veneration which has been allotted to them, and that they cramp the exertions of the poet more than they gratify the judgment of the reader or the spectator. They may, he says, occasionally conduce to our satisfaction, but are not requisite to the formation of a just drama, and should always be disregarded in favour of the higher beauties of variety and instruction; beauties which, we need scarcely add, are obtained by copying nature in her diversified forms, and presenting numerous lessons in the exhibition of “many-coloured life,” in all countries and ages.

In the face of this judgment of Dr. Johnson, “not dogmatically but deliberately written,” Lord Byron avows his predilection for the unities, and composes dramas with the observance of them; and in spite of his late *failure*, as we may call it, in the play of Faliero, Doge of Venice, he is again a candidate for the favours of Melpomene, even in again choosing a doge of Venice for his hero. That he will gain new proselytes to the restrictive powers may be questioned, even if his own success under their bondage be admitted: but that his boldness in renewing his courtship of the tragic muse has been rewarded by her inspirations, we think few who read the plays before us will doubt. We are indeed disposed to assert that, as compositions, they will not only add materially to his fame with those who have long been accustomed to delight in him, but will attract from those, who have hitherto bestowed on him only measured approbation, a much higher testimony to the vigour of his dialogue and the fertility of his imagination. On other points, to which we shall yet have to allude, a different judgment must be delivered.

We shall now direct our observations to the tragedy which stands foremost in order.

The history of the last Assyrian monarch is not free from doubt and obscurity; and it has even been supposed that there were two kings who, bearing the name of Sardanapalus, have been confounded together: he who has been rendered notorious by effeminacy, voluptuousness, and crime, being succeeded by another who bravely but unsuccessfully defended his throne from the attack of Arbaces the Mede, and in the
hour

hour of defeat made a frightfully noble funereal pile of his palace, his archives, his treasures, his concubines, and himself. This hypothesis was countenanced by the able authors of "The Universal History:" but it does not appear that it can be well supported; and the plea of probability on which it is founded, or rather the asserted *improbability* that the effeminate voluptuary could be the determined warrior when danger impelled him, and the desperate self-immolator when hope deserted him, seems by no means strong enough to maintain the supposition. Diodorus Siculus is the writer who most amply relates this portion of history, and he says nothing to excite the conjecture; nor does either Herodotus or Arrian, who indeed speak but partially and incidentally of Sardanapalus.* Lord Byron professes to follow the account of Diodorus; 'reducing it, however,' he says, 'to such dramatic regularity as I best could, and trying to approach the unities. I therefore suppose the rebellion to explode and succeed in one day by a sudden conspiracy, instead of the long war of the history.' Unity of *time* is thus preserved; as is that of *place*, by the scene being confined to the palace of Nineveh throughout the play; and the *action* is equally single, with regard to the plot. — In some other respects, however, Lord Byron has deviated from the historian: he has introduced the Queen of Sardanapalus, and 'her wrongs,' whom Diodorus mentions only when he states that the King gave the command of his camp to Salamenes "his wife's brother†;" he has also drawn a much less unfavourable portrait of his hero altogether, and has wholly excluded (with moral propriety, no doubt,) any exhibition of his grosser vices: while, in the catastrophe, his Lordship's good taste and judgment have led him to avoid the shock of contemplating the sacrifice of many victims, and to concentrate the interest and effect by presenting only the immolation of the monarch and his favourite concubine, who will not quit him. Indeed, true to the feeling of humanity here so pervadingly attributed to him, he

* Arrian, however, records the story (metaphorically expressed, no doubt,) of the building of the two cities Anchialus and Tarsus by Sardanapalus in one day, and gives the verses composed by the monarch on the occasion, which Lord Byron puts into the mouth of Salamenes in his taunting speech to the King, p. 20.

Σαρδανάπολος, ὁ Ἀνακυνδαράξου παῖς, Ἀγχίαλον καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ εἰδείματο. Σὺ δὲ ὦ ξενε, ἔσθιε, καὶ πῖνε, καὶ παῖζε, ὥς τ' ἄλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ὄντα τοῦτου ἄξια. (Arrian, book ii.)

† The historian states that the King sent his *children* for safety to Paphlagonia, but says nothing of their *mother*.

provides for the safety of *all the inmates* of the palace, when he finds that his own doom is sealed.

Lord Byron does not call this play an *historical* tragedy, (which epithet he has affixed to 'The Two Foscari,') probably on account of the deviations from record which he is aware of having committed; and perhaps, therefore, he will object to any remarks on it which are founded on its infidelity to history. Yet we cannot refrain from observing that, as he does not seem warranted by fact, we do not perceive why it was desirable to give so many amiable traits to the character of Sardanapalus, whom he still places before us as a thorough voluptuary; and whom Diodorus, (his authority,) and Athenæus, and Justin, and still more Dio Cocceianus, have represented in the most odious colours, which have not been softened into a paler hue by any portion of the concurrent streams of history. We will not quote the broad description of Diodorus, but may refer the learned reader to book ii. 78. (Wesseling, vol. i. p. 136. folio edit. 1746.) — How does the great Roman satirist also speak of him?

—— “ *et potiores*

Herculis ærumnas credat, sævosque labores,

Et Venere, et coenis, et plumis Sardanapali.”

Juv. Sat. x. 363.

Since thus it is, however, that his Lordship will not paint his hero as a monster, “*nullâ virtute redemptum à vitiis*,” we must now view him as we here find him: endued with unyielding bravery, with a gay and heroic confidence in those around him which is very winning, and with a spirit of universal humanity and benevolence which must be pleasing alike to the sensitive and the reflecting mind. It must be allowed also that these traits are skilfully adapted to their owner, and flow with ease into his prevailing temperament.

The play opens with a soliloquy from Prince Salamenes *, characterizing the monarch, and intimating his danger from rebellion: in the course of which Sardanapalus enters, with his favourite Ionian Myrrha and train, ordering a banquet for the evening. A most spirited dialogue ensues between the Prince and the King: the former endeavouring to awaken the latter from his luxurious lethargy, and the sovereign bearing his reproaches with temper, while he rejects his apprehensions with intrepid hilarity. Every speech in the colloquy displays almost epigrammatic pith and point; and, indeed,

* Lord Byron writes this name Salemēnes, instead of Salamēnes. (Σαλαμίνης.)

This is a feature which particularly animates all the plays before us. We shall extract some detached parts.

Salamenes having rebuked Myrrha till the King observes her to be in tears, the former exclaims :

' Let them flow on; she weeps for more than one,
And is herself the cause of bitterer tears.

' *Sardan.* Cursed be he who caused those tears to flow !

' *Salem.* Curse not thyself — millions do that already.

' *Sardan.* Thou dost forget thee : make me not remember
I am a monarch.

' *Salem.* Would thou couldst !

' *Myrrha.* My sovereign,
I pray, and thou too, prince, permit my absence.

' *Sardan.* Since it must be so, and this churl has check'd
Thy gentle spirit, go ; but recollect
That we must forthwith meet : I'd rather lose
An empire than thy presence. [Exit Myrrha.

' *Salem.* It may be,
Thou wilt lose both, and both for ever !

' *Sardan.* Brother,
I can at least command myself, who listen
To language such as this ; yet urge me not
Beyond my easy nature.

' *Salem.* 'Tis beyond
That easy, far too easy, idle nature,
Which I would urge thee. Oh that I could rouse thee !
Though 'twere against myself.

' *Sardan.* By the god Baal !
The man would make me tyrant.

' *Salem.* So thou art.
Thinkst thou there is no tyranny but that
Of blood and chains ? The despotism of vice —
The weakness and the wickedness of luxury —
The negligence — the apathy — the evils
Of sensual sloth — produce ten thousand tyrants,
Whose delegated cruelty surpasses
The worst acts of one energetic master,
However harsh and hard in his own bearing.
The false and fond examples of thy lusts
Corrupt no less than they oppress, and sap
In the same moment all thy pageant power
And those who should sustain it ; so that whether
A foreign foe invade, or civil broil
Distract within, both will alike prove fatal :
The first thy subjects have no heart to conquer ;
The last they rather would assist than vanquish.

' *Sardan.* Why what makes thee the mouth-piece of the people ?

' *Salem.* Forgiveness of the queen my sister's wrongs ;
A natural love unto my infant nephews ;
Faith to the king, a faith he may need shortly,

In more than words ; respect for Nimrod's line ;
Also, another thing thou knowest not.

' *Sardan.* What's that ?

' *Salem.* To thee an unknown word.

' *Sardan.* Yet speak it,

I love to learn.

' *Salem.* Virtue.

' *Sardan.* Not know the word !

Never was word yet wrung so in my ears —

Worse than the rabble's shout, or splitting trumpet ;

I've heard thy sister talk of nothing else.

' *Salem.* To change the irksome theme, then, hear of vice.

' *Sardan.* From whom ?

' *Salem.* Even from the winds, if thou couldst listen
Unto the echoes of the nation's voice.

' *Sardan.* Come, I'm indulgent as thou knowest, patient
As thou hast often proved — speak out, what moves thee ?

' *Salem.* Thy peril.

' *Sardan.* Say on.

' *Salem.* Thus, then : all the nations,

For they are many, whom thy father left

In heritage, are loud in wrath against thee.

' *Sardan.* 'Gainst me ! What would the slaves ?

' *Salem.*

A king.

' *Sardan.*

And what

Am I then ?

' *Salem.* In their eyes a nothing ; but
In mine a man who might be something still.

' *Sardan.* The railing drunkards ! why, what would they have ?
Have they not peace and plenty ?

' *Salem.* Of the first,
More than is glorious ; of the last, far less
Than the King reck's of.' — — — — —

' I only echo thee the voice of empires,
Which he who long neglects not long will govern.

' *Sardan.* The ungrateful and ungracious slaves ! they murmur
Because I have not shed their blood, nor led them
To dry into the desert's dust by myriads,
Or whiten with their bones the banks of Ganges ;
Nor decimated them with savage laws,
Nor sweated them to build up pyramids,
Or Babylonian walls.

' *Salem.* Yet these are trophies
More worthy of a people and their prince
Than songs, and lutes, and feasts, and concubines,
And lavish'd treasures, and contemned virtues.' — — — — —

' *Sardan.* Oh, thou wouldst have me doubtless set up edicts —
"Obey the king — contribute to his treasure —
Recruit his phalanx — spill your blood at bidding —
Fall down and worship, or get up and toil."
Or thus : — "Sardanapalus on this spot
Slew fifty thousand of his enemies.

These

These are their sepulchres, and this his trophy."

I leave such things to conquerors ; enough
For me, if I can make my subjects feel
The weight of human misery less, and glide
Ungroaning to the tomb ; I take no licence
Which I deny to them. We all are men.

' *Salem*. Thy sires have been revered as Gods —

' *Sardan*.

In dust

And death, where they are neither gods nor men.
Talk not of such to me ! the worms are gods ;
At least they banqueted upon your gods,
And died for lack of farther nutriment.
Those gods were merely men ; look to their issue —
I feel a thousand mortal things about me,
But nothing godlike, unless it may be
The thing which you condemn, a disposition
To love and to be merciful, to pardon
The follies of my species, and (that's human)
To be indulgent to my own.'

The Prince then apprizes the monarch of the lurking conspiracy, and having roused him at length to talk of his armour, sword, and javelin, though in a jocose strain, Salamenes asks, ' If need be, wilt thou wear them ?'

' *Sardan*.

Will I not ? *

Oh ! if it must be so, and these rash slaves
Will not be ruled with less, I'll use the sword
Till they shall wish it turn'd into a distaff.

' *Salem*. They say, thy sceptre's turn'd to that already.

' *Sardan*. That's false ; but let them say so : the old Greeks,
Of whom our captives often sing, related
The same of their chief hero, Hercules,
Because he loved a Lydian queen : thou seest
The populace of all the nations seize
Each calumny they can to sink their sovereigns.

' *Salem*. They did not speak thus of thy fathers.

' *Sardan*.

No ;

They dared not. They were kept to toil and combat,
And never changed their chains but for their armour :
Now they have peace and pastime, and the licence
To revel and to rail ; it irks me not.

I would not give the smile of one fair girl
For all the popular breath that e'er divided
A name for nothing. What are the rank tongues
Of this vile herd, grown insolent with feeding,
That I should prize their noisy praise, or dread
Their noisome clamour ?

' *Salem*. You have said they are men ;
As such their hearts are something.

* This phrase is repeated on a similar occasion, p. 85.

' *Sardan*.

‘ *Sardan.* So my dogs’ are ;
 And better, as more faithful : — but, proceed :
 Thou hast my signet : — since they are tumultuous,
 Let them be temper’d, yet not roughly, till
 Necessity enforce it. I hate all pain,
 Given or received ; we have enough within us,
 The meanest vassal as the loftiest monarch,
 Not to add to each other’s natural burthen
 Of mortal misery, but rather lessen,
 By mild reciprocal alleviation,
 The fatal penalties imposed on life ;
 But this they know not, or they will not know.
 I have, by Baal ! done all I could to soothe them :
 I made no wars, I added no new imposts,
 I interfered not with their civic lives,
 I let them pass their days as best might suit them,
 Passing my own as suited me.’ — ‘ Ne’er
 Was man who more desired to rule in peace
 The peaceful only ; if they rouse me, better
 They had conjured up stern Nimrod from his ashes,
 “ The mighty hunter.” I will turn these realms
 To one wide desert chase of brutes, who *were*,
 But *would* no more, by their own choice, be human.
What they have found me, they belie ; *that which*
 They yet may find me — shall defy their wish
 To speak it worse ; and let them thank themselves.

‘ *Salem.* Then thou at last canst feel ?

‘ *Sardan.* Feel ! who feels not
 Ingratitude ?

‘ *Salem.* I will not pause to answer
 With words, but deeds. Keep thou awake that energy
 Which sleeps at times, but is not dead within thee,
 And thou may’st yet be glorious in thy reign,
 As powerful in thy realm. Farewell !

Sardanapalus then sends for Myrrha ; and she also, aware
 of the plotted rebellion, tells him that his crown and life are
 both in danger of being lost.

‘ *Sardan.* Lost ! — why, who is the aspiring chief who dared
 Assume to win them ?

‘ *Myrrha.* Who is he should dread
 To try so much ? When he who is their ruler
 Forgets himself, will they remember him ?

‘ *Sardan.* Myrrha !

‘ *Myrrha.* Frown not upon me : you have smiled
 Too often on me not to make those frowns
 Bitterer to bear than any punishment
 Which they may augur. — King, I am your subject !
 Master, I am your slave ! Man, I have loved you ! —
 Loved you, I know not by what fatal weakness,
 Although a Greek, and born a foe to monarchs —
 A slave, and hating fetters — an Ionian,

And,

And, therefore, when I love a stranger, more
Degraded by that passion than by chains !
Still I have loved you. If that love were strong
Enough to overcome all former nature,
Shall it not claim the privilege to save you ?

‘ *Sardan.* Save me, my beauty ! Thou art very fair,
And what I seek of thee is love — not safety.

‘ *Myrrha.* And without love where dwells security ?

‘ *Sardan.* I speak of woman's love.

‘ *Myrrha.* *The very first
Of human life must spring from woman's breast,
Your first small words are taught you from her lips,
Your first tears quench'd by her, and your last sighs
Too often breathed out in a woman's hearing,
When men have shrunk from the ignoble care
Of watching the last hour of him who led them.*

‘ *Sardan.* My eloquent Ionian ! thou speak'st music,
The very chorus of the tragic song
I have heard thee talk of as the favourite pastime
Of thy far father-land.' — — — — —

‘ *Myrrha.* A king of feasts, and flowers, and wine, and revel,
And love, and mirth, was never king of glory.

‘ *Sardan.* Glory ! what's that ?

‘ *Myrrha.* Ask of the gods thy fathers.

‘ *Sardan.* They cannot answer ; when the priests speak for
them,

'Tis for some small addition to the temple.

‘ *Myrrha.* Look to the annals of thine empire's founders.

‘ *Sardan.* They are so blotted o'er with blood, I cannot.
But what wouldst have ? the empire *has been* founded.
I cannot go on multiplying empires.

‘ *Myrrha.* Preserve thine own.

‘ *Sardan.* At least I will enjoy it.'

The character of Myrrha is drawn throughout with great
beauty, spirit, and interest : exhibiting at once a model of
love and tenderness, of patriotic spirit and personal bravery.
From the first successful attack on the rebels, the King
returns wounded, and comes in with Myrrha and others ;
when he asks Salamenes,

‘ Know'st thou, my brother, where I lighted on
This minion ?

‘ *Salem.* Herding with the other females,
Like frightened antelopes.

‘ *Sardan.* No : like the dam
Of the young lion, femininely raging,
(And femininely meaneth furiously,
Because all passions in excess are female,)
Against the hunter flying with her cub,
She urged on with her voice and gesture, and
Her floating hair and flashing eyes, the soldiers
In the pursuit.

‘ *Salem.*

‘ *Salem.*

Indeed !

‘ *Sardan.*

You see, this night

Made warriors of more than me. I paused
To look upon her, and her kindled cheek ;
Her large black eyes, that flash'd through her long hair
As it stream'd o'er her ; her blue veins that rose
Along her most transparent brow ; her nostril
Dilated from its symmetry ; her lips
Apart ; her voice that clove through all the din,
As a lute's pierceth through the cymbal's clash,
Jarr'd but not drown'd by the loud brattling ; her
Waved arms, more dazzling with their own born whiteness
Than the steel her hand held, which she caught up
From a dead soldier's grasp ; all these things made
Her seem unto the troops a prophetess
Of Victory, or Victory herself,
Come down to hail us hers.'

The extreme affection, which the King bears towards her, is not only displayed at all times, but is occasionally expressed with delightful felicity. For example, when on account of his wound, he is about to quit the stage, she desires him to lean on her, and he replies, '*Yes, love ! but not from pain.*' Could six monosyllables in our language, or in any, more impressively convey at the same moment a sentiment of tenderness and of heroism ? — The concluding scene is admirable, and Myrrha's love and firmness, lighting for him the funereal pile and then leaping on it to share it with him, give (too truly) the last finish to her beautiful portrait. — The author manifests a like pregnancy of meaning, in brief terms, when Salamenes forces away his sister, the Queen, from her interview with the monarch in his hour of danger, and she says, 'What, shall he die alone ? — *I live alone ?*' to which the Prince answers, 'He shall *not die alone* ; but lonely you have lived for years.'

Again, when Sardanapalus, finally beaten back into his palace, asks Pania,

‘ Do the soldiers keep their hearts up ?

‘ *Pania.*

Sire ?

‘ *Sardan.* I'm answered ! When a king asks twice, and has A question as an answer to *his* question,
It is a portent. What ! they are dishearten'd ?

‘ *Pania.* The death of Salemenes, and the shouts
Of the exulting rebels on his fall,
Have made them ——

‘ *Sardan.* *Rage* — not droop — it should have been.
We'll find the means to rouse them.'

To the episode of Zarina the Queen, and 'her wrongs,' we have already alluded as not resting (we believe) on any statement

statement of the historians: but it is well managed, wherever it is introduced; and the interview just mentioned gives occasion to some excellent touches. The King having told her that he believes 'his annals draw unto their close,' but that their end shall be like their beginning, memorable, she makes this reply:

'Yet be not rash — be careful of your life,
Live but for those who love.

'*Sardan.* And who are they?
A slave, who loves from passion — I'll not say
Ambition — she has seen thrones shake, and loves;
A few friends, who have revell'd till we are
As one, for they are nothing if I fall;
A brother I have injured — children whom
I have neglected, and a spouse —

'*Zarina.* Who loves.

'*Sardan.* And pardons?

Zarina. I have never thought of this,
And cannot pardon till I have condemn'd.

'*Sardan.* My wife!

'*Zarina.* Now blessings on thee for that word!
I never thought to hear it more — from thee.' —

'*Sardan.* Go, then. If e'er we meet again, perhaps
I may be worthier of you — and, if not,
Remember that my faults, though not atoned for,
Are ended. Yet, I dread thy nature will
Grieve more about the blighted name and ashes
Which once were mightiest in Assyria — than —
But I grow womanish again, and must not;
I must learn sternness now. My sins have all
Been of the softer order — *hide* thy tears —
I do not bid thee *not* to shed them — 'twere
Easier to stop Euphrates at its source
Than one tear of a true and tender heart —
But let me not behold them; they unman me
Here when I had re-mann'd myself.'

Prince Salamenes has in some degree spoken for himself in our pages. He is an elevated stern character, true to his sovereign and his own feelings, and is ably sustained.

We have not time to dilate on the conspirators, Arbaces and Beleses, but let not the reader suppose that they appear with insignificance in the play itself. The part which they have to perform is far from immaterial, and they are drawn with sufficient prominence and fidelity.

To the termination of the drama we have already alluded, and it is time for us to close, and say, Such is this noble tragedy; which, as the sole produce of any pen, would give celebrity to the hand that guided it. Excepting as before
excepted,

excepted, historically, Sardanapalus is delineated in a manner that deserves high praise, and manifests eminent skill; the stain of his follies, for here they are scarcely more, being almost obliterated by his graces, his talents, his heroism, and his kindness, which are mellowed into each other so as to produce general harmony, contrasted only by the faults which serve but to shew them off with the requisite shade. So far, indeed, the representation is rendered strictly moral, that a sense of past errors and a determination to redeem them are made evident before the close of the play, and set forth as promises for the future, if life be prolonged.

“*Ubi plura nitent,*” &c. : — but some careless lines occur, and they too often end with an insignificant word, an adjective, a preposition, or a conjunction. The rude contradiction, ‘*’Tis false,*’ strikes too frequently on the ear; and once the monarch descends to say, ‘*They lie.*’ — P. 61. ‘I have *no call* for either’ is vulgar; and in the same page we have ‘than *him* who ruleth,’ for *he* who ruleth: a fault elsewhere observable.* The phrases ‘*I blench not,*’ and ‘*it irks me not,*’ are also repeated so as to make their quaintness remembered; and the idea of the breeze *crisping* the water is expressed three times. See pp. 7. 59. and 106. — In p. 41. Myrrha is left *solus*; and other typographical errors are discernible.

For a consideration of the remaining plays we have not much space left: but we have preferred, on every account, to allot most attention to the preceding. The tragedy of ‘*The Two Foscari*’ is all over tragic, a “wilderness of woe” without one smiling spot to cheer the universal gloom. The warlike and victorious Doge Foscari, elected in 1423, is doomed to see his only surviving son accused of treasonable practices, repeatedly tortured, and finally dying before him: while he himself suffers not the feelings of the father to interfere with the duties of the ruler. His son’s fate, and his own, are pursued with inveterate revenge by one of “the Ten,” who conceives that *his* father and uncle had been poisoned by the Doge; and only when the latter falls, broken-hearted by the death of his son and the shock of his own deposition, does this fiend Loredano *balance* in his tablets the account of blood which, like a merchant, he had entered thus: “*Doge Foscari, debtor for the death of Marco and Pietro Loredano.*”

Here again we have *the unities*. The scene is confined to the ducal palace, and the time limited. The motives of action are more adequate to the events than in the play of *Faliero*.

* See ‘*Cain*,’ p. 346. ‘Yet he seems mightier far than

and the composition is more uniformly forcible. All the chief characters are sternly heroic; and though the affection of Marina for her husband, the younger Foscari, and his for her, afford a little occasional relief from severer sensations, even she is "brave to the very teeth," and — with good leave — something of a *scold* in her attacks on Loredano, on the Senate, and even on the Doge himself. A few passages shall be quoted, which most struck us on perusal.

The attachment of Jacopo, the son of Doge Foscari, to his native Venice is extreme, almost beyond the bounds of any recorded patriotism. When he has been released from "the question," and re-conveyed to prison, asking to look out on the Adriatic for fresh air, the guard inquires how he feels, and how are his limbs :

Jacopo. Limbs! how often have they born me
Bounding o'er yon blue tide, as I have skimm'd
The gondola along in childish race,
And, masqued as a young gondolier, amidst
My gay competitors, noble as I,
Raced for our pleasure in the pride of strength,
While the fair populace of crowding beauties,
Plebeian as patrician, cheer'd us on
With dazzling smiles, and wishes audible,
And waving kerchiefs, and applauding hands,
Even to the goal! — How many a time have I
Cloven with arm still lustier, breast more daring,
The wave all roughen'd; with a swimmer's stroke
Flinging the billows back from my drench'd hair,
And laughing from my lip the audacious brine,
Which kiss'd it like a wine-cup, rising o'er
The waves as they arose, and prouder still
The loftier they uplifted me; and oft,
In wantonness of spirit, plunging down
Into their green and glassy gulfs, and making
My way to shells and sea-weed, all unseen
By those above, till they wax'd fearful; then
Returning with my grasp full of such tokens
As show'd that I had search'd the *deep*: exulting,
With a far-dashing stroke, and drawing *deep*
The long-suspended breath, again I spurn'd
The foam which broke around me; and pursued
My track like a sea-bird.'

This picture of the pleasures of swimming bespeaks the noble author's known fondness for that art, and his proficiency in the exercise of it.

Marina hears the groans of her husband on the rack in an inner apartment, and exclaims;

it seem'd so; I will not
wuld he shrink, I cannot cease

To love ; but — no — no — no — it must have been.

A fearful pang which wrung a groan from him.

' *Senator*. And, feeling for thy husband's wrongs, wouldst thou Have him bear more than mortal pain, in silence ?

' *Marina*. We all must bear our tortures. I have not Left barren the great house of Foscari, Though they sweep both the Doge and son from life : I have endured as much in giving life To those who will succeed them, as they can In leaving it : but mine were joyful pangs ; And yet they wrung me till I *could* have shriek'd, But did not, for my hope was to bring forth Heroes, and would not welcome them with tears.'

To the Doge and Loredano, who urge this heroine to respect the laws of the state and the presence of her husband's judges, by restraining her angry denunciations, she replies :

' Keep
Those maxims for your mass of scared mechanics,
Your merchants, your Dalmatian and Greek slaves,
Your tributaries, your dumb citizens,
And mask'd nobility, your sbirri, and
Your spies, your galley and your other slaves,
To whom your midnight carryings off and drownings,
Your dungeons next the palace roofs, or under
The water's level ; your mysterious meetings,
And unknown dooms, and sudden executions,
Your " Bridge of Sighs," your strangling chamber, and
Your torturing instruments, have made ye seem
The beings of another and worse world !
Keep such for them : I fear ye not. I know ye ;
Have known and proved your worst, in the infernal
Process of my poor husband ! Treat me as
Ye treated him : — you did so, in so dealing
With him. Then what have I to fear *from* you,
Even if I were of fearful nature, which
I trust I am not ?'

The events of this drama are illustrated and supported, in an Appendix, by long quotations from those valuable works, Daru's History of Venice, and Simonde de Sismondi's History of the Italian Republics. We hasten now from its horrors, only asking how Lord Byron admitted into p. 240. the true-born *Scoticism*, ' Our children will be *cared for* ?' Is this an unobserved relic of his own childish days, spent in the land of Caledonia ?

Cain, a Mystery ; — in a double sense a mystery, — in its dramatic nature and its reasoning nature ; and did we fly from the horrors of ' The Two Foscari ' only to encounter the aggravated horrors of *Cain* ? Why did Lord Byron suffer himself to write, why for a moment think of publishing, these

pages

pages of impiety, and like the rebel-giants of old make war on Heaven? A giant he may be called with reference to the powers which he has here displayed, for nowhere has he shewn more if so much imagination, boldness of character, subtilty of reasoning, or energy of dialogue: but he has chosen a subject, and a mode of treating that subject, which can do no good, and may do much and most lamentable evil. Why, for the exercise of his own talents, should he “scatter firebrands, arrows, and death,” and say, “Am I not in sport?”, for he will scarcely wish to acknowledge that he is in earnest. In daring a comparison also with Milton, though his ability to enter the lists be admitted, it is too obvious that he has not even tried to avoid the difficulties attached to his subject which that great master has escaped with so much skill and propriety; and the exculpatory representations which are offered in the preface are any thing but satisfactory as argument, or efficient as antidotes to the poison which is afterward diffused. When Lord Byron observes that he has by no means taken the same liberties which were common formerly in the profane “Mysteries,” or “Moralities,” English, French, Italian, or Spanish, we need not say that this allegation cannot avail. That which is wrong is wrong, though greater wrongs be done; and precedent is no plea for crime. Biting want, grinding coercion, or irresistible seduction, may *extenuate* an offence: but which of them could operate to urge the production of this ‘Mystery?’ It is true that the profaneness of Lucifer and of Cain is opposed in the scale by the piety of Abel, and others of “the first family of the earth;” and that poetic justice is done on Cain by adherence to historic record, in placing the mark on his forehead and sending him an outcast over the globe: but the horrible career of the Evil Spirit and of Cain is unchecked, and their sad reasonings remain uncontroverted.

We shall not enter into a more particular account of this ‘Mystery:’ but it has beauties detached from its revolting features, and one or two of these we may extract.

Cain and his wife Adah are looking with affection at Enoch, sleeping; and when the rosy boy awakes she says,

‘ Oh Cain! look on him; see how full of life,
Of strength, of bloom, of beauty, and of joy,
How like to me — how like to thee, when gentle,
For *then* we are *all* alike; is’t not so, Cain?
Mother, and sire, and son, our features are
Reflected in each other; as they are
In the clear waters, when *they* are *gentle*, and
When *thou* art *gentle*. Love us, then, my Cain,

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And

And love thyself for our sakes, for we love thee.
 Look ! how he laughs and stretches out his arms,
 And opens wide his blue eyes upon thine,
 To hail his father ; while his little form
 Flutters as wing'd with joy. Talk not of pain !
 The childless cherubs well might envy thee
 The pleasures of a parent ! Bless him, Cain !
 As yet he hath no words to thank thee, but
 His heart will, and thine own too.'

When the brothers offer their sacrifices to God, Abel pours forth this prayer at the foot of his altar :

' Oh God !

Who made us, and who breathed the breath of life
 Within our nostrils, who hath blessed us,
 And spared, despite our father's sin, to make
 His children all lost, as they might have been,
 Had not thy justice been so temper'd with
 The mercy which is thy delight, as to
 Accord a pardon like a Paradise,
 Compared with our great crimes : — Sole Lord of light !
 Of good, and glory, and eternity ;
 Without whom all were evil, and with whom
 Nothing can err, except to some good end
 Of thine omnipotent benevolence —
 Inscrutable, but still to be fulfill'd —
 Accept from out thy humble first of shepherd's
 First of the first-born flocks — an offering
 In itself nothing — as what offering can be
 Aught unto thee ? — but yet accept it for
 The thanksgiving of him who spreads it in
 The face of thy high heaven, bowing his own
 Even to the dust, of which he is, in honour
 Of thee, and of thy name, for evermore !'

After the murder of Abel, Eve imprecates a powerful curse on the head of the fratricide : but we have had enough of poetic curses in late years ; and we are choaked with curses in the *Mystery of Cain*. — Let the curtain drop, to rise no more upon such scenes !

It is not necessary for us, perhaps, and we have not room, to add farther observations on the general merit of these productions : we shall, therefore, merely remark, with reference to the particular nature of their tragic character, that the effect of all of them is rather grand, terrible, and horrific, than mollifying, subduing, or pathetic. The French have their crying comedies, (*comédies larmoyantes*,) but these tragedies will cause shudders to stream along our backs, rather than draw floods of tears to course each other down our cheeks.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

FOR JANUARY, 1822.

POETRY.

Art. 10. *Rome*; a Poem. In Two Parts. 8vo. 6s. Boards.
Longman and Co. 1821.

Soupe à la Grecque we were once taught to consider as an insipid thing, though perhaps we never exactly thought so ourselves. We are now told that we have too much of Rome, but we shall have difficulty in believing it. Nothing, indeed, to our imaginations, is more interesting than the immortal city, and its ruined palaces, baths, temples, statues, places of public meeting, and of everlasting honour: all interests, elevates, softens, moralizes, and improves us in Rome. We are not now, however, to indulge our own impulses on the subject, but to accompany the present lively and spirited author in a small part of his tour; regretting very much that we cannot travel longer together in company.

We begin by alluding to a subject most interesting to an English scholar, the excavations now making at Rome, under the superintendence of the good old Pope, as well as that of other scientific and wealthy persons. Among the last, we are truly gratified with the frequent record that we meet of our classical countrymen; and we must by no means omit, in this most honourable list, the name of a distinguished female, the Duchess of Devonshire: who has not only added much to the discoveries of classical inquirers in this most sacred ground of antiquity, but in her exquisitely elegant illustrations of Virgil has given a stimulus to the sister-arts of painting and poetry. The anonymous author of the poem before us does ample justice to the researches of the Duchess, and to those of Pius the Seventh.

The writer is very eager, in *his encouragement of Walter Scott*, to turn the poet of Scotland from the narrow subjects of his border-wars, and Caledonian scenes of peace, to worthier, ampler, and more generally attractive themes;—and he thus addresses the “Bard beyond the Tweed,” as we may now truly call Sir Walter.

‘ Can no inspired and living bard be found
To tread with classic step this sacred ground —
To fly from Albion’s cold and chalky shore,
And Rome’s exhaustless, brilliant mines explore?
A bard there lives, whose sweet, creativeness
Can o’er the barren rock a charm diffuse,
Cold Caledonia’s valleys dress in flowers,
And raise on pathless wilds poetic bowers —
O’er Katrine’s chilly lake a splendour throw,
Warm as the beams that on the Leman glow —
O’er Melrose turrets pour, in silver streams,
The grateful shower of Luna’s mellow beams —

Roll Bruce's bark along the foaming spray —
 Or sooth to rapture with the minstrel's lay;
 And, when bold Marmion braves the battle's storm,
 With kindred zeal the reader's bosom warm;
 As glows the breast to music's trembling wire,
 With thrilling spirit set the nerve on fire.
 Go, favour'd bard, and seek th' Hesperian shore,
 And add new witchery to fancy's store;
 Cull from the moss-crown'd arch, and ruin'd fane,
 New flowers to dress the sweet and solemn strain —
 Sound on thy high-toned harp the hero's deed,
 And still with Maro's fire this trembling reed —
 Return and charm, and drown the feeble lay
 Of him who thus pursues his faltering way.'

We must now present our readers with some more characteristic description from the present poem on 'Rome;' and, in so doing, we shall make them also well acquainted with the varieties of the author.

' Let not the Muse *pollute her snowy feet*,
 Nor trape with draggled tail the fetid street;
 Nor sing the sleepless nights, the restless bed,
 My carbonado'd body, blister'd, bled —
 My frantic step, that paced the floor of brick,
 Both skin and feelings tortured to the quick —
 My lily stockings speckled to the knees,
 Like salt and pepper, with a host of fleas —
 My purse as lean as if 'twas squeezed by Bony —
 My body lean from pipes of macaroni —
 Pilfer'd by thieves, Dogana, Passaporto,
 Till "Uomo Vivo" seem'd an "Uomo morto."

' Yet much remains—but soft! the heart's warm gushes
 Spread o'er the Muse's cheek indignant blushes;
 In Lethe's stream she hides the half-told tale;
 O'er vice and folly spreads compassion's veil —
 Enough — well pleased on downy wing she flies
 To villas, flowery meads, and crystal skies.
 The orb of day declines, and blushing eve
 Begins her robe of crimson clouds to weave.
 Refreshing gales the glowing bosom cheer,
 Sweet as the fountain to the hunted deer;
 Now from the cool Siesta sparkling rise
 Rome's brilliant dames; the rattling chariot flies;
 Loud as the surges of the stormy deep
 The crowds along the thund'ring Corso sweep;
 The mitred priest, the queen, the rural lass,
 Rank after rank, in gay procession pass.
 But soon the splendid pageant fails to please;
 More cheering to the soul the evening breeze
 That wafts the fragrance of the village rose,
 Than all the pride of gold and glittering shews.

Joys

Joys like the transient tints of Iris fade,
 Nor rapid wheels can catch the flying shade;
 Light as the globes of liquid crystal shew,
 That wanton boys on Ether's bosom blow;
 The form of pleasure seems aloft to rise,
 Reflecting splendour from the sunny skies;
 We fondly stretch the fleeting charm to share,
 When lo! the brilliant bubble melts in air.
 How sweet to tread on turf or terrace green,
 Tired by the rattling Corso's busy scene,
 To fly from bustling streets, and haunts of care,
 To rural shades, and breathe ambrosial air.
 Ennui within the golden palace dwells,
 Banish'd from flowery groves and sylvan dells;
 No shepherd lads, nor maids that love the green,
 Have e'er the cold and languid monster seen.
 While proud Borghesi's gorgeous splendour warms,
 Or pleasing site of Belrespiro charms,
 Pre-eminent amidst the splendid throng,
 Albani's charming villa claims my song!
 Temple of polish'd arts and purest taste!
 Where all is rich, magnificent, and chaste.
 Light porticoes extend their grateful shades,
 Pavilions, grottoes cool, and flowery glades;
 Basins of Parian marble brimming pour
 Their crystal floods to cheer the drooping flower;
 The vase of flowery alabaster shines,
 And granite, torn from Egypt's rocky mines;
 The *chiefs*, that Rome's imperial sceptre sway'd,
 Now guard, in breathing stone, the rich arcade;
 But *chief* the ceiling charms the artist's eye,
 Light forms seem floating in the sapphire sky;
 With fairy pencil Mengs's art has given
 Ethereal tints, and traced a mimic heaven.
 Clear stands Apollo from the azure ground,
 And all the tuneful sisters sport around.
 Mellow'd by distance in the cloudless skies,
 The wrecks of ancient Tusculum arise,
 Where rank and wealth in summer heats retire,
 Screen'd by Frascati's groves from Phœbus' fire;
 And traced along the crested hill are seen
 The streams of Tivoli, and olives green.'

We should be loth to say of this as Martial did of his Epigrams,
 "*Sunt bona*," &c. "The proverb is somewhat musty."

Talking of Frascati, and Tusculum, and excavations, and poetry,
 how happened it that the author has forgotten Lucien Bonaparte?

Art. 11. *Poems*, by Chauncy Hare Townsend. Crown 8vo.
 pp. 360. 10s. 6d. Boards. Boys. 1821.

It is refreshing, indeed, to return to a scholar, a gentleman, and
 a poet, after the revolting contrasts to all these characters which

crowd on us in the pages of modern literature. Mr. Townsend has made a laudable use of his advantages, which this volume shews to have been considerable; and he bears the fruit which a tree classically planted is sure to produce if the species itself be good. We have here, consequently, pathos without effeminacy, elegance without weakness, and spirit without bombast. We could select many poems from this little volume to prove the fairness of our panegyric, but we shall be contented with a few :

' On returning to my Birth Place.

- ' Sweet Eden of my childish hours,
From the wild world's tumultuous sea,
Escap'd, I seek thy tranquil bowers,
And feel at length that I am free.
- ' Here, as my shatter'd bark returns,
Hope brightly looks on future years,
The torch of health, relumin'd, burns,
And memory smiles thro' all her tears.
- ' Thy long arcades of woven leaves,
Thy beechen bowers, o'erarching dark,
The shadow of whose foliage waves
Light o'er the silver, sunny bark ;
- ' The murmur of thy soft cascades,
Thy waters greenly, clearly, bright,
Thy thymy banks, thy lawns, and glades ;
All — all are full of deep delight !
- ' When shall I love a spot like thee ?
Oh, what can ever break a bond
So twin'd by love and memory,
So sweetly strong, so firmly fond ?
- ' Yet, 'tis not ev'n thy sweetest gales,
That bear away my inward woe ;
'Tis not the fragrance of thy vales,
That, in its stead, can bliss bestow :
- ' It is, that thy beloved retreat,
Far from life's toiling, beaten road,
Gives peaceful hours, and leisure sweet,
To hold blest commune with my God !

The subjoined sonnet appears to us still more naturally touching in its conception, and better finished in its execution :

' Surry.

- ' Dear, native county, what unnumber'd ties
Have bound me to thee ! — Not alone, that thou
Art England's Eden, nor that, musing slow,
I love to wander where thy sand-rocks rise
Above thy bowery lanes, and catch the sighs
Of the pure gales which o'er thy wild heaths blow,
And climb, at morn or eve, some hill's steep brow,

To watch the bright'ning or the fading skies ;
 But dear domestic bonds, which still more fast
 Time, round my heart, draws, ever, as he flies,
 Fond Memory, with her pictures of the past,
 And winning tales of Childhood's simple joys,
 And Hope, who whispers — that with thee, at last,
 Some friendly hand shall close my peaceful eyes.'

Another sonnet occurs at page 322. on the same subject, but we do not like the title of 'Home-Sickness.' "*This is affectations.*" Indeed, we occasionally trace here this invariable effect of an imitation of any of the members of the Lake Society. If Mr. Townsend admired Mr. Southey less, he would himself be more worthy of praise.

The volume concludes with a poem which we venture to call the best "copy of verses" that we have yet *seen*, and Heaven only knows how numerous such *sights* have been !, on the everlasting theme of Waterloo.

"Cromwell ! I did not think to shed a tear
 In all my misery,"

said Wolsey to his friend :

Townsend ! we did not think to stop a yawn
 In all thy Waterloo,

we said to the present author : but both were mistaken, for Wolsey wept, and we did not yawn — above one or twice. Let our readers yawn, if they can, over the extract which we now lay before them. Speaking of the last charge of the Cuirassiers, (on which occasion Mr. Townsend indulges in some unworthy abuse of Bonaparte,) the author thus concludes :

' Brave self-devotion ! Such as Romans knew,
 A nobler cause had made it virtue too.
 'Tis done ! Wild clamours rend th' etherial vault,
 Herald their way, and cheer the last assault.
 Now for your England, warriors, all combine,
 Quit the deep phalanx, form the length'ning line !
 Now is war's crisis ! Daringly exchange
 Firmness for fire, resistance for revenge !
 Be as the wave, which once suspended stood,
 Then pour'd on Egypt's train its whelming flood.
 See how the conquering Sun has roll'd away
 The throng of clouds, that veil'd his gloomy day, *
 And beams effulgent in the western sky,
 As if to light your troops to victory.
 Reflected lustre from the bayonet streams,
 And crested helms give back the level beams..

* A tempestuous night had ushered in a day of rain, and gloom,
 but the evening was bright and serene.'

As, rising oft in far Arabia's land,
 Whirl the red columns of collected sand,
 Ting'd by the setting sun's dilated fire,
 Proud to the skies the pillar'd flames aspire,
 And sweep tremendous o'er the ravag'd plain,
 While the pale pilgrim strives to fly in vain :
 So nobly dread, so formidably bright
 Mov'd England's host in all the pomp of light.
 Strong as from peace, and fresh as from repose,
 Now — now she rushes on her yielding foes.
 The clearing smoke their hurrying rout reveals ;
 All France gives way — a throne — an empire reels !
 Wildly they fly, or bend the suppliant knee,
 England is victor, and the world is free !
 Distracted Uproar lords it o'er the plain :
 Where bleed the wounded, or where sink the slain,
 Onward they drive, pursuers, and pursued,
 Nor check their footsteps deep in blood embrued.
 Rout and Confusion, Fear and Death, are there,
 And the pale form of pitiless Despair.

‘ Oh yet exult not, as ye swift recede,
 That the tir'd Briton checks his panting steed !
 Fresh, and unbreath'd, impetuous as the wave,
 Greedy as wolves, relentless as the grave,
 The Prussian comes, his sword in blood unsteep'd,
 To gather in the harvest England reap'd.
 Hope not for mercy ! Did ye mercy shew,
 When pale Silesia saw her conquering foe ?
 Remember Ligny, where the flag of Death
 Wav'd its black menace o'er the host beneath. *
 The Briton, bulwark'd by his rocky strand,
 Ne'er saw thee blight the gardens of his land.
 No injur'd wife, no murder'd offspring call
 His soul to vengeance on the cruel Gaul :
 But there are wrongs, too deep to be redrest,
 That fret, and rankle in the Prussian's breast.
 The cup of vengeance holds its mantling draught
 Close to his lips, — and deep shall it be quaff'd !

‘ But darkness yet that madd'ning flight may shroud. —
 Oh, for a night of tempest, gloom, and cloud !
 Uprose the moon, unclouded, broad, and bright,
 In all the beauty of a summer's night.
 Heedless of men, alike she seems to move
 O'er fields of carnage, or the peaceful grove,
 The dread pursuit of foes, or harmless scenes of love.
 Now her pale lamp she holds o'er Slaughter's hand,
 Guides the sure blow, and points the vengeful brand.

* At the battle of Ligny, the French hoisted the black flag, which signified that no quarter would be given.'

Onward they rush, 'till the reflected beam
 Quivers on Sambre's gently-gliding stream.
 Ah, gentle now no more ! The broken wave
 Flashes above the soldier's wat'ry grave.
 The stifled groan, the frequent plunge declare
 That foemen slay, and warriors perish there.'

As this poem was written for the Chancellor's medal at Cambridge in 1820, we suppose that Mr. Townsend is still a young man. Let him proceed: but, as he proceeds, let him condense, refine, and exalt; not contenting himself with scattered merits and unconnected beauties. He has learning, let him have patience; he has genius, let him labour for the last fruits of cultivated taste.

Art. 12. *The Country Minister*; a Poem, in Four Cantos, with other Poems. By the Rev. J. Brettell. 12mo. 7s. Boards. Whittaker. 1821.

This author tells us, in his preface, that he had intended to describe 'the evils of poverty as connected with the *ministerial profession*.' We are glad that he relinquished this intention, since we are not aware that any moral object can be gained by the exhibition, in verse, of the hardships that belong in some instances to a clerical life. An equalization of livings would be much more to the purpose. Some would scoff, and others would be discouraged, at the poetical painting of a curate's wretchedness: but the subject is much too serious for any other than the calmest discussion.

Mr. Brettell seems to be a very good man, as far as we may allude to the similarity of authors and their works, but it is too plain that he is not a great poet. For instance, and on a most interesting occasion:

' That tender parent, whose affection spread
 The shield of love o'er Alfred's infant head,
 Who many an hour her anxious watch had kept
 Beside the couch where he unconscious slept,
 And long, with all a mother's hopes and fears,
 His childhood nurs'd, and watch'd his riper years,
 Was now approaching fast the opening tomb —
 Her wither'd cheek had lost its healthy bloom;
 Her wrinkled brow with years was furrow'd o'er,
 And the deep lines of former sorrows wore;
 Her head, from which dark tresses us'd to flow,
 Was thinly spread with age's whitest snow;
 Her eyes were sunk, and dimmest shades of night
 Had gather'd round those once bright orbs of light,
 The frost of time had glaz'd them — not a gleam
 Shot forth expressive of their earlier beam;
 Her form, admir'd in youth for comely height,
 Was now bent low beneath the heavy weight
 Of many years, and every youthful grace
 Was lost in her slow walk and faltering pace:
 But still, her mild and venerable face

Retain'd the vestiges of beauty past —
 Like autumn's leaf that trembles in the blast,
 Bound by the smallest fibre to the tree,
 From which each moment we expect to see
 It fall, where all its wither'd mates are spread,
 She hung to life by nature's slightest thread.'

These are gentlemanly verses, conveying tender and yet manly feeling : but this is not poetry. As the grammarian of the middle ages said,

" *Versus enim non est idem quæcunque Poesis.*"

One of the minor poems is called '*The Disappointed Bee!*'

Art. 13. *The Monarchy of the Bees* ; a Poem. Illustrated with Notes, exhibiting some of the most Remarkable Circumstances in the History of *that little Insect*. 12mo. pp. 62. Goodhugh, Sams, &c. 1821.

The author of this versified exhibition of some of the principal traits in the history of the bee is no very aspiring bard, the height of his ambition being to excite the curiosity and attention of juvenile readers, and thus allure them to a mere systematic examination of the economy of the hive : but a series of short and interesting statements, in plain prose, would perhaps have more effectually answered the same purpose. The speeches of the workers to the queen, which convey no intelligence of which she can be supposed to be ignorant, might be treated by critics more waggish than ourselves as a mere *hum* : but the explanatory notes will naturally awaken a desire for more ample information. At all events, to the compounder of this little volume we cheerfully concede the praise of good intention, and of no very unworthy execution.

Art. 14. *Machin* ; or, the Discovery of Madeira ; a Poem, in Four Cantos. By James Bird ; Author of the *Vale of Slaughden*. 8vo. 5s. 6d. sewed. Warren. 1821.

That Machin, an Englishman, was the first visitor of the island of Madeira, in the reign of Edward the Third, is a fact which rests on better authority than the claims of the Portuguese to that discovery : but that he ran away with another man's wife from the neighbourhood of Bristol, and was carried to the island by wind and wave,

" When first Madeira trembled to a kiss," *

we trust are events not quite so certain, for the credit of our friend Machin. Mr. *Bird* (who was much more *vocal* in the *Vale of Slaughden*) labours hard, through four cantos, to interest us in the fate of this vagabond adulterer ; who, because he loved the lady *before*, (like Charlotte's Werter, Julia's St. Preux, and Laura's

* Vide Lord Byron's, or rather Mr. Hobhouse's, *edition of Bowles*.

Petrarch, and *Miss Ray's Hackman*,) is, therefore, authorized to commit any extravagance.

' She wakes to life, but wakes to new alarms, —
 Oh! now she breathes, she lives in Machin's arms!
 Alas! she will not — cannot — may not dare,
 One moment more to sigh, or linger there!
 "Oh! leave me — leave me, Machin! — haste away!
 Go! — if thou love me, break this fond delay!
 Yet, I would thank thee for thy tender care,
 But that I breath a captive to despair!
 Oh! hadst thou seen me perish in the flame,
 My dying accents should have blessed thy name!
 Alas! — in life, that name must never dwell
 Upon my guilty lips: — farewell! — farewell!"
 "Stay! — Anna! — stay! — the happier time hath been
 When we were blessed, and thou could'st not have seen
 These scalding tears, unmoved! — when love would smile
 With such delightful seeming, and beguile
 Time's flight so sweetly, that we fondly deemed
 The bliss was ours, of which we only dreamed! —
 Nay — leave me not! — and dost thou, then, forget
 The vow we pledged, when first — when last we met!
 What, if the holy priest hath bound thy hand
 To one thou lov'st not! — shall the dire command
 Seal the hard bonds which fraud and crime have thrown
 Around thee, dearest! — thou wast once my own!
 And thou shalt shine, my beam of love — for ever!
 My heart will hold thee faithless — never! — never!"
 "Oh! never! — never!" — shuddering Anna said: —
 He breathed as one enchanted, but she fled
 Through the dark portal, swift as light, that flies
 On wings of death, o'er black, tempestuous skies,
 Charged with the shafts of unrelenting fate!
 And Machin stood alone — and desolate!
 In that lorn moment there were years of pain;
 Such burning torture filled his throbbing brain,
 That reason trembled on her shaken throne,
 As moved his pallid lips, — "*Ha! — art thou gone!*"
 And though the raging of the storm was o'er,
 And though the deadly thunder howled no more,
 Yet — had'st thou seen him stand in terror there,
 So like a marble statue of despair,
 Thou would'st have deemed heaven's bolt came flaming forth,
 To fix him there, a monument of wrath!"

With this exquisite rhyme of '*wrath*' and '*forth*' we joyfully conclude.

POLITICS.

Art. 15. *De l'Intérêt et du Devoir des Souverains et des Peuples ; ou, Principes de Politique et de Raison, pour servir d'Antidote au Système Demagogique du moderne Philosophe Jérémie Bentham.* &c. 8vo. 5s. Hoitt, Upper Berkeley Street. 1821.

A more

A more complete tissue of rhodomontade than this it has seldom been our fate to read. The author is master of all sorts of tropes and figures of speech, which he misapplies without mercy; and, though he is gifted scarcely with the semblance of the reasoning faculty, he compensates for this deficiency by possessing passions that are strong and impetuous. His work is dedicated to the three great monarchs, the pacificators of Europe; and he is most indignant that they should think not only of tolerating the forms of a free constitution in England, but of assisting to establish such forms in France, and that they should stand by and connive at the introduction of such forms in Spain. He argues that political representation is an absurdity, and that sovereigns are naturally the best judges of what is good for their subjects; whom he sometimes compares to sheep under the care of their shepherd, at others to minors in the hands of their guardians, and at other times to lunatics under the protection of their keepers. The very name of a *Constitution* throws him into a paroxysm, and operates like the sight of water on some poor being afflicted with hydrophobia. If the English have in some degree flourished *in spite of* their Constitution, he attributes it to their patriotism, which he considers as an original instinct with them, similar to the courage of their bulldogs. In short, this good foreign diplomatist, and friend of social order, (as he terms himself,) does not appear to have the slightest notion that men may fight better in consequence of having something worth defending; or that they can work harder when they enjoy some part of the fruits of their own industry; or that there is likely to be most exertion or knowledge in a country in which the field of honour and of wealth is open to all, and where established rights and laws secure to all the honour and the wealth which they do acquire. We cannot compliment this pamphleteer by any farther remarks on his absurdities.

N O V E L.

Art. 16. *De Renzey*; or, the Man of Sorrow. Written by Himself, edited by his Nephew. By R. N. Kelly. 12mo. 3 Vols. 15s. Boards. Simpkin and Marshall. 1821.

As the denomination given to the second title of this novel is one by which our Saviour is peculiarly designated in Scripture, we cannot approve of its being thus lightly employed. The scene of the tale is laid in Ireland, where, during the troubles which occurred a few years since, the sorrows of De Renzey are represented to have been such as require no slight confusion of judgment even to invent. Within a few days after Helena's elopement from her husband, she is brought to bed of a boy, though the father had not the slightest suspicion of her being in an increasing way! She subsequently passes a morning and an evening in conversing with him, and yet never mentions the infant, nor says any thing to vindicate her innocence, which he unjustly arraigns; and afterward, when she and her friend O'Gorman are threatened by the rebels with instant death and are counselled to fly, O'Gorman detains her while he relates his own history in a speech nine pages long! By another blunder, the *violet*, which, during the late political

Political changes in France, was so notoriously the emblem of Bonaparte's adherents that he was nicknamed *Corporal Violet*, is here represented as the ensign of the Vendean loyalists. The style of the tale is not more accurate than the incidents. Will the reader accept the following specimens? Vol. i. p. 42., 'I endeavoured to engraft myself with the fair Helena' (*ingratiate*). P. 91., 'The officer looked sternly on the monster, when it again resumed into my Helena.' Vol. ii. p. 54., 'His vigil fancy is ever on the watch.'

M A T H E M A T I C S.

Art. 17. *The Algebraist's Assistant*; being a compendium of Algebra, upon the Plan of Walkinghame's Tutor's Assistant, &c. By James Harris, Teacher of the Mathematics, Walworth. 12mo. Scatcherd and Co.

We have a decided objection to that superficial mode of instruction which is much adopted by many modern tutors; and on that ground we cannot recommend this little work as a fit compendium for schools. In other respects, we are disposed to consider it as an ingenious performance, and to a certain class of inquisitive and ingenious students it might be found useful; not so much by what they could learn from it, as by the inquiries which it might lead them to make, and the desire which it might create for more solid information.

To teach a boy rules for computing the effect of forces, the result of the percussion of bodies, or the relation of time, space, and velocity with each other in accelerated motion, before he has been instructed in mechanics, or even in the first principles of that science, must appear preposterous; yet this it is which the present author has undertaken in his fourth section. Information thus obtained is necessarily superficial; and for this reason we feel it our duty to protest against the plan, although we have nothing to object to its execution. The other parts of the volume, which relate to the first principles of algebra, and their application to arithmetic, geometry, &c. are not open to the same objection: but we do not perceive that they differ essentially from most existing treatises on the subject. The only novelty in the volume is the introduction of mechanical problems, and we think that it is a dangerous innovation.

Art. 18. *The Principles and Doctrine of Assurances, Annuities on Lives, and Contingent Reversions*, stated and explained. By William Morgan, F.R.S. 8vo. 12s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.

The republication of a work by its author, after a lapse of forty years, is by no means a common occurrence; and, when it does happen, we have every reason to expect much new light to be thrown on the subject, especially if the writer, during that long period, has had his mind in a great measure concentrated on, and actively employed in the pursuit of, that particular science of which he treated. Such is the case in the present instance: the first edition of this treatise having been published more than forty years ago; and, from that time to this, Mr. Morgan having had a principal share

share in conducting the affairs of the most respectable and extensive Assurance-society in London. The reader will therefore naturally hope to find, in the present volume, much valuable practical knowledge combined with the theory of assurances; and he will not be disappointed in his just expectation.

It appears by the preface that, before the year 1788, the doctrine of assurances was so little understood, that no attempt had ever been made to solve a problem involving more than one life in the computation, from the real probabilities of life; the solutions prior to this date being all derived from the hypothesis of an equal decrement of life at all ages, which is so palpably false as to be of no use whatever in arriving at a satisfactory result. In the year above stated, Mr. Morgan made his first communication to the Royal Society, and shewed how the computation might be effected by employing tables of the actual probabilities of life. These tables, however, were still defective, for they were drawn from observations in particular cities and places, and embraced persons of all ranks and conditions:—consequently, they did not apply with accuracy to such lives as are usually assured, which are chiefly from the middling classes of society; who are not, generally speaking, exposed either to the dangers and privations of the lower orders, or to the luxuries and dissipations of the higher. Their lives, therefore, in the technical language of assurance-offices, “are much better,” and consequently the rates of assurance ought to be considerably lower than those which are drawn from the general tables of mortality. Without confining himself, however, to any particular tables, the author has left his solution in a general form, to which we may apply any table at pleasure; and he has omitted no term, however inconsiderable in its amount, which might be supposed to destroy the generality of the conclusion.

The language of analysis is so comprehensive and general, and at the same time so concise and intelligible to the mathematician, that in many cases a final result is exhibited in a single line which would require more than a page to give in words at length; and consequently it will always be considered as a sacrifice by an author, to be under the necessity of translating his analytical expressions into common language, for the use of those who are not able to understand the rule in its most appropriate form. This, however, has been done by the author of the volume before us; and if, in consequence, it be less acceptable to the mathematician, it is so much the more useful to the general reader, while the former will find all that he requires in the notes, in which the analytical form has been retained.

EDUCATION.

Art. 19. *Conversations on Natural Philosophy*; in which the Elements of that Science are familiarly explained and adapted to the Comprehension of Young Pupils. Illustrated with Plates. By the Author of “*Conversations on Chemistry*,” and “*Conversations on Political Economy*.” 12mo. pp. 424. Longman and Co.

This is unquestionably one of the best arranged and best exe-

cuted performances of the kind that has hitherto fallen under our observation; being equally remote from the tiresome detail of what are commonly called popular illustrations of science, and from the concise and often unintelligible synopses of a certain other class of writers, who, by attempting to include within the limits of a small duodecimo the entire circle of modern science, produce only a confused mass of axioms and definitions, equally useless and perplexing. The subjects for illustration are here more limited, being confined simply to the popular parts of mechanics, astronomy, optics, hydrostatics, and pneumatics. The plates, twenty-three in number, are neatly executed; and the conversation, or dialogue, is natural, illustrative, and entertaining.

Such being our opinion of this volume, we feel pleasure in recommending the perusal of it to those of our young readers who are desirous of acquiring a knowledge of the first principles of the subjects on which it treats; viz. the general properties of bodies; the attraction of gravity; the laws of motion, simple and compound; and the mechanical power:—the earth's annual motion, its figure, rotation, &c.; the planets; the moon, its phases, eclipses, and general phænomena:—the mechanical properties of fluids; of springs, fountains, &c.; and the mechanical properties of air, in the production and propagation of sound, the wind, and other phænomena:—the properties of optical glasses, refraction, colour, the structure of the eye, and the properties of certain optical instruments.

These are all subjects of which the first principles may be understood without a knowledge of mathematics; with which the fair author very modestly confesses that she is unacquainted.

Art. 20. *The Young Reviewers; or, The Poems dissected.* 12mo. 1s. 6d. Half-bound. W. Darton. 1821.

A moral and pleasing tale, offering to young readers some useful examples of self-examination;—and let this our praise of it stand as a proof of our good humour, when it is considered how angry we might have been at that usurpation of our title, which the present *title-page* has committed: especially, too, in conferring it on *children*. *The Young Reviewers*, indeed!—Well, they may live to grow older!

Art. 21. *Further Adventures of Jemmy Donkey; interspersed with Biographical Sketches of the Horse.* By Arabella Argus, Author of “*Adventures of a Donkey*,” &c. 12mo. 2s. Half-bound. W. Darton. 1821.

In this agreeable little book, as well as in that to which it forms a sequel, a laudable interest is excited in favour of the animals whose biography it professes to relate, and the cause of humanity is successfully promoted.

Art. 22. *Stories from Spanish History, for the Amusement of Children.* By Mrs. Jamieson, Author of “*Histories of Spain and France*,” &c. 12mo. 2s. Half-bound. Whittaker. 1820.

These anecdotes being selected with judgment and agreeably related, we have pleasure in recommending the book: but in
some

some passages the language has been strangely neglected. What are we to understand by the following sentence? (p. 7.) 'Any body's head that had been shaved could never, in those days, be a king!' In p. 139. we suppose that '*Benevuto Cellino*, a celebrated painter,' is the sculptor and engraver, *Benvenuto Cellini*.

Art. 23. *More Minor Morals*; or, an Introduction to the Winter Family. 12mo. 5s. 6d. Boards. Souter. 1821.

This fair writer's English is not always "the king's English;" and even in her preface we find the following incorrect language, arising from carelessness: 'The pages of this essay *is* too simple,' &c. A good intention, however, is discoverable in this work, and some of its pages may be deemed amusing.

Art. 24. *Ostentation and Liberality*. A Tale. By Arabella Argus. 12mo. 2 Vols. 2s. 6d. Half-bound. W. Darton. 1821.

Some useful lessons may be learned from this tale; though even Miss Colville, the governess who is here represented as furnishing hints for moral improvement, is not always perfectly grammatical in her expressions. In vol. i. p. 4., she is made to say, 'The mind is not at all times equally open to conviction, *as such*, suppose we defer,' &c.; p. 53., 'something *out of the common*;' p. 177., 'I do not exact attentions, but I am very *amenable to civilities*,' &c. In vol. i. p. 12., one of the young ladies is allowed to use the low servant's phrase, now so improperly admitted in our news-papers, &c., 'most of the company had *left*,' for quitted, or departed.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. Millard has furnished us with a long letter respecting his work on Entomology, mentioned with approbation in our last Number. He is fearful that our statement of his having '*discarded* his former patrons' may be interpreted unfavourably to him, and has therefore taken the trouble to write more than three full pages to explain the matter to us, in all its bearings. We did not *intend* any unpleasant intimation by the phrase which we used; and if any such misconception has arisen, we beg now to give it under our hands and seals that, as far as we can judge, Mr. Millard is free from blame.

We know nothing about the poem which has been published at Newcastle, according to the information of *B. F.*; and why should this correspondent *inflict a fine* on us, when he pleased himself by writing the said letter?

P. T. comes to us apparently "in a questionable shape;" but, be this as it may, we shall only reply that we hope he will "think better of it," in more senses than one.

* * * The APPENDIX to the last Volume of the M. R. is published with the present Number, and contains as usual a variety of important *Foreign Articles*, with the TITLE and INDEX, &c. for the Volume.



THE MONTHLY REVIEW,

For FEBRUARY, 1822.

ART. I. *Private and original Correspondence of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, with King William, the Leaders of the Whig Party, and other distinguished Statesmen: illustrated with Narratives Historical and Biographical, from the Family Papers in the Possession of her Grace the Duchess of Buccleuch, never before published. By William Coxe, F.R.S. F.S.A., Archdeacon of Wilts, &c. 4to. pp. 680. 3l. 3s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.*

THE character of the Duke of Shrewsbury is well sketched by Bishop Burnet, who speaks of him in these terms: "He had been bred a Papist, but had forsaken that religion upon a very critical and anxious enquiry into matters of controversy. Some thought that, though he had forsaken Popery, he was too sceptical, and too little fixed in the points of religion. He seemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high sense of honour. He had no ordinary share of learning, a correct judgment, with a sweetness of temper that charmed all who knew him. He had at that time (1688) just notions of government; and so great a command of himself, that during all the time he continued in the ministry I never heard any one complaint of him, but for his silent and reserved answers, with which his friends were not always well pleased. His modest deportment gave him such an interest in the Prince that he never seemed so fond of any of his ministers as he was of him." It is well known that the Duke was one of the first movers and most active promoters of the "Glorious Revolution of his æra," to which all Englishmen are so much indebted, but to the principles of which we are sorry to see many Englishmen growing indifferent, if not absolutely hostile. He was appointed Secretary of State as soon as King William was established, but resigned on some disgust in the following year. After a retirement of three years, however, he was re-instated in the same office, and continued Secretary of State till the strange evidence furnished by Smith and Fenwick, though it seemed not

to have made any deep impression either on the King or the principal leaders of the Whig party, harassed his spirits and injured his health in such a manner as to furnish the ostensible reason, if it was not in fact the cause, of his second resignation, and his visit to the Continent. When he was abroad, strong suspicions were entertained that the impressions of his early religious faith had been revived, even so far as to occasion his relapse to a communion with the Romish church; and the intimacy, in which he lived with some of the adherents of James the Second, increased the doubts which the disclosures or the fabrications of Fenwick had before created. He did not return to England till the middle of Queen Anne's reign.

While he was at Rome, the Duke formed an intimacy with a Catholic lady, the Countess of —; who followed him to Augsburg, and there, after she had solemnly declared herself a Protestant, they were married. One of his first political acts, on his return home, was to oppose the Whigs in their ill-judged proceedings against Sacheverel; and the distrust, which that party before entertained of him, now ended in an entire alienation. The Queen soon afterward appointed him Lord Chamberlain, and from that time he seems to have been guided by the influence of Harley. He was made Lord Treasurer by the Queen on her death-bed; and the value of his assistance in securing the Protestant succession has been always duly appreciated. On the accession of George the First, he was continued in the place of Lord Chamberlain, which he retained till 1715, when he resigned; and he died in about three years afterward.

The volume before us is divided into three parts. The first contains the Duke's correspondence with King William, and consists principally of confidential letters which passed between him and the King, either directly or through the medium of the Earl of Portland, during the two periods of the Duke being Secretary of State. The King's letters were composed in French, but Mr. Coxe has not given the originals; preferring, for the sake of uniformity, to publish close translations of them in English. They are expressed with the King's characteristic plainness and directness, and fully confirm the general opinion of the peculiar confidence and esteem which he entertained for his minister: while those, also, that are addressed to him by the Duke, are written with much ease and apparent frankness. We shall quote from this part of the collection the papers relating to Sir John Fenwick's accusation, as very pleasing specimens of the intercourse between the sovereign and the minister, and as exemplifying the manly and straight-forward disposition of the King on an occasion

occasion of the greatest delicacy. The first letter is from his Majesty to the Duke, inclosing a copy of Sir John Fenwick's accusation against his Grace: to which we shall add the minister's reply:

“ *Loos, Sept. 10. 1696.* — I received last week, by an express from Sir John Fenwick, which my Lord Steward forwarded to me, the paper annexed. You may judge of my astonishment at his effrontery, in accusing you. You are, I trust, too fully convinced of the entire confidence which I place in you, to imagine that such an accusation has made any impression on me, or that if it had, I should have sent you this paper. You will observe *the sincerity of this honest man*, who only accuses those in my service, and not one of his own party. I replied to my Lord Steward, that, unless he proved what he has written, and that he moreover confesses all he knows, without reserve, I will not permit his trial to be deferred, which is his only aim. It is necessary you should communicate this, on my part, to the Lords Justices, since I cannot employ Blaithwayt, who, as you well know, ought to have no cognizance of this paper.” —

“ *Whitehall, Sept. 8-18. 1696.* — Sir; I want words to express my surprise at the impudent and unaccountable accusation of Sir John Fenwick. I will, with all the sincerity imaginable, give your Majesty an account of the only thing I can recollect, that should give the least pretence to such an invention; and I am confident you will judge there are few men in the kingdom that have not so far transgressed the law.

“ After your Majesty was pleased to allow me to lay down my employment, it was more than a year before I once saw my Lord Middleton; then he came, and staid in town awhile, and returned to the country; but a little before the La Hogue business, he came up again, and upon that alarm, being put in the Tower, when people were permitted to see him, I visited him as often as I thought decent, for the nearness of our alliance.* Upon his enlargement, one night at supper, when he was pretty well in drink, he told me he intended to go beyond seas, and asked if I would command him no service. I then told him, by the course he was taking, it would never be in his power to do himself or his friends service; and if the time should come that he expected, I looked upon myself as an offender not to be forgiven, and therefore he should never find me asking it. In the condition he was then, he

* His wife, Lady Catherine Bruce, was aunt to the Duke of Shrewsbury, being the second daughter of Robert, Earl of Cardigan, and sister of Anna Maria, Countess of Shrewsbury, mother of the Duke. From this relationship that family intercourse was derived, to which the Duke alludes in his letter; and the frequent correspondence of his mother, who was a bigoted Catholic, with her sister and brother-in-law, and other agents of King James, always unfortunately exposed him to a considerable degree of embarrassment and suspicion.

seemed shocked at my answer; and it being some months after before he went, he never mentioned his own going, or any thing else, to me, but left a message with my aunt, that he thought it better to say nothing to me, but that I might depend upon his good offices upon any occasion, and in the same manner he relied upon mine here; and had left me trustee for the small concerns he had in England. I only bowed, and told her I should always be ready to serve her, or him, or their children.

‘ “ Your Majesty now knows the extent of my crime, and if I do not flatter myself, it is no more than a king may forgive.

‘ “ I am sure when I consider with what reason, justice, and generosity your Majesty has weighed this man's information, I have little cause to apprehend your ill opinion upon his malice. I wish it were as easy to answer for the reasonableness of the generality of the world. When such a base invention shall be made public, they may perhaps make me incapable of serving you; but if till now I had had neither interest nor inclination, the noble and frank manner with which your Majesty has used me upon this occasion shall ever be owned with all the gratitude in my power.” ’

The King's satisfaction is thus expressed :

‘ “ *Loo, Sept. 25. 1696.* — In sending you Sir John Fenwick's paper, I assured you, that I was persuaded his accusation was false, of which I am now fully convinced, by your answer, and perfectly satisfied with the ingenuous confession of what passed between you and Lord Middleton, which can by no means be imputed to you as a crime. And indeed you may be assured, that this business, so far from making on me any unfavourable impression, will, on the contrary, if possible, in future, strengthen my confidence in you, and my friendship can admit of no increase.

‘ “ I very much fear lest the squadron for the protection of the galleons should be delayed. It is, therefore, necessary to press its departure with all possible speed, and not to leave the Admiralty at rest, until it has sailed.” ’

The second part consists of letters which passed between the Duke of Shrewsbury, Admiral Russell, and Lord Galway, on naval and military affairs, in the years 1694, 1695, and 1696; and between the Duke and the Earls of Portland and Jersey, and Sir Joseph Williamson, relating to the peace of Ryswick. From this division of the correspondence we hoped to derive considerable illustration of the history of the period, but we must confess that we have been entirely disappointed. Many of the letters, however, are interesting as indicative of the characters of the writers, and those of Admiral Russell are particularly amusing from their uniform cast of discontent and querulousness. Indeed the gallant Admiral, who was always able to justify his own judgment and conduct when questioned by the King or the Lords, seems to have had an unfortunate temper, and to have been some-
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times perplexed to know what it was that he wanted. He deemed it an act of barbarity that he was kept out in the Mediterranean; and, when he received permission to come home, he complained of the hardship and danger of a winter-voyage thither! He wished to have a commission as vice-admiral of England; then he altered his intention, and wrote against it; then he changed again, and wrote to say that he could not make up his mind whether to have the commission or not. The subsequent letter is an entertaining specimen of the Admiral's general style:

‘ “ *Barcelona Road, 21-31. July, 1695.*—I herewith acknowledge the receipt of their Excellencies the Lords Justices' order of the 11th of June, which, by the grace of God, I will obey in the best manner I can. I am afraid my temper has been represented to be too froward and uneasy, which inclines me to make no reply or representations to the orders I receive. But this last order, which comes by his Majesty's directions to the Lords Justices, will prove (as I apprehend) so very prejudicial, that I could not avoid laying my thoughts before them, and I hope your Grace will not believe it proceeds from any uneasiness that I lie under, but purely for the public service.

‘ “ I will depend so much on your Grace's good nature to forgive me, that I will trouble you in this private letter with what offers to me on the whole matter.

‘ “ Except it be those ships represented to you in my letter from Cadiz, of the 17th April, O. S., there is not any other but what ought to be on their passage to England; and should I, pursuant to the order, send such ships home as are not fit to continue longer abroad, I would be glad to be informed of what use the remaining part would be here, till joined by a farther strength; so that since these ships must remain till the latter end of September, or beginning of October, to perform some Flemish expedition, I do affirm to you, that it is impossible for them to return home with any reasonable hopes of safety.

‘ “ The King might have been pleased to impose what hardships he had thought fit upon me (as making a winter-voyage for England is a great one); I should have been very well satisfied; but to expose the fleet to so apparent danger, upon no other account (as I can foresee) than saving the Dutch their money, of which I have had many instances this voyage, I cannot but repine at it, to a degree that gives me all imaginable disquiet. It is not hard to guess that this advice comes from Secretary De Wielly, of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, and I cannot bear the thoughts that a Dutch Secretary should govern the English fleet. Had there been any one reason given against the representation the Lords Justices made to the King, for the defective ships returning, I could in some measure have been satisfied; but, as matters are now ordered, the consequence I fear will be, that the three-decked ships must winter at Cadiz; and from their own weakness,
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and the worms eating, it will be almost impossible ever to get them home again; or if otherwise, and they proceed in October, it being the most tempestuous season in the year, they will perish in the sea. If I am not extremely out in my calculation of this matter, I am sure your Grace's thoughts will be no more at quiet than mine are. Had the Dutch complied with their quota of twenty-four ships (of which ten considerable ships have been all this summer wanting), as I have said in my letter to the Lords Justices, I should have sent with the Turkey convoy those of my fleet that are in the very worst condition, which would have been some ease to my mind. But when these ships will arrive God knows, and these here, had I not lent them money, must have remained at anchor at Barcelona all this summer, nor have I had any service from them in the winter. Their constant want of provisions, and their thriftiness in not allowing their ships to be cleaned, has made them of no other service than lying for a shew in the Bay of Cadiz.

"I must desire the favour of your Grace, that I may know whether any ships are coming out of England, that I may leave in the several ports the necessary orders for their proceeding; and what flags shall be here to govern the fleet after September; for at present I know nothing, but that after that month I may be drowned in coming home. I am not free from the apprehension of an order coming to me to stop me here all this winter, which, if such a thing should happen, I will rather run the hazard of his Majesty's displeasure, than remain here; for I am already ruined in my health; and whatever people may surmise to the contrary, I am very considerably a worse man in my own fortune than when I left England; nor am I under the least expectation or hopes of that being made good to me by his Majesty's bounty or generosity. But pardon this expression, being things that give me no uneasiness.

"I have at last got the Turkey fleet, and am sending them to Cadiz, in order to their proceeding home. They will be accompanied by the Grafton, Edgar, Warspight, and a fireship. God send them safe.

"I have no news to write to your Grace from this place, but that I design to go to-morrow to the coast of Provence, before the Vice-king here can propose an immediate service for them. I am ordered to pay the English troops their subsistence, without having any money; nor is there for their better government any power to place or displace officers. I do not say this that I desire it, but questionless, for discipline's sake, it should not be wanting in some hand or other. I must beg your Grace's pardon, that this letter comes not in my own hand-writing; at present I have a great lameness in my hand, that it is with some difficulty I hold a pen to subscribe my name."

Part III. of this volume consists of the confidential correspondence of the Duke with the Earl of Sunderland, Lords Somers and Wharton, the impracticable Admiral Russell already

already mentioned, and Mr. Montague, afterward Lord Halifax, from 1695 to 1704. While these letters abundantly shew the jealousies of each other which the Whig leaders entertained, they place in a strong point of view that amenity of disposition and urbanity of manners which so conspicuously distinguished the Duke of Shrewsbury; and by means of which he had been able, during his administration, to conciliate uncongenial tempers in the service of one common cause. The most interesting portion is that which gives the communications of the Duke with Lord Somers: these noblemen having been thrown together in early life, and being strongly attached to one another by all those ties which the same fondness for literary pursuits, the same elegance of taste, and the same ardour for promoting the freedom and the welfare of man, are wont to produce in the enthusiasm of youth. They resembled each other also in the inquisitive and reflecting turn of their spirit, and in the apparent reserve and timidity of their character. The juvenile curiosity of the Duke was at first directed rather to religious subtleties; and, after his understanding had broken through the tissue of superstition which had been spread over it in infancy, it long remained unsettled on points of faith, till some sound practical principles served him as a rallying ground, and the summons which he received to the management of state-affairs compelled him to leave the nice discussions of Jesuits and Jansenists to the cloisters and the schools.

Lord Somers's industry was exerted in his profession. He studied the history of his country, and explored the seeds of the Constitution in the annals and the records of parliament. He found in the necessities of human nature the origin of government, and in the welfare of the community he recognized its scope and test. His zeal for the English constitution was a zeal enlightened by knowledge, originating in his understanding and his heart, and illustrated by the whole course of his life. It was not mere lip-worship, or any fume of the fancy evaporating in idle words. Before he aimed at eminence on a wider scale, he first strove to attain it in his own legal pursuits, being aware that the fruits of meritorious exertion are the best earnest and the best safeguard of independence; so that the future guardian and restorer of the constitution was first known for his antiquarian research, and his profound store of legal acquirements. His abilities as a lawyer were happily brought forwards on the trial of the bishops; while his constitutional knowledge and his parliamentary talents were very advantageously displayed in the conferences between the two Houses on the subject of the King's abdication.

His sound views as a statesman are best exemplified by the treaty of partition, the union with Scotland, and the establishment of the Protestant succession; and the act for the amendment of the law, which he procured to be passed when he was himself no longer in any public employment, has done more to abolish chicanery, to liberalize the profession, and to effect a decision of causes on their real merits, than any single act in the statute-book. — It is delightful to observe that this profound lawyer and wise statesman was not less distinguished for the elegance of his literary pursuits; and his publications, though all anonymous, were so numerous that Addison did not hesitate to term him the greatest as well as the finest writer of his age. Those of his letters which are contained in the present collection justify the usual representation of his character. We extract a portion of the correspondence while the Duke was at Rome, and when the Whigs in England were very much perplexed to understand his conduct; and it will be seen that the letters of Lord Somers manifest great affection and delicacy of sentiment on so nice an occasion:

‘ “ * My Lord; I did myself the honour of writing to you, from Bath, last October. I sent another letter about Christmas, in which, according to your order, I mentioned what your Grace had formerly said was the price the gentleman required for his Guido, and took the liberty to renew my suit for that, or any other picture, you might meet with, and thought well of. There being now nearly half a year gone, since my last trouble of this kind, I venture to write again, for I cannot content myself totally to lose a privilege I have formerly had of corresponding with your Grace. I shall always use it very modestly, being sensible my letters are as little useful as diverting. The present humour of our country affords few pleasant subjects for a letter; and if I could write of things of consequence, I believe, by what I have seen in your former letters, you would not approve of it, considering the hazard of the miscarriage of letters.

‘ “ We were in a very general expectation of seeing you here, this spring, and you cannot imagine how uneasily the disappointment was borne by your friends, and what construction was put upon it by those who do not deserve that name. This is a very foolish liberty I take, and I do a violence to myself, in breaking through that natural shyness (for modesty is too good a name for it) which restrains me too often from dealing so freely as I ought, with those I love best; but, as I do it this once, so I shall not be guilty of it a second time, nor had I gone so far, but that the talk and the censures, that passed, upon this last disappointment, were so very much more general than formerly and (in the ferment we were in) you cannot but believe they were worse natured. Those

‘ * Without date, but probably written in June, 1704.’

that honour you most did not content themselves without saying, you owed something to your country, and that you had been long wanting to it, in very critical times. I never was wanting, upon any occasion, to shew I had a true honour for your Grace, and I never gave a greater proof of it, than in this freedom I have taken; and I am not sure I shall have confidence to let this letter go at last; but if it does, I persuade myself, you will not interpret it amiss, because it is impossible I should have an indirect end in it, how much soever I am mistaken, or how ill-bred soever I appear.

‘ “ Never man was wearier of a place, than I have been of this country, for many years, nor any one reckoned you happier than I have, for being out of the reach and hearing of all the malice and baseness, and violence, that men are practising upon one another; and I had not put you in mind of coming among us, but that I thought your honour began to be so much concerned. Give me leave to say, that if your health will not permit you to come, or if you think this continues to be too inhospitable a soil, I think you should not raise an expectation of your coming, because it always raises a new discourse, and every time more spiteful.

‘ “ Since I have begun to be thus foolish, in giving advice to one of the wisest men I ever knew, I will commit another folly, which I hope will, without any apology, shew itself to be very well meant. There are some, to whom you have writ of business, relating to public matters; I mean persons of consideration. To my knowledge, these things have been spoken of, in a manner you would not wish, and a turn given to your letters, that, I dare say, you did not mean. I shall say no more, for, if you do write to any such persons, you know them: if you do not, the injury is somewhat greater.

‘ “ I had written thus far, when Mr. Yard came to me, and I told him, amongst other things, that I had been writing to you; but that it was an impertinent letter, and I would not send it. He told me, I had not writ to your Grace a great while, and he would not go from me without it; and so, at last, I determined to seal it up, and put it into his hands, and to beg you to interpret, favourably, the confidence I should never have taken, if I were not with the greatest sincerity,” &c.

‘ *The Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers.*

‘ “ *Rome, July 5. 1704.*” — After sending him an account of a private sale of pictures, he proceeds: “ I shall now thank you for the favour of the last letter, and most infinitely, for the kindly freedom you have taken in it. Your Lordship would have completed the obligation, and may do it still, if you will acquaint me what are the censures people cast upon my absence. If it be, that they say, I have changed my religion, I can assure you, I take care nobody shall believe it here, and it is hard, after what I have done, and ventured for the P. R.* that I should be suspect-

‘ * So in the original, meaning, doubtless, the Protestant religion.’

ed there. But so false a calumny, I know, will soon vanish at my return, and, therefore, will trouble me the less. If, as your Lordship mentions, they think I have been any way wanting in critical times, they might remember I was not wanting in much more critical and dangerous trials; when, to preserve the liberty and religion of my country, I ventured my life as freely, if not more, than any body, my house being the place, where most of the considerable meetings were held, in order to call in his late Majesty. If people are angry with me, that I will not serve, they might consider my want of health, and impossibility to bear the air of London; my natural aversion to, as well as incapacity for, business; but, above all, that I look upon ours, as a country that will not be served, satisfied neither with those in affairs, nor with those who decline them; and if, necessarily, I must fall under their censure, I am much more desirous to do it for the last, than the first. However, since your Lordship says, that people grow every year more malicious, upon the deferring my return, I will delay it as little as well I can.

“ It is now not five days since my spitting of blood has ceased. I am just entered into a course of waters, and the season is now so hot, that travelling would be very dangerous for me. I am not inclined to begin my journey in the autumn, because the heats do not end here till the middle of October, so that I must make a winter journey, and come directly out of this hot climate, to pass a very cold moist winter in England. The time I would chuse, as best suited to my health, should be to arrive early in the spring, as I will certainly do the next, and so surely that nothing but death shall hinder me; and if your Lordship thinks it were necessary for me to come sooner, I desire you will so far continue your friendship, as immediately, on the receipt of this, to let me know your opinion, and I will forthwith depart, let the season, or my health, be what they will.

“ I can recollect no letter, I have writ, that could give a just occasion to any malicious turn. If I knew upon what subject it is pretended, I might remember better whether there be the least ground or no. I am sure I trouble my own head very little with thinking on politics, and I hope I have not been so foolish as to trouble others with them. The weakness of my breast, and uneasiness of my hand, put me in mind, that this tedious scrawl will be intruding too long on your Lordship's patience, and, therefore, begging the continuance of your friendship, and free advice, I conclude,” &c.

Lord Somers to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

“ July 21. 1704. — My Lord; by your Grace's letter of the 5th of July, new style, I find, that, though some of mine have miscarried, the last came to your hands, which I am glad of; for though I am out of countenance, when I think of it, yet it was so truly well intended, that I cannot repent it was written, and should have been vexed if it had fallen into other hands. I am sorry, if I said any thing to give you an uneasy moment. I have always
treated

treated the first thing you mention, as the greatest calumny ; and as to the second point, it will not be hard to believe, I am sufficiently convinced you have the right of the argument on the side of your choice, after what has passed in relation to myself.

“ I cannot but think it would be useless to your Grace, as well as the most painful thing in the world to me, to be recapitulating the spiteful things which have been said, in relation to your absence, so long. I will mention one thing, which put me out of patience, and was the true occasion of my writing. A report went, that an overture for a peace with France had proceeded from you, and that you were thought a fit person, on that side, to undertake the negotiation, and that you were not averse to it. This passed from one to another, till it gained some credit with people of the very best quality.

“ You may easily think what effect it must have with that party, who believe the utter destruction of England will be the inevitable consequence of such a peace, while France is master of the Spanish dominions. And, I assure you, another party endeavoured to make as perverse a use of this report, as can be imagined. For my own part, I have, with all the industry I could, endeavoured to treat it as a downright lie ; but I looked upon it, however, to be in a greater degree malicious than any thing I had heard before, and that thought produced the letter you received, of which I am sure you will make no wrong use as to me. You can easily recollect, if ever you said any thing which might give the least colour for the rise of such a story.

“ I am the last man living, who would persuade you to endanger your health, by an unseasonable journey ; besides, I think a few months' difference to be of very little consequence. I believe your reason against coming to be here first in winter is unanswerable.

“ I give your Grace a thousand thanks for the account of the fine pictures. I am not capable of judging of what I do not see, nor, indeed, could I pretend to determine of them if I saw them. But, if your Grace thinks there be any one, or more, among them, or elsewhere, very good, and at a reasonable price, I could be extravagant enough to lay out about two or three hundred pounds, and should be very proud of having something chosen by you. I am, with all possible sincerity,” &c.

Lord Somers to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

“ Oct. 5. 1704. — My Lord ; I should not give your Grace this trouble, were it not to tell you, that I have the two letters of the 13th and 20th of September, with which you have honoured me. They were both brought by the same packet-boat, and I had them not till yesterday. I am glad I can now, upon occasion, with certainty, confute that groundless, malicious story*, which I was sure, before, was untrue ; and did, as far as I could before, expose,

* Alluding to the report that he was employed in negotiating a peace.

as well as contradict. But give me leave to hint to you, that the story took its rise from a letter to the same purpose, which you wrote to somebody else than him you mention, or we are mistaken here. We are just upon the opening of a session of parliament, which I hope our great success abroad will make easy.

‘ “ I ought to ask many pardons for mentioning, so often, the desire I had for a picture of your chusing, and shall say no more of that matter.

‘ “ I dare not pretend to send you any intelligence, because I know you are better informed ; so that I shall only wish you may get your health confirmed before you leave Italy ; and may find every thing here, at your return, just as you wish. In the mean time, I shall think myself very happy to be honoured with any of your commands,” &c.’

To the different parts of the correspondence, the Archdeacon has prefixed short memoirs of the times and characters of the parties concerned ; and these illustrations evince his usual judgment and ability. For a general opinion of his style, we may refer to our comments on his previous works, and our recent account of his *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough*. (See M. R. Vol. xciii. p. 337. Dec. 1820.)

ART. II. *Montalto ; a Tragedy*, in Five Acts. As it was written previous to the Alterations that were made on its late Representation at the Theate-Royal, Drury Lane. 8vo. 3s. Lindsell. 1821.

WE are induced to think, from intimations which have reached us, that some of our late remarks on the proper style of dramatic poetry have been essentially misconceived. In our endeavours to rescue contemporary genius from that fatal rock of imitation which seems destined to wreck the noblest barks of the day, we have often adverted to the peculiar bias, existing at present, in favour of the antiquated manner of the great dramatists of the reigns of Elizabeth and James. Can it be necessary to suggest the distinguished name of Joanna Baillie, as a partial sufferer by this imitation ; — that of Milman, as almost entirely corrupted by it ; — and those of many others as lost for ever under the weight of so unnatural a burden ? Anxious, however, as all lovers of a natural and unfettered mode of expression must be, to recall their countrymen from so vain and degrading an attempt as the dull and servile revival of the Elizabethan drama, — the endeavour to fill that mighty ghost with the *gas* of modern inspiration, — still there is another error into which the young tragic writer may most easily fall. This is the contrary *mistake of perceiving all perfection in the classical school,*
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because much error and confusion are seen among the Goths. If we have ever said a word which could be so interpreted by any fair reasoner, we recall it; for most plainly can we avow our belief that, although the best and safest guides to a correct taste are to be found in the Greek writers, and in those who are built on their model, yet, by judicious selection from every style, something greater might even now be effected than the world of literature has hitherto witnessed. Meanwhile, in the dreary interval between this visionary perfection and our modern efforts at *originality*, (efforts conducted in the oddest manner, namely, by close *imitation* of Shakspeare and his suite !) we do consider it as advisable *occasionally* to remind our young countrymen, who are aspirants for dramatic laurels, that they live in the 19th century; and that, if they *must* have *any* constant model of style before them, — if they cannot copy but through a glass, — they have a better chance of writing naturally, and writing a language like that of their contemporaries, when they propose OTWAY for their model, than when they run back to the antiquated favourites of their rivals, and either

“ For *ekes* and *algates* only deign to seek,
And live upon a *whilome* for a week,” —

in imitation of the connecting *particles* of the Elizabethan drama, — or exclaim,

“ Perdition catch my soul, but I do love thee !”

“ Throw physic to the dogs, I’ll none of it !”

with the sublimer energies of their great originals.

The last quotation has brought us down, “ a perilous length,” to ‘ Montalto;’ who makes use of nearly these words, (‘ Throw patience to the winds, I’ll none of it,’ p. 81.) and sins in a similar manner on some few other occasions: but, in general, we are happy to be able to bear testimony to the proper and unaffected expressions of this author, and to the very considerable portion of merit of a higher description which he displays. The play reads very pleasantly; and, if not distinguished by any scenes of high-wrought interest, it is at all events a sensible production, and possessed of that species of secondary or moderate merit, which perhaps we should scarcely agree with Horace in excluding from Helicon. It was acted for several nights with considerable applause, and the performers exerted themselves much in its favour. We are not surprised at either of these circumstances. The beauties of ‘ Montalto’ (for it decidedly has its beauties) are

of

of a tangible and intelligible kind; such as might readily be expressed on the boards of a theatre, and were likely to be appreciated by a mixed audience. This, too, is no common praise. Where, then, does Montalto fail? In originality of design and character; in energy and grace of versification.

The story is *founded* on the *unfounded* jealousy of the principal personage: but this is all that it has in common with Othello. We quote a scene between the injurious husband and the innocent wife; — it explains itself.

‘ *[As he rushes to the door, it is thrown open by Julia, in her night-dress, a taper in her hand. He lets fall the dagger, and turns from her.]*

‘ *Jul.* Montalto!

‘ *Mont.* Speak not in this tone, Julia!

‘ *Jul.* Nor turn thy face away. — What ails my Lord?

‘ *Mont.* Nothing! — a very trifle.

‘ *Jul.* Nothing! — indeed!

And does Montalto shun his Julia’s bed
To hold strange converse with himself for nothing?
Does nothing knit his brow, and make him start;
As frightened by some horrible conception,
Born of a restless spirit, and heated fancy?
To day thy words were wrapt in mystery;
Willing, methought, a meaning should be guess’d at,
Thou daredst not utter. Often too thine eye
Was bent on empty air, seeming to seek
What it were most unwilling to have found.
That eye spoke volumes. ’Tis a fearful nothing,
That moves thee thus.

‘ *Mont.* I thought that thou didst sleep.

‘ *Jul.* ’Twas rightly guess’d.

‘ *Mont.* Didst thou hear nothing?

‘ *Jul.* Nothing.

The night’s unkindly, and the boisterous wind
Sings with unusual rudeness round these towers.
The rack of Heaven flies past the sickly moon,
And the dun bird of night’s prophetic voice
Gives notice of the storm: ’tis a wild night,
And menacing! — Yet I but slept the sounder.

‘ *Mont.* All wild without, within all calm and sunshine!
Nor dreams, nor inward whisperings disturb’d thee?

‘ *Jul.* I had no dreams, but dreams of happiness;
Nor visions, whisperings, thoughts, but of Montalto.

’Twas still on Love and all its attributes,
My wandering fancy ran, as joy and hope,
And confidence; bliss mutual, mutual cares;
Nor were our babes, sweet innocents, forgotten:
These were not themes to frighten or disturb.

Thy voice recalled me from a fairy land,
Where the pleased fancy rested with delight,

And

And quitted sorrowing. — Wilt thou to-bed,
The night wears rapidly ?

‘ *Advancing towards him, strikes her foot against the dagger,
which she takes up.*

What’s here, a dagger ?

‘ *Mont.* Give it me back : ’tis mine.

‘ *Jul.* Thine, thine, Montalto ?

‘ *Mont.* Give it me.

‘ *Jul.* To arm thee ’gainst thyself ?

Oh what a train of black and horrible thoughts
Come rushing on my soul ! —

‘ *Mont.* What may this mean ?

Give me the dagger, Julia ! —

‘ *Jul.* Never ! — Away

Hell-furnish’d instrument, whose envious point
Would pierce a heart too noble for this world.

’Twas this thy looks foretold. Oh speak, Montalto,
What can have moved thy manly soul to this ?

‘ *Mont.* Julia, thou art deceived —

‘ *Jul.* Deceived ! — look on me ! —

Nay, turn not thus away. When hast thou fear’d
To meet thy Julia’s gaze ? That eagle-eye,
Which never yet has shrunk from mortal glance,
Dares not encounter mine. Speak, speak, Montalto !
Speak to thy friend, thy wife ! —

‘ *Mont.* To thee !

‘ *Jul.* To Julia :

Who else shall share thy griefs, but she, whose oaths
Are register’d in heaven to share them with thee ?
Who else shall weep with thee ? — Drop tears of blood,
If thy heart bleed, Montalto ? — Dost thou fear
A woman’s weakness, and a lack of courage ?
Be undeceived ! — I may be mild and gentle,
As fits a woman, when her fortunes smile,
But I can bear with sorrow, as becomes
Montalto’s wife.

‘ *Mont.* Well is it for thee, Julia !

Well is it for thee ! Conscious innocence
Speaks in no bolder strain, nor fronts suspicion
With loftier tone. Why not ? — Thou art heart-whole,
Ungall’d by conscience, and canst bear thee up
As fits Montalto’s wife.

‘ *Jul.* I would draw meaning from this coil of words
Could reason do ’t, for to the idle air
Montalto is not wont to throw out sounds
For expectation to grow sick upon.
Something of doubt I gather from thy speech,
But doubt of what ? — of Julia ? — of thy wife ?
I will not wrong thee by so foul a thought.
Or of thy friends ? I’ll dare be sworn they’re steadfast.
Or is’t belike, that thou hast brought with thee

Ill tidings from the war, such as thy love
 Hath not yet dared to utter? Aye, is't so?
 Hast thou lost all? Thy friends all slain, or taken;
 Thy army clean dispersed, and nothing left
 But thy good sword, this castle, and thyself?
 Is't so! — thy hand! — dost feel me tremble?

‘ *Mont.* Julia!

My friends are steadfast, and my army stands
 Unbroken, unassailable. That way
 There lies no doubt!

‘ *Jul.* Where lies it then, Montalto?
 Darest thou not speak it? — No? — Not to thy wife?
 Had I been told, that I should see the day
 Montalto would reject his Julia's prayer,
 And selfish in his sorrow, brood alone
 Unmindful of her pangs, how had I chidden
 The slanderer of my Lord? I would have said
 That love and confidence go hand-in-hand,
 And that to grieve alone, as to rejoice,
 Argued a lack of both.

‘ *Mont.* A lack of love!
 Thou dared'st not think it. The arch-fiend himself
 Had ventur'd not to whisper it — had held
 The falsehood monstrous. Had I lack'd of love,
 I had lack'd being! 'Twas existence self;
 The atmosphere in which I breathed, and failing
 I too had perished. Thou alone, thou, Julia —

‘ *Jul.* What dreadful tale chokes up thy labouring speech,
 And checks the utterance that thou wouldst give it?
 Is it thy manly soul would bear alone
 The weight of woe, or is thy Julia deem'd
 Unworthy of the trust? Oh, fear me not!
 I seek not to extort thy secret from thee.
 I would stand debtor to thy love for confidence,
 But only to thy love.

‘ *Mont.* Am I spell bound?
 Entranced? — the music of her voice unmans me,
 Even to very childishness.

‘ *Jul.* Thou weep'st!
 Nay seek not to conceal it. Oh, forgive,
 If anxious love in its mistaken zeal
 Hath questioned thee too rudely. Women's tears
 Are lightly shed, more lightly still forgotten,
 But when the tear is seen on manhood's cheek
 Oh, it doth argue such a sum of wretchedness,
 As spurns at comfort, and all soothing words
 Are but a mockery of grief! Forgive me!
 I was indeed to blame!

[takes his hand.]

What fever's here!
 With what unnatural haste the stream of life

Runs

Runs boiling thro' thy veins, as tho' 'twould burst
The channel, and give out its rich exuberance
To the deep blushing earth! — Alas! alas!
This is no passing ailing of light cure
An hour gets rid of. This is deep-seated, love!
Body and mind unhinged! — both, both, Montalto!
Exhausted nature must have rest and quiet.

‘ *Mont.* (*Striking his breast.*)

'Tis here! — but it will pass, like all things else.
 Anon I shall be well again.

‘ *Jul.* To rest!

Thou must indeed to rest. Bear up, Montalto!
If Julia be thy nurse, thy pillow's guardian,
What should'st thou fear? The dark and evil spirits
Born of the night, that haunt the sick man's chamber,
Guiding the subtle workings of the brain
To dreams of desperation, ever fly
The couch, that true love watches. Nought shall stir,
No sound be heard, that may disturb thy slumbers.
If sighs escape, they shall be gently breathed;
If tears o'erflow, they shall fall silently;
If prayers arise, they shall be whisper'd forth
Unheard of mortal ears. —

Nay turn not from me, love! — Be ruled in this.

Some hours of sleep and thou art well again.

Thou must indeed to rest! Nay, come Montalto!

I'll lead thee to thy chamber, come! come! come!

(*She leads him slowly out.*)

Exeunt.

This liberal extract will amply enable our readers to judge of the degree of merit which belongs to this tragedy. We certainly could select several very pretty common-places; and we could also note some violations of taste and correctness in the style of the play: but we shall set the one against the other, acknowledge their neutralizing power, and suffer the whole to rest in silence.

ART. III. *First Lines of the Human Mind.* By John Fearn.
 8vo. pp. 650. 15s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1820.

IN the daily diffusion of that rational curiosity which would seem to leave no portion of nature unexplored, and in the constant growth and improvement of the sciences, is it possible that the **INDUCTIVE PHILOSOPHY OF MIND** can long be so generally neglected? The prejudice against this study, excited by the vain inquiries and barren trifling of the *scholastic metaphysics*, surely ought to pass away in a country, of which the mental philosophers have followed the method of investigation.

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gation first pursued to any extent by Locke, although originally pointed out by Bacon. The precepts of this great modern reformer of philosophy have uniformly operated with increasing success to the enlargement and correction of our physical knowlege; and why should they not do this with equal advantage, after the great example of the truly English metaphysician who adopted them, in the prosecution of our inquiries into the appearances and properties of the human mind? Where is the superiority of *experiment* over *observation* so manifestly to be found, as to preclude the latter from adding certainty to the science to which it is peculiarly applicable; while no limits are assigned to the discoveries of the former, or to the sound reasonings which may be built on those discoveries? We should consider ourselves as unworthily despairing of the extent of human capacity, if we decided, in this inquisitive age, on the impossibility of ever attaining to a *demonstrative system of mind*, raised on the undeniable phænomena of *consciousness* and the just inferences of *analogy*; displaying, and classing accurately, *our own* sensations and powers; and logically deducing, from their expressed thoughts and actions, the mental energies of our fellow-creatures.

Were we, however, to pursue this train of thought, we should occupy too much of the space for which we shall have an ample demand in stating the lucubrations of the very ingenious and original author before us, and in adding our own remarks on them. In performing this duty, we must at the outset congratulate Mr. Fearn on a visible and great amendment in his style of composition. We do not mean to say that every objectionable mode of phraseology is removed from his present volume; or that it offers to the captious and factious critic (who attends to *manner* so exclusively as to disregard *matter*, however important, when conveyed in an uncouth vehicle of words,) no opportunities for exercising his ill-applied powers of ridicule: but still we find so great an amelioration in Mr. Fearn's language, — so much more clearness, simplicity, and force, than in his former works, — that, taken together with the decidedly novel and curious character of his speculations, we regard his literary merits as now quite sufficient to leave every reader, who has any turn for such studies, wholly without excuse for neglecting so distinguished a philosopher.

Our next step, in the vindication of this meritorious writer from most undeserved neglect, is to give a short account of his correspondence (for controversy it cannot be called) with Professor Stewart, on the subject of the claim of Mr. Fearn to

to the original discovery of a very curious fact in the analysis of perception; and from which, if it be duly and fully established*, the most important consequences must flow to the whole cast and character of mental philosophy. The fact in question is briefly this, that “a *variety* of colours is necessary for the perception of visible outline.” In the year 1812, in his *Essay on Consciousness*, Mr. Fearn first started this idea: but in 1813 he published a much clearer statement of his principle; and, subsequently, (but still before *any* notice of it in *any* other quarter,) he deduced from the foregoing position his three other laws of vision, as entirely original and as exclusively his own property as the first principle in question.

In 1815, in the *Dissertation* prefixed to the fifth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Professor Stewart threw out a suggestion that “a *variety* of colours is necessary to the act of perceiving visible figure or outline;” following up this suggestion in the text by a note, (p. 101.) in which he stated that “a discussion of Reid’s concerning the perception of visible figure had puzzled him more than forty years,” and concluding by saying that “to his apprehension nothing can be more manifest than this; that if there had been no *variety* in our sensations of colour, and still more if we had had no sensation of colour whatever, the organ of sight could have given us no information, either with regard to *figures* or to *distances*.”

Mr. Fearn very naturally felt it incumbent on him, having sent to the Professor his “*Essay on Consciousness*” in the year 1812, to defend himself from the obvious imputation of having borrowed from the Professor’s writings, or at all events from some previous metaphysician, the ideas which he had published as original on this phænomenon of perception. — Mr. Stewart, in a letter to Mr. Fearn, admits “that there is no hint of any such matter as a *variety* of colours in perception” (we quote from the present volume) “in any one of his prior writings up to the appearance of the *Dissertation* in 1815:” but he adds “that he takes no credit to himself for the *novelty* of the remark, which is to be found in various books written fifty years before he ever heard of Mr. Fearn’s name.” He then specifies Lord Monboddo, *and only Lord Monboddo*; whose words are these: “Colour is the primary perception of the sense of seeing; and the others are only conse-

* Of this result we have ourselves no doubt; and in this introductory part of the present article we run the risk, for the sake of clearness, and on account of the little attention which has been paid to the subject, of repeating a portion of our own former strictures.

quential." "Figure and magnitude are nothing else but colour of a certain extent, and *terminated in a certain manner*." — To this sole authority adduced by the Professor in support of his assertion, Mr. Fearn most satisfactorily thus replies: 'Does the assertion that figure and magnitude are nothing else but colour of a certain extent, and *terminated in a certain manner*, furnish the most distant hint of the *manner* in which colour is terminated?' Does this assertion of Lord Monboddo distinctly approach the fact that 'a *variety* of colours is necessary for the formation of every visible figure, or outline;' or the consequence deduced from it, (and not *pretended*, as far as we know, to have been discovered by *any* previous metaphysician,) that 'visible figure, or outline, is purely a *relation of contrast between two of our own ideas*?' — a consequence which, if the present author has indeed succeeded in legitimately drawing it from his premises, will 'transfer,' as he is sanguine in hoping it will do, 'the subject of perception out of *physical* into *demonstrative* science;' and thus assist in raising a superstructure of mental philosophy, to a height which neither the author of "Ancient Metaphysics" nor any of the luminous school of Reid ever dreamed of attaining.

To this preliminary statement of facts and dates, we shall only add, on this part of the subject, that the attack here made on the very fundamental principles of the philosophy of Reid seems to us to demand, more imperatively than ever, an answer from Professor Stewart; the acknowledged head and representative of the pneumatological opinions and honours of his celebrated friend and predecessor.

Our readers will bear in mind, or refer to, the concluding paragraph of the quotation already made from Mr. Stewart's note to page 101. of the "Dissertation;" and they will then compare that paragraph with the following passage from the third section of the first chapter of his "Elements." The Professor states that, from Reid's view of the subject of perception, it follows "that, although, by the constitution of our nature, certain sensations are rendered the constant antecedents of certain perceptions, yet it is just as difficult to explain how our perceptions are obtained by their means, as it would be upon the supposition that the mind were all at once inspired with them, without any sensation whatever." — In reply, Mr. F. says, he concludes that Professor Stewart can reconcile these apparent contradictions, if he chuses: but that, if he does not judge this to be necessary, he (Mr. F.) is satisfied. Well may he be so, in our opinion, with his own triumph; which he enjoys with the most commendable modesty.

modesty. In one word, the Professor's credit as a philosopher is completely at stake; and if he does not defend it, neither the respect with which the present author is laudably disposed to treat his venerable name, nor our own sincere admission of his great talents and acquirements, can protect him from the imputation of shrinking from an attack which is renewed most vigorously in various parts of this volume, and which aims at neither more nor less than the overthrow of the very foundations of his, or rather Reid's, school of philosophy. In our judgment, the *Body Politic* of Scotland was never wounded with a severer blow, or threatened with a more complete revolution, from the arms of Edward and the intrigues of Elizabeth, than that to which her *Body Metaphysical* has been exposed in the work before us.

To that work, having thus duly ushered the suppressed claims of the writer into our literary circle, we shall now give our best attention; and we solicit the regard of all who have any wish to have their knowledge of the human mind, its properties and powers, substantially increased, for so extraordinary a production.

The author's division of his subject, and the precedence which he gives to certain faculties in his mental analysis, present the first remarkable point of originality. He contends that it will appear, from reasonings here first adduced, that

‘What has heretofore been called *external perception* is demonstrably a legitimate act of our *judgment*, exercised between any two of our sensations.’ ‘It will therefore, I have little doubt, be admitted to have been strictly logical to follow up the chapter of perception with that which treats of judgment and relations; but it will be observed with surprise, and perhaps at first with dissatisfaction, that the usual order of precedence, or succession of the faculties of the mind, is in this case remarkably violated.’

Mr. Fearn then proceeds to quote the order in which the mental powers have been arranged by Reid, and the different order of Stewart. He next states the reasons which induce him to differ so materially from both these arrangements, and indeed from all others:

‘*First.* It is, I apprehend, a fact, although it has been very generally overlooked, that every operation or thought of the mind comprehends an exercise of our *Judgment*, because every species of mental act includes some sort of *Relation*. It will be shown, in its proper place, that our Sensations themselves, notwithstanding they have uniformly been supposed to be *simple* affections of the mind, are in reality very *complex* ones; being, for the most part, made up of a tissue of *Relations*, interwoven together with their *primary or substantive elements*. And the same remark, I imagine, applies

applies with regard to every object, and exercise, not only of Reasoning and of Abstraction, but also of Imagination, of Memory, and Perception, and of Simple Apprehension itself.

‘ If this view of the matter should be substantiated, it will be granted, that, in order to understand an analysis of any other of the Faculties above mentioned, it is essential we should be previously put in possession of the principles of that which operates in, and in point of fact forms the basis of, them all. A striking example of the truth of this remark is furnished by the fact of Perception: which has uniformly been considered as being either *mere sensation*, or, at the utmost, an *instinctive result of some sort*; whereas, its analysis shows it to be so legitimately an act of our Intuitive Faculty, in the discernment of a Relation between two Sensations; that, logically considered, the proposed chapter of PERCEPTION ought to have been made no other than a section of the chapter of JUDGMENT AND RELATIONS; and the two Subjects are divided merely for the sake of convenience, and on account of that precedence which the act of Perception has in the order of our intercourse with the world around us.

‘ This explanation, I hope, lets in a considerable light upon the reasons which have governed me, in the arrangement adopted. But much more will these reasons have weight, if it should appear, in the result, that the *Category of Relation* differs in reality, and most extremely, from that nature which has heretofore been ascribed to it.

‘ In addition to this primary reason for letting the Faculty of Judgment take precedence in the order of the mental Powers, there are other considerations, which I think are not wanting in moment.

‘ The Faculties of Memory, Imagination, and Conception, (which are usually treated next after Perception by means of the External Senses,) are sufficiently understood by every man, from the teaching of nature alone, to enable him to exercise those Faculties for every purpose of comprehending an analysis of Judgment and Relations. But I will hazard the belief that no man can acquire a philosophical knowledge of Imagination, Conception, or Memory, or even of Sensation itself, until after he has comprehended the nature of Judgment and its Objects in general.

‘ Another, and a very different consideration from the above is, that, although the analyses of the other Faculties of the Mind are certainly very important in a subordinate point of view, the due understanding of their nature involving the advancement of the human mind in the Fine Arts, and even in the Sciences, it must however be granted that the investigation of them does not comprehend, or at all bear upon, any of those great questions in philosophy, the solution of which would form any of the principal desiderata that have engaged the attention of thinking men. In a word; the subordinate Faculties in question are not fields which contain discovery: these Faculties, therefore, will stand first with such writers only, on the Science of Mind, as have their principal attention directed to the cultivation of literary taste, and to the
arts

arts with which that taste is connected. By these observations, I would not be understood to deny the influence which the Faculties in question have over the moral bent and conduct of the Species. All I design to assert is, that the analysis of them ought to be *postponed* to that of our Great Faculty of Intuition.

‘ There is yet another consideration, which cannot in strictness be refused admittance here ; namely, that our acts of Judgment must, in point of fact, *in the very beginning, precede* any act of Imagination; or of Memory : or, at least, it may be affirmed that Judgment does *not presuppose* any other knowledge, or act, except that of Sensation alone ; whereas, I have already suggested, it will distinctly appear, that the exercise of all the other Powers must involve that of Judgment.’

To this reasoning we entirely subscribe ; and, although we might demur to some particular expressions, nothing occurs to us as demanding objection in a philosophical point of view. Mr. Fearn, however, must excuse us if we do not follow his own order in our examination of his work. We have several reasons for deviating from it ; and with one he has himself furnished us, by acknowledging that the chapter on Judgment and Relation might have been involved in that which treats of Perception ; or, rather, that the latter might have been made a section of the former. Let us add that, if the mind itself is so largely the efficient cause of its own sensations as Mr. F. seems to contend, the mind itself, and its chief faculty, judgment, (identified with, or undistinguishable from, that mind *in operation*, however it may be considered as its property *in repose*,) should be the first subject of examination in all metaphysical essays. We would farther suggest that, as it ought to be the main object of every lover of truth to diffuse the truth which he has discovered, the manner in which this is done should be as attractive as he can possibly make it ; and that it is a positive duty not to risk the chance of drawing attention to what is likely to be considered as practical and useful, by placing before it what is (*at present*) almost certain to be viewed as visionary, or theoretical, except by a very few discriminating and inquisitive persons. *Verbum sat auctori.* To our readers we must explain this allusion, by stating that much of Mr. Fearn's chapter on Perception is occupied with an attempt (most original and ingenious, whether it be or be not successful) to explode the doctrine of *an external world of dead matter*, or of *material substance* distinct from the properties or accidents of particular bodies. To this subject we shall endeavour to return before we conclude, in order to shew where the author's views differ from those of Berkeley, and to manifest his ultimate and even moral object in this seemingly fruitless speculation : but we must first advert to what

he says on the subject of Judgment, and on the whole category of Relation, as containing much more solid, more practical, and more generally attractive matter.

Having observed that 'the name of *Judgment* has been very properly appropriated to that intellectual power by which we discern the *Relations between things*,' Mr. F. thus proceeds with his subject:

'In advancing from the *mere sensitive* part of our constitution, to consider that which properly claims the title of *intellectual*, we are called upon to recognize this superior department of the mind as consisting in the two correlative acts of *distinction* and *comparison*; and it will be found, that a very large proportion of the whole business of the understanding consists in various modifications of these two acts.

'From these two combined operations, results a *third* one; which is a *discernment of the precise RELATION* existing between any two thoughts, or things.

'It seems to be a question of some difficulty, which of the two operations, whether *distinction* or *comparison*, must have been prior in the order of our ideas. But, for the purposes I have in view, it could be of no utility to embarrass the subject with any consideration of this question.

'With regard to the extent of the province of RELATION; it may be said to resemble that universal immaterial bond, which every where *connects*, while it also *divides*, the supposed elementary particles of material body, as they are said to be scattered throughout the expanse of creation. In every instance in which we *compound* any of our ideas, and in every instance in which we *abstract from* them, as well as in all those cases which in the ordinary sense are called *perceptions of relations*, the mind must proceed by acts of *distinction and comparison*, and the *greater part* of the complex object which it operates upon, in any such case, is made up of relations.

'We can neither apprehend any complex object of perception, or thought; nor divide, by abstraction, any two parts of a complex object; nor in thought *connect, divide, or conceive*, any two points of space, or of time, by any other means than by an act of *comparison*; of which act, RELATION is the OBJECT. We can have *neither reasoning, nor imagination, nor memory, nor simple apprehension, nor even sensation itself*, (such as we in ordinary experience it,) without an exercise of the act of comparison; because it can be clearly demonstrated that the whole *web or tissue* (so to speak) of every object, of each of the above mentioned different operations, is made up of a *texture of Relations*, which *divide*, while they *also hold together*, the *positive elements* of the object.

'It will serve, remarkably, to illustrate the truth of these observations; and, at the same time, to introduce a certain species of objects into its proper place or category in the universe of *things*, to note here, that all our innumerable PERCEPTIONS of out-

lines

lines or figures are nothing but *legitimate* OPERATIONS OF OUR JUDGMENT; every moment comparing, or contrasting, the various sensations of which we are made conscious; and therefrom discerning their *extended and local Relations, between themselves*.

‘ In the phenomena of Visible Lines, we have an infinitely numerous class of Relations, in addition to the many other species which logicians and philosophers have recognised; and, from the extent which is occupied by this class alone, the whole visible world proves to be, in great part, a texture of Relations.’

A wide field for reflection is opened by these remarks, which contain a description of judgment (although they are far from exhibiting an entire view of the author's opinions) that is fuller, and more adequate to the matter in discussion, than any account of that faculty which we recollect elsewhere. We are bound to subjoin some very important additions to this analysis :

‘ In the case of *simple apprehension*, it has not been supposed by logicians that Judgment has any thing at all to do. By suggesting, and briefly illustrating the contrary of this opinion, I shall at the same time show, that our rational faculty must necessarily be employed in *every other* species of thought, unless it be in some particular cases of sensation. With this view, therefore, I now observe, that when we either perceive, or call up in our imagination, any object, such, for example, as *a horse*, we can recognise this object *only by discerning* that its different parts *support similar relations* between themselves, to those which we have before discerned in an animal of that species. If it were at any time to happen, that, on our being desired to call up the conception of a horse, our imagination should present us with the figure of an animal with its head and limbs supporting *different relations* between themselves, from those which we have been used to contemplate as the relations of the parts of a horse, we should immediately be struck by this *new arrangement* OF PARTS, and should tacitly, in our *Judgment*, DENY that the object we now apprehend is *a horse*.

‘ Hence it is plain, that *all simple apprehension*, generally speaking, comprehends a *discernment or Judgment* of the *Relations* between the parts of the object, or scene, apprehended.

‘ The fact now suggested, however, does not appear to argue against the usual assumption of logicians, that Judgment regards only *truth* and *falsehood*; because, as I have already in part observed, every instance of simple apprehension involves a *tacit affirmation, or denial*. The operation of the Judgment in any case of simple apprehension, or conception, strictly speaking, can be nothing different, in this respect, from what it is in a case of actual perception itself. Now, if any person were to tell another that he will show him a horse, and were thereupon to direct his attention to some animal possessing a very different structure or relation of parts, the moment that the *strange relations* became
apparent,

apparent to the beholder, he would, without any regard to color, or size, *tacitly deny* that the animal he perceives is a horse; and no expressed form of words could make this denial more complete in the mind of the person himself.

' Thus, the apprehension of every object of thought whatever, that has in it *any degree of perceptible complexness*, can be effected only through an exercise of our Judgment in an act of discernment; which act must involve either affirmation or denial.'

As we advance in our attempt to give a general view of the most curious and interesting speculations in these 'First Lines of the Human Mind,'* we feel the impossibility of doing justice by any quotations, and still less by any compressed abstract of the arguments, to the ingenuity and cogent reasoning of the author. We must pass over his inquiry into the present state of philosophical opinion on the subject of relation, and his examination of Stewart's Structure's on Locke's Account of the Origin of our Knowledge. In these historical and critical departments of his work, Mr. Fearn, without any diminution of his former vivacity and freshness of observation, has manifested a very improved acquaintance with the labours of preceding authors in the same class of subjects; and he has obviously read more, while he has not reflected less, than in his earlier publications. All this, however, our readers must take for granted, or refer (as we again and again advise them) to the passages in question for proof of our assertion. Those passages, by the author's fullness and fairness of quotation, will give the student in metaphysics a very sufficient view of all that has hitherto been done by philosophers, for the explanation of some of the most striking phænomena of mind; and that student will be saved much unnecessary trouble, and much perplexing doubt, by the remarks which Mr. F. has added, either in confirmation or refutation of previous opinions. We speak, of course, generally, and are far from considering such remarks as uniformly fortunate to their full extent. On the contrary, we think that we have observed more than one failure in correctness of inference; and certainly several in propriety of language. In another portion of the work, we shall also have to notice what appears to us a very curious contradiction; and we could add some more doubtful instances of a like nature:—but, if ever the old citation of "*Ubi plura nitent*," &c. was applicable, and ought to influence the critic,

* The author has anticipated some objections to his *title*, and has defended it in his preface: not, we think, with complete success, though very modestly. It is indistinct.

it may be so applied, and should have that influence, in the present instance.

Mr. Fearn satisfactorily evinces that Dr. Reid's view of the admixture of judgment with many other mental powers falls very short of his own. Dr. Reid has not supposed judgment to be an *operator* in any of the processes of sensation, perception, consciousness, or memory, "but merely an *observer*, who notes the fact after it has taken place, as a thing existing, or that has existed." The present author, however, does not even except *conception* (as Reid has done) from the active offices of judgment; and he infers, from his whole observations, that '*every operation of mind is in great part made up of an operation of judgment.*'

On the subject of 'Relation,' we are much attracted by the author's reflections, particularly those on space and time: but we can advert only to what is said on the philology of relation; and we are decided in our choice of this portion of the discussion by the novelty and curiosity of the remarks on grammar, and by their forcible opposition to some of the most popular of Horne Tooke's speculations of the same nature.

To the following general difference of opinion, Mr. Fearn adds some more specific instances of disagreement with Mr. Tooke.

'I am unable to subscribe to Mr. Tooke's opinion, with regard to what is in reality the *mine* from which a knowledge of Philosophical Grammar is to be obtained. This mine, according to him, is the Original workshop of language. But I would confidently seek for it rather in the foundry of our ideas, that is, in the Mind and its Operations. If I should ultimately appear to be warranted in this supposition, the perfection of Grammar cannot be obtained from any research into Etymology; but, on the contrary, it must patiently wait the perfection of the Philosophy of the Mind.

'In so far as the original fabricators of language had just ideas, they may indeed be expected to have found suitable expressions for them; and, thus far, Etymology is an *accidental or secondary source* in which we may seek for the Nature and Relations of Words. But nothing has proved more contrary to experience, than that mankind in a rude state have ever had just philosophical notions. How then shall we look for the philosophy of language, where the philosophy of idea never yet existed? In tracing the original meanings of words, we may find (and even this appears in many cases to be a matter of very uncertain issue) how our forefathers *thought*: but this affords us no ground to assume that they *thought justly*; and, if they did not do this, it is impossible they could have *spoken justly.*'

Mr. Tooke

Mr. Tooke expressed himself in the most contemptuous manner of those who attempt to make any distinction between the terms *Relatives* and *Relations* : but he receives much calm and sound instruction from Mr. Fearn, as to the real and most material difference between these two terms, which he despises the precision of distinguishing. The whole of Mr. F.'s preceding analysis has pointed out the most marked difference between *relatives* and *relations*, considered as things existing in the universe, either in the ideas of our own minds or in objects beyond us : but Mr. Tooke had in view little if any thing more than the *grammatical terms*, the *verbal expressions* of *relatives* and *relations* ; and here Mr. Fearn, we think, plainly shews that the grammarian of Purley, 'from the want of any conception of the real nature of Relation itself,' has left in its primitive and long-continued darkness 'the real nature of one of the only two essential parts of speech, namely, the *verb*.'

The ensuing extract will serve as a specimen of the present author's powers of philological disquisition, even when "discussing the art of war with Hannibal;" — when mooting grammatical points with the verbal hero of Purley:

'I assume, in concurrence with Mr. Tooke, that the only essential parts of speech are the *Noun* and the *Verb*. The question, then, which first presents itself, is the following ; namely, WHY are the Noun and the Verb the only two essential parts of Speech : upon what basis is this assumption founded ?

'The answer, I imagine, is simply this ; that *there are only two PRIMARY GENERA or CATEGORIES OF THINGS*, conceivable in the universe ; that is to say, *SUBSTANTIVE NATURES* — and *PARTITIONS between them* : which *PARTITIONS* are obviously *necessary* to give *plurality* to things, and without which they must be not divers but *ALL ONE SAME THING*.

'Assuming this, as the primary constitution of all things known by us, I am to observe, that *Substantive Natures*, and also their *Inherent Qualities*, which may be considered as being *substantive in a secondary degree*, may, each of them, be viewed *also relatively* in regard to any other things, and hence these Substantives take the superinduced character of *RELATIVE SUBJECTS* : but whether they be regarded in their *primary character of Substantives*, or in their *secondary character of Relatives*, they are, in every case, necessarily *signified only by NOUNS*. But, *utterly contrary to this nature*, I must here suggest, *ALL PARTITIONS (that is to say, ALL RELATIONS)* between Substantive things *must be signified only by VERBS*, or by a word which defines or modifies a Verb, namely, a *Preposition*.

'This last assumption (of the truth of which I have little doubt of being able to satisfy my readers) forms of itself alone a conclusive answer to Mr Tooke's question, as to *what difference gentlemen*

men could possibly specify between *Relations* and *Relatives*: for vast and essential that difference must be, when the signification of the two things in question of necessity demands the two most essentially different parts of speech.'

Mr. F. adds much to this argument: but we must omit a still more interesting portion of his philological inquiries, we mean that in which he irrefragably proves the elliptical nature of language, to a much greater extent than it has been usually admitted; — to an extent indeed which demonstrates words to be rather a series of hints to excite ideas, than of signs to impart them. He asserts that 'it is an axiom in language, equal in force or necessity to any axiom in geometry, that *every* nominative must have a correlative accusative, *understood*; and that *every* verb is a *bridge*,' (i. e. *a connecting partition*,) 'which can no more be supported without both a nominative and an accusative, than London Bridge could be supported by only one or neither bank of the Thames.' For the developement of this ingenious notion, we must refer to the volume.

We are now led by the subject to point out the contradiction to which we before adverted.

In p. 485., while illustrating his previous position of the elliptical use of the verb, Mr. F. makes this remark:

'If we take the Verb *to strike*, and say, in the indicative mood, *I strike*, this in reality is an elliptical expression, and it means *I, existing in Time and Space, strike*. And, even, when these words are introduced, the sentence can have no meaning until we farther add some Noun, or Pronoun, in the objective case; such as, *I, existing in Time and Space, strike RICHARD*. Here, then, are two complete Verbs, having two distinct Nominatives and two corresponding Accusatives, *understood*, in order to give any sense to the simple expression "*I strike*."

This is all very well: but how is it reconcileable with the declaration in p. 577.? viz. 'I know of no more logical assumption' than the celebrated enthymeme of Descartes, *I think, (i. e. I feel,) therefore I exist*.' According to the author's own preceding argument, '*every* verb is a *bridge*,' &c.; and, consequently, the verb "*I think*" must be used in this passage as elliptically as the verb "*I strike*" in the preceding quotation. If so, the complete filling up of this skeleton of a sentence, — the flesh and blood, muscles, nerves, and veins, which the ellipsis has cast away, — must, in the author's own words, exhibit it thus: "*I, existing in time and space, think, therefore I exist*;" a logical assumption that we imagine the modest author will not be very proud of acknowledging. Seriously, he *has been betrayed* into praising that which merits only

only ridicule as a pompous and pregnant nothing, — an oracular gasconade. It is obvious, as writers have frequently remarked, that, since thought *pre-supposes* existence, it cannot prove existence; exactly according to the concise but satisfactory refutation by Bishop Butler of Locke's doctrine of personal identity being constituted by consciousness: "Consciousness *pre-supposes* personal identity, therefore cannot constitute it."

Unwilling as we are to leave any of the more ingenious portions of this treatise without notice, still we must omit the very singular collection of proofs and illustrations, by which Mr. Fearn supports his argument that 'visible figure is a relation of contrast between two of our own ideas.' His remarks on the three different species of 'visible lines;' his extraordinary attempt to prove that all lines whatever, mathematical, physical, and moral, 'are of one same general nature;' and his introductory account of the ideal theory, its changes, and its chief supporters; are all beyond our limits, and indeed insusceptible of fair abridgment. We can only fulfil the promise which we made respecting one considerable portion of the volume, and then briefly advert to a curious phænomenon noticed in the Appendix. The passage in the early part of the book, to which we allude, furnishes a better clue than we have before seen in print, to the correction of much mis-statement of a very singular philosophical opinion.

'It is altogether deplorable, to what a degree the doctrine of the non-existence of a material world has been misunderstood, even by the learned part of mankind, in this quarter of the globe. As for persons of any other description, it is impossible that they should yield their assent to a proposition, the nature of which they cannot so much as comprehend, in the abstract and unexplained terms in which it is usually put.

'When an ordinary person is told, in the language of Berkeley, that the chairs, the tables, the horses, and the carts, which he perceives, are nothing but *ideas in his own mind*, he internally blesses his lot, in having been endowed with good wholesome sound sense, which preserves him from being invaded by any such pitiable chimeras. — Horses and carts, nothing but *ideas*? The thing is too much for any cool clear headed man, who is quite sure that he knows the taste of his bottle of wine, from the *idea* he has of the same thing when he is not drinking it.

'The case, however, must be considerably altered, when it is explained to any such person, that, under the term *IDEA*, Berkeley and all other modern philosophers comprehend not only the *thought* of the taste of wine, but also the *very sensation or taste* of wine itself. In other and more general terms, we are to observe, our *IDEAS*, which are of a great variety of species, comprehend our *most vivid and most agonising SENSATIONS*, as well as
our

our recollections of these, and all our lightest or most shadowy thoughts.

‘ When, therefore, a man *looks* at a bottle of wine, he has a *sensation*, (which is an *idea*) of a *dark color*; which sensation (it will be demonstrated in its proper place) is all that he calls *seeing his bottle*. When he grasps it in his hand, he has a *sensation of touch*; which is all that he calls *feeling his bottle*. And when he takes some of the contents, in his mouth, he has a *sensation of taste*; which is all that he calls *tasting his wine*. The *color*, the *touch*, and the *taste*, moreover, *all which are mere sensations*, he *combines together*, into a *unity of object in his imagination*, as the several qualities of one same substance; and thus he forms the *complex idea of wine*; to which, if he be a man of any information, he may add some ideas of its various medicinal and other properties.

‘ In this case, accordingly, I confidently apprehend, the Berkeleyan may challenge any person to show that a PERCEIVED bottle of wine is any thing else than an assemblage of sensations in the mind of him who perceives it. The great fault of the system of Berkeley, therefore, (besides his denial of Space,) consists in this, that, instead of recognising our *sensations for affections or certain states of our mind*, superinduced by the ENERGIES of some UNPERCEIVED *external Power*, he supposed these sensations to be *permanently existing detached beings*, which flit, like swallows, into and out of our mind; — a supposition which, besides its revolting absurdity, leaves us entirely at a loss to conceive how these ideas are either *produced or regulated*, by the Great Mind which *must* be supposed to be, in some way or other, their Source and Governor.

‘ How simple and beautiful is it, in this case, to turn our attention, upon the other hand, to the vastly different nature of the Hindoo system; which conceives the Creator to fill all space, and, by the Energies of his Omnipotent Power, to excite in our minds, from time to time, all those sensations, affections, or estates, of *color*, of *touch*, and of *taste*, which we, combining together, in our reason and imagination, contemplate as being *individual complex wholes*, of various kinds: while we are beneficently deceived into a belief, that they are things *without*, and at *various distances from us*!

‘ This explanation, it is hoped, may serve to show that ordinary persons are under a most profound and certain mistake, when they imagine (as they invariably do) that the things we perceive, if supposed to be in the mind, can have *no reality of existence*. The *taste* of a cherry, and the *pain* of the amputation of a limb, are not only *as vivid* and *as strong*, but they are *identically the very same*, whether we suppose the System of Berkeley, the Hindoo System, or the Vulgar Opinion, to be that which really exists in nature. And a man, who should run under a cart-wheel, would be as really crushed, agonised, and disjointed, upon any one of these schemes, as upon either of the other two. The truth of this exposition is unanimously acknowledged, by all persons who understand

derstand the subject; although sufficient attention has not been paid, by writers, to explain the thing in a popular manner, so as to remove the very general misconception which is entertained with regard to it.'

It is obvious that we cannot on the present occasion enter into any discussion of this subtle question. Mr. Fearn has, however, fairly opened the way to it, by removing much rubbish that lay at the threshold; and we trust that some future metaphysician, if not Mr. Fearn himself*, will proceed with the good work, and establish our knowledge of the *materials* or *immaterials* of perception, beyond all suspicion of uncertainty.

The sum and substance of the author's opinion on this point are, that the phænomena of perception are excited by *an external spiritual world*, not by *a dead material world*; and the consequences of his own opinion he conceives to be highly favourable to the cause of *faith*, while he contends that the consequences of the opposite opinion have not only been made the frequent basis of *infidelity*, but have had an inauspicious and sceptical effect on the reasonings of those who were professed and sincere believers in Revelation. *His*, he asserts, is the 'vantage-ground, whence we may best fight the infidel; and his arguments to prove this assertion are, at least, specious and plausible. They certainly deserve examination, as involving the most serious and important results: but they are also striking and curious as mere matters of speculation; and, particularly in the remarks on the tendency of the common creed with respect to the material world to influence even so religious a mind as that of Bacon, they present a new and worthy subject of inquiry.

We come now to the point in the Appendix. After some conclusive reasoning in reply to Dr. Reid's argument that, in any particular case of external perception, the real thing itself is the object which we perceive, Mr. Fearn continues:

'There is no philosopher who will for a moment deny, that the SENTIENT PRINCIPLE in Man is *somewhere near the INNER END of the TRUNK OF THE OPTIC NERVE*. And it was known and expressly acknowledged by Dr. Reid, that all objects of Sight have *a picture of themselves* formed upon the *bottom of the eye*, that is upon the *expansion of the Optic Nerve*. These facts being here assumed, the POSITION of the SENTIENT PRINCIPLE and the PICTURE *in the bottom of the eye*, and the EXTERNAL OBJECT which

* Mr. F. promises us another volume; in which, among other matters of great interest, the subject of 'necessary connection' will be examined.

occasions this Picture, must be that of three separate things nearly in a straight line, but we must assume them as being strictly in a straight line, because it is certain that by sight the Mind can perceive *only through the line of the Optic Trunk*. Let these three things, therefore, be represented by the following letters, viz.

A—————B—————C

or

The Mind—————*The Picture*—————*The Table*.

‘ Now, with regard to this disposition, I would ask any person, How is it possible the *Mind* at A should perceive the *Real Table* at C, when the *Picture of the Table* stands between them at B and forms an impenetrable CURTAIN, which must of necessity veil any object at C ?

‘ Besides this conclusive argument from POSITION, I would ask, since it is not denied by Dr. Reid that images of things are formed on the bottom of the eye, Upon what ground could he possibly overlook that the IMAGE must have been intended, by its All-wise Maker, for a USE ; and how could he doubt that this use is that of a MEDIUM ? If any one thing in the world can be supposed to be meant as the REPRESENTATIVE of another, I imagine it must be admitted that the picture formed in the bottom of an eye is that thing.’

We cannot but think that this passage, and the *visible illustration* of it, will serve to excite many curious reflections, beyond those here stated, on the phænomena of perception ; and on the insuperable bar which occurs at a certain point, in every act of perception, between the *sentient principle* and the thing perceived. The line of communication may be traced to a certain length, and there it stops ; in like manner (if we may compare the lowest approach to intellect with the highest) as, in the upward chain of created beings, we can ascend from man to the first of the angels, by due degrees of imagination at least, but all thought is lost in the immeasurable chasm between that loftiest subordinate spirit and the Supreme. Perhaps this simile may not have to answer for any thing improper *in kind*, if, as Mr. Fearn supposes, an *external spiritual world* be indeed the exciting cause of our perceptions.

At parting, we propose one additional phænomenon of perception, as it has occurred to us, to the author's reflection. How is it that, while the picture at the bottom of the eye is turned with its face outwards, (as any one may be easily assured,) the mind, which, according to Mr. Fearn, is behind the optic nerve, sees that picture with its face inwards ; as if the mind were stationed at the front instead of the back of the looking-glass which reflects the picture ? And how is the

mind helped by such a medium? We should be glad to receive a satisfactory solution of these problems; which (as the simplest things are often the least obvious) may, for aught that we know, be immediately and easily explained.

We are pleased to see this work dedicated very handsomely to Dr. Parr and Mr. Basil Montague.

ART. IV. *An Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution, from the Reign of Henry VII. to the present Time.* By Lord John Russell. Crown 8vo. pp. 320. 10s. 6d. Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.

A SHORT advertisement informs us that, in the opinion of the noble author of this volume, an analysis of the history of the governments of modern Europe, from the commencement of the fifteenth century, would illustrate 'two very plain but somewhat neglected truths:' first, that those governments, generally speaking, have been 'so ill adapted to make their subjects virtuous and happy, that they require, or required, complete regeneration;' secondly, that the government of England is to be excluded from this sweeping denunciation, being 'calculated to produce liberty, worth, and content among the people, whilst its abuses easily admit of reforms consistent with its spirit, capable of being effected without injury or danger, and mainly contributing to its preservation.' With respect to continental Europe, the truth alleged is very plain: but how can Lord John Russell assert that this fact has been neglected, when in the course of the last half-century, scarcely a spot of Europe has been so subdued and degenerate as not to have made an attempt, with greater or less success, to "cast off the old and wrinkled skin" of their corrupt governments? Surely, also, the truth has not been 'neglected,' that the government of England ought not to be included in this class, for do we not find politicians of the most opposite principles contending with each other in their eulogies of its Constitution? We may doubt, however, whether the truth of the other remark is very obvious, viz. that its abuses 'easily admit of reforms.' Why are we beating the air with earnest, reiterated, but fruitless solicitations to obtain them? In the efforts which Lord John, so much to his own honour, has personally made in the House of Commons, has he found it a profitable and easy task to reform that assembly? He will hardly quote the instance of Grampound to us as a grave answer. The fact is that, as abuses have increased, so have endeavours to perpetuate them, because those abuses are defended by greater numbers

numbers interested in their preservation, and who represent them as integral parts of that constitution which they are actively destroying.

In a preliminary chapter, on the 'First Principles of the English Government and Constitution,' three circumstances are enumerated as having formed, in antient times, the elements of its freedom. In the first place, 'the sovereignty of England did not reside in the King solely.' True; but neither did the sovereignty of France, Germany, or Spain, reside solely in their respective monarchs. Not to mention the republican form of government that prevailed in Italy and the Low Countries, France had her States-General, and her Parliaments; Germany, her Diets; and Spain, her Cortes. Aragon, in addition to her Cortes, had an institution peculiar to herself; viz. in the Justiza, an officer who was regarded as the protector of the people and the controller of the Prince: he was accountable only to the general assembly of the States for the execution of his trust; and it was through him that the Aragonese pronounced their oath of allegiance. "We," said the Justiza to the King in the name of high-blooded barons, "we, who are each of us as good as you, and together are more powerful than you, promise obedience to your government if you maintain our liberties and our rights — but not otherwise." The "Privilege of Union" was a constitutional control, also, exercised by the Aragonese if the King, or his ministers, violated any of their laws or immunities: by this "Privilege," the nobles, the equestrian order, and magistrates, might *constitutionally and legally* demand in the name of their own body-corporate a redress of grievances, and on refusal might *constitutionally and legally* dethrone him; and this privilege was not merely claimed as a barren right, but was exercised. * During the middle ages, the rights of the people in Spain were better understood, more vigilantly guarded, and much more extensive, than in any other kingdom in Europe. — It was not a peculiar feature, then, in the

* One instance is recorded in the annals of the Persian empire, of a monarch who was publicly tried and dethroned by his subjects. Hormouz, the son of Nushirvan, King of Persia, was introduced as a criminal into a full assembly of his nobles and satraps, who sat in judgment on the offending prince. He pleaded eloquently and pathetically in his own defence: but, finding by the murmur of the assembly that his vindication was not likely to avail him, he offered to resign his sceptre to one of his sons. This public trial of a monarch, without a precedent and without a copy in the annals of the East, occurred in the year 590. [See "Gibbon's Decline," &c. vol. iv. 4to. (viii. 8vo.) chap. xivi.]

government of England, that 'its sovereignty did not reside in the King solely.'

Trial by jury was a much more distinguishing characteristic. The custom of deciding law-suits by a jury prevailed, indeed, generally among the Gothic nations; first in the allodial courts of the county or of the hundred, and afterward in the baron-courts of every feudal superior: but the same custom does not appear in any other European kingdom than England to have been extended to those great courts which, on the advancement of civilized manners, arose out of the national council, and were invested with the principal branches of ordinary jurisdiction. The influence of the Roman law contributed to the disuse of juries throughout the greater part of Europe: that system of jurisprudence was recommended and taught by the clergy in almost all the Universities; and its decisions and forms of procedure were considered by the civil magistrate as models for imitation. Yet it was more sparingly incorporated with the common law in England than in most other countries; and *here*, consequently, the trial by jury maintained its ground: — but even in England this custom has been excluded from ecclesiastical tribunals, from those of the two Universities, and from all courts in which the maxims and principles of the civil law have been adopted.

The second circumstance, mentioned by Lord John as one of the latent elements of freedom, is that the nobility of England were not separated from the people by odious distinctions, like the other feudal nobility of Europe. This, indeed, was a most essential distinction: but it may here be observed that, if the nobility were not separated by any harsh line of demarcation, by personal exemptions, and by personal privileges from the great body of the people, but were occasionally joined with them to resist the encroachments of the crown, on the other hand the crown frequently has resorted to the people in order to check the growing power of the aristocracy; and thus by mutual jealousies between the crown and the aristocracy have the people, not only of this realm but of others, obtained many of their most important prerogatives. — The practice of sub-infeudations, or granting inferior feuds by the mesne lords, with the same conditions as the chief, is mentioned by the author as having been restrained by the act of *Quia Emptores* of Edward I.; which directs that, on all sales or grants of land in fee, the sub-tenant shall not hold of the immediate but of the superior lord. Edward I., the English Justinian as he has been called, was undoubtedly a very great monarch: but he was arbitrary in the highest degree,

degree, and equally ambitious. No thanks are due to him for the passing of this statute. In early times, the great barons, who held a large extent of territory under the crown, granted smaller manors to inferior persons to be tenanted of themselves; and these inferiors likewise cut, and carved, and granted to others who were below them still more minute estates, to be holden of them; till the superior lords found that, by this method of sub-infeudation, they lost all their feudal profits of wardships, *marriages*, and escheats, which fell into the hands of these middle lords. They discovered, moreover, that the mesne lords themselves were in consequence so impoverished, that they were disabled from performing the services due to their own superiors.* This restraining statute, then, had for its direct and immediate object to preserve to the crown and to the barons their feudal rights and profits for ever: but how different and unexpected was its remote effect! When it passed, the King's tenants *in capite* alone had seats in the national council; and this act, which restrained the creation of new lordships, operated, when the King's tenant chose to divide his estate into small baronies, to increase the number of these tenants *in capite*; for every purchaser must hold immediately of the crown, and of course had a right to sit in the national council. In process of time, this class became so numerous as to be under the necessity of *sending representatives*; and hence probably the origin of the representative system.

The law of England, says Mr. Hallam, in his History of the Middle Ages, (as quoted by Lord J. Russell,) "has never taken notice of *gentlemen*. — The Frenchman ranges the

* Blackstone, b. ii. ch. vi. — Perhaps a statute with similar or analogous enactments to "*Quia Emptores*" might be passed with great advantage in the case of unhappy Ireland. Dr. Johnson has written an eloquent defence — *satis eloquentiæ sapientiæ parum* — of *tacks*, or *middlemen*, in his Journey to the Hebrides: but the mischief occasioned by them in Scotland will be best understood from a reference to the actual state of the peasantry in those districts where they are abolished. (See the account of Lord Stafford's improvements, M. R. vol. xcv. p. 220.) Who can doubt that one of the chief causes of the disturbances in the south of Ireland is the practice of letting and re-letting lands; in consequence of which there is no community of interest between the actual tenant and the proprietor of the soil? A restraint on these sub-infeudations, and some equitable arrangement on the subject of tythes, would do infinitely more towards quenching the flame of discord in that country, than the pouring into it the whole military force of the empire.

people under three divisions, the noble, the free, and the servile: our countryman has no generic class but freedom and villenage. *No restraint seems ever to have lain upon marriage.*" Surely this is not correct. Henry I., in the absence of his elder brother, Robert, Duke of Normandy, had been tumultuously elected to the crown; and, being threatened with an invasion from the acknowledged heir, he wisely endeavoured to secure the attachment of his barons by yielding with a good grace to their demands. In the beginning of his reign, therefore, he granted to them a charter of their liberties, by which the encroachments of prerogative made by his father the Conqueror, and by his brother, William Rufus, were limited and restrained. By this charter, also, Henry restored to the church her ancient liberties: but its clauses relate principally to the incidents of the feudal tenures. He consented, among other things, that the nobles might give their daughters in marriage without asking his leave, except to the enemies of the state; thus clearly implying that, before that period, a restraint on marriage might be laid at the discretion of the King; and in after times, by the incident of marriage, the superior was intitled to a composition for allowing his vassals the liberty of contracting nuptials. In many places, a fine was payable to the lord if the villein presumed to give his daughter to any one without leave; and by the common law, Blackstone tells us, (b. ii. ch. 6.) the lord might also bring an action against the husband for damages in thus purloining his property, the children of villeins being in the same state of bondage with their parents.

Now as to the third element of freedom, 'the last and the greatest which existed in England.' This was the constitution of her House of Commons. Lord John remarks; (p. 11.)

'It has been observed to me, that in the ancient commonwealths, the people, who decided on public affairs, were all of a higher order than those of the poorer class, who in England read newspapers and discuss political questions. But this is a complete mistake. Slaves, it is true, had nothing to do with political functions, but the poorest artisans who were free had a voice in the public councils. The manner in which their votes were to be given formed a difficulty which the ancient states did not altogether successfully vanquish. If the promiscuous multitude were admitted, with equal suffrages, into the public assemblies, as at Athens, the decisions were hasty, passionate, unjust, and capricious. If a method was adopted, as that of centuries at Rome, of giving a weight to property against numbers, it was difficult to avoid putting the scale entirely in the hands of the rich, enabling them to outvote the poor, and thus making an odious distinction between the richer and poorer, higher and lower classes of the community.'

community. This evil was greatly felt at Rome, and the expedient of setting up another and independent assembly, which decided by numbers only, was a very rude and a very imperfect remedy.

‘ The principle of representation nearly, if not entirely, overcomes these obstacles. A certain number of persons are chosen by the people at large, whose commission it is to watch over the interests of the community. Consisting naturally and inevitably of persons of some fortune and education, they are not so likely to be borne away by the torrent of passion, as the general, unsifted mass of the nation. Depending upon the people ultimately for their power, they are not so liable to act from personal interest, or *esprit de corps*, as a body of men whose power is attached for ever to their rank in the state. If the representative assembly is entrusted for no very short period with the concerns of the people, and if the members of it are always capable of being re-elected, such an assembly will evidently become enlightened on all the interests, and capable of discussing, with ability, all the great movements of the state. The most powerful minds in the nation will be brought to bear on any important measure of policy or justice; and, at the same time, the humblest individual in the country is sure, through some channel or other, to find a hearing for his injuries, in the presence of the representatives of the whole people. The equality of civil rights, of which we have before spoken, is probably the reason why we find the knights sitting in the same assembly with the citizens and burgesses. There are few things in our early constitution of more importance than this. Cities and towns, however necessary their assistance for granting aids and taxes, are not likely to obtain, in a feudal country, that kind of respect from the other bodies in the state which would enable them to claim a large share of political power. The separation of this class from the other was perhaps one of the chief causes of the failure of the Spanish and other early constitutions similar to our own. But in England, the knights, who represented the landed force of the whole country, gave a stability and compactness to the frame of the House of Commons, and placed it on a broad foundation, not easily shaken by any king who should attempt its overthrow.

‘ The sitting of the knights, citizens, and burgesses in one assembly, however, was not always the rule. It has been established by one of those happy unions of fortune and counsel to which the English constitution owes so much;—I know not, indeed, if [whether] I ought to call it fortune. There was a practical wisdom in our ancestors, which induced them to alter and vary the form of our institutions as they went on; to suit them to the circumstances of the time, and reform them according to the dictates of experience. They never ceased to work upon our frame of government, as a sculptor fashions the model of a favourite statue. It is an art that is now seldom used, and the disuse has been attended with evils of the most alarming magnitude.’

When the lineal succession to the throne has been interrupted, — when the royal sceptre, having been won by conquest, still vibrates, threatening to elude the hand that holds it, — the monarch is naturally very liberal of concessions at the early part of his reign, which he is equally anxious to resume at the close of it. The battle of Bosworth Field gave to Henry VII. the crown of England :

“ Fair laughed the morn, and soft the zephyrs blew !”

His latter years, however, were disgraced by cruel exactions, of which Empson and Dudley were the vile instruments. His successor, says Lord J. Russell, ‘ with a generous magnanimity not uncommon in a king, sent the collectors to the scaffold, and kept the money in his treasury.’ The reign of this successor, his Lordship adds, though the most arbitrary perhaps in the annals of our country, affords many precedents of the authority of Parliament. Yes : Henry VIII. supported the authority of Parliament — but only because the authority of Parliament supported him. ‘ When he wished to rid himself of his wives, Parliament assisted him; when he desired to put to death his prime-ministers, Parliament condemned them without a trial; when, at length, he chose to make laws by his own will only, Parliament gave him authority to do so. It is no wonder, therefore, to find him holding high the privileges of Parliament.’ Lord John must fill up this little work at his leisure : it is much too meagre : he has whetted our appetite, and we must look to him for more ample gratification. The civil war, which had raged for a period of five-and-thirty years through the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III., was obviously injurious to the royal prerogative, when kings were set up by one faction and dethroned by another without ceremony. It is well remarked by Professor Millar * that, in the course of this violent contention, the nobles were not, as in some former disputes, leagued together in opposition to the King, but, by espousing the interest of different candidates, they were led to employ their whole force against one another. Though the crown, therefore, was weakened, the nobility gained no strength; and, during a period of such entire insubordination, when all public authority was trampled under foot, it was impossible that the third class of the estate, namely, the people, should acquire any rational and solid advantages. “ Long civil war induces a people to surrender liberty for peace; as long peace induces them to encounter even civil war for liberty.”

* Hist. View of English Government, b. ii. ch. 5.

Many circumstances occurred in the reign of Henry VII. to exalt the power of the crown: one was its co-operation with the people, who, from the accession of the Tudor family, began to emerge from obscurity into consequence by their extension of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. To humble the aristocracy was the aim of the great body of the people; for which purpose they upheld the political influence of the crown, and the crown in return upheld and extended *their* political influence. Many small towns, on the demesne of the crown, were incorporated by Henry VII. and invested with the privileges of royal boroughs. During the reigns of the Tudor princes, after that of Henry VII. and even on the accession of the Stuart family, this expedient was also practised. Henry VIII. restored or gave to twelve counties, and to as many boroughs in Wales, the right of sending each a representative to parliament; and in other parts of his domain he created eight new boroughs, requiring two delegates from each. Edward VI. created thirteen boroughs, and restored ten which had given up or neglected the right of representation. Mary created ten, and renewed the antient privilege of two. Elizabeth created twenty-four parliamentary boroughs, and restored seven. James I. created six and restored eight; and Charles I. restored nine.

‘The Reformation in England,’ says Lord John Russell, ‘was begun by Henry VIII. in consequence of his desire to put away one wife and marry another; and this quarrel was not only unconnected with the doctrine of Luther, but that doctrine was at the same time condemned, and its supporters capitally punished.’ The King, it should be observed, all sensual as he was, had another object in view besides the gratification of a licentious appetite: the personal influence of the clergy had already begun to diminish, from the progress of arts and the advancement of knowledge; while their vanity, luxury, and arrogance, had created not a little disgust, and their enormous possessions excited a proportionate degree of envy. When the old Prussian Marshal Blucher was passing along the Strand, in 1814, and feasting his eager eyes on the various forms of wealth displayed at the shop-windows, he is said to have exclaimed in ecstasy, “Oh! what glorious plunder for an army!” So felt Henry in contemplating the holy treasures of the church; — “What glorious plunder for a monarch!” Moreover, in stripping the clergy of their wealth, he was tolerably secure of the concurrence of all those who had any prospect of sharing in the spoil; and indeed, whatever have been the remote effects of the Reformation on the *British constitution*, its immediate operation was to exalt the
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power of the crown, which never was greater than in the last years of Henry VIII. While Lord John Russell admits that the House of Commons made some advances during the reign of Elizabeth, he says that by her personal influence the force of free institutions was suspended but not destroyed; and that an attentive observer of this country at that period, 'while he acknowledged that no sovereign ever carried the art of reigning farther, would perceive *that the nation had granted her a lease for life of arbitrary power, but had not alienated for ever the inheritance of freedom.*' Nothing can be more happily expressed, or represent more accurately the distinction between the course of government in her reign and in that of her father. The Reformation was a source of immense influence and authority to Henry VIII. On the dissolution of monasteries, their revenues were immediately annexed to the crown, and constituted a large accession of riches: the power of the Pope was destroyed for ever: the King became the head of the church; and the patronage of bishoprics and the disposal of all the higher benefices gave him such an influence over the clergy, and through them over the people, as no former monarch had possessed. It has been remarked, too, by a writer already quoted (Professor Millar,) that, when the controversy between the Catholics and Protestants had divided the whole nation, Henry became possessed of additional influence by holding a sort of balance between the parties. While he took the lead in the Reformation, he assumed the power of directing and controlling its progress; and, keeping measures with both parties, he was at the same time feared and courted by both, though in the end he established a system agreeable to neither. No one, it is true, strained the royal prerogative higher than Elizabeth: the increased power and activity of the Star-Chamber, and the erection of the High Court of Commission in ecclesiastical matters, were fearful agents in her reign: but still they were not so potent as that which the wily Henry employed, namely, Parliament. Elizabeth kept her parliaments at a great distance, and treated them very haughtily: but, except in some particular instances, Henry courted them; and it is the worst and peculiar feature of the regal encroachments in his reign that they were confirmed by law. They were placed under the sanction of those pusillanimous parliaments, one of which, to its eternal disgrace, (says Blackstone,) passed a statute whereby it was enacted that the King's proclamations should have the force of an act of parliament; and others concurred in such an amazing heap of wild and ~~new-fangled~~ treasons, as make the modern reader stand aghast

aghast to contemplate them. "The latter years of Henry VIII. therefore were the times of the greatest despotism that have been known in this island since the days of William the Norman; the prerogative, as it then stood by common law, and much more when extended by act of parliament, being too large to be indured in a land of liberty." (Blackstone.) James I. played the tyrant: but he had studied books rather than men: a pedant, he prided himself on his scholarship, and fancied that his superiority over others was as great in his intellectual as in his civil capacity. The Parliament, which he summoned in 1620, was composed of very stubborn materials; and its memorable answer to his threat of punishment, and to his audacious assertion that the privileges which they claimed "were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us," was so offensive to the angry monarch that he sent for the Journal of the House of Commons to his council, tore it out with his own hands, dissolved the Parliament, and imprisoned several of its obnoxious members. He was not aware, says Lord John Russell in one of those pithy reflections which frequently break forth in this little volume, 'that the force of the protestation he tore out was not in the parchment or the letters of a book, but in the hearts and minds of his subjects; and he little expected that by confining the persons of a few commoners he was preparing the imprisonment and death of his son.' (P. 53.)

We are tempted to extract a short chapter intitled 'Causes of the Dissolution of the English Form of Government under Charles I.'

'Canctas nationes et urbes, populus, aut primores, aut singuli regunt; delecta ex his et constituta reipublicæ forma laudari facilius quàm evenire, vel, si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest.'

TACITUS.

'Such was the deliberate judgment of Tacitus; a judgment, indeed, contradicted by the event, but which nevertheless is marked with the utmost perfection of thought, to which speculative reasoning could reach. Indeed, the history of the English government, whilst it finally disproves, affords, in its course, ample justification for the opinion of Tacitus. Let us first consider what, in his profound mind, must have struck him as an obstacle to the success of a constitution made up of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Was it the difficulty of forming a balance between the three powers? Surely not. Any schemer may lay out the plan of a constitution, in which the three powers shall each possess the authority, which in theory it ought to have. Indeed, there is scarcely any constitution which a man of sense can draw up that will not appear more plausible in this respect than the English. What more absurd, *a priori*, than that the King should have the sole

sole power of making peace and war, whilst the Commons have the sole power of granting money?

‘ It is not then the difficulty of balancing powers which has been overcome by the successful refutation our history affords to the dictum of Tacitus. The grand problem which has been solved is, how the three powers shall come into action without disturbance or convulsion. Many a workman can make an automaton; but not every one can make him play at chess. More than one sculptor can form a beautiful statue; none but Prometheus could give it life. The first disturbance which is likely to occur in such a constitution as ours, is a collision between the King, as sovereign, and Parliament formed of Lords and Commons, considered as his advisers. The King, by the constitution, has, and must have, the power of naming his own servants, who are to carry on the business of the executive government. But if these servants violate the laws, betray the interests, or squander the blood of their country, it is as certain that the great council of the nation must have the power of demanding and enforcing their dismissal. Two such opposite pretensions have naturally given rise to contest and calamity.

‘ In the reigns of Henry III., Edward II., and Richard II., the misrule of the King’s servants led to the total subversion of his authority; and on more than one occasion, commissioners were appointed by Parliament, who exercised all the prerogatives which the law has placed in the King. Such provisions amount to a revolution in the state for the time being.

‘ After the accession of the house of Tudor, another kind of revolution took place; and the King, in his turn, swallowed up the powers of Parliament.

‘ When Charles I. and his people began their dissensions, the great chasm, which separated one part of the constitution from another, again opened, and threatened destruction to the state itself. The first opposition party, afterwards called the Presbyterians, perceived the difficulty, and they imagined the method of solving it since so successfully adopted. Their expedient for ensuring a peaceable and long duration to our limited monarchy was, that the friends of the people should become the ministers of the crown. Charles accepted the proposal, and named the persons to be promoted; but was soon disgusted with their advice, which ill accorded with his own arbitrary notions. He plunged rashly into a civil war, and it soon became too late to expect accommodation. New politicians naturally arose, who maintained that it was folly to expend so much blood for the uncertain hope of the King’s sanction to popular men and popular measures, when the same results might be unfailingly obtained by abolishing the kingly office altogether. Thus the prophecy of Tacitus was again accomplished; the nobles had overwhelmed the King and the people; the King had domineered over the nobles and the people; and now the people extinguished the King and the nobles. The three powers of the realm, although each had a legal right to its *portion of authority*, were still confounded, trampling upon, and triumphing

triumphing over one another. The constitution was still in its chaos. The hour, in which the elements were to be parted; in which variety and contrast were to subsist without disorder; when the King and the Commons were to separate from, and yet support each other, was not yet arrived.

‘ Strange it is, however, that at the close of the eighteenth century a new sect of political theorists arose, who asked as a boon for the people that the House of Commons should be placed in the same state of disjunction from the crown, in which it stood at the beginning of the reign of Charles I. For such would be the effect of a law prohibiting any servants of the crown from sitting in the House of Commons, and of leaving the choice of the ministers entirely to the pleasure, caprice, or passion of the sovereign.’

As monarchy was abolished at Rome on the expulsion of the Tarquins, so likewise was its abolition voted by the Commons of England immediately on the execution of Charles I.: but Cromwell was either more timid or more prudent than Julius Cæsar, and did not lose his life by grasping at the crown; having, indeed, been distinctly warned by some of his officers that the assumption of the sceptre should cost him his head within a given number of hours. Still he likewise had his *Cottas, Antonies, and Dolabellas*, to favour his wishes. Lord John Russell observes; ‘ The powers of the King are known and defined by law, and are therefore less liable to be exceeded than those of any extraordinary office not known to the constitution. This was the argument most ably urged by Whitelocke and his coadjutors, to *induce* Cromwell to accept the title of King;’ — and a very powerful argument it is. Whitelocke was hostile to any change in the form of government, and his various conferences with Cromwell on the subject indicate more of apparent than real inconsistency, which however has been charged on him. In the first conference at the Speaker’s house, he said justly, “That the laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to settle a government without something of monarchy would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our laws, &c., that we cannot foresee the inconvenience which will arise thereby;” and in the course of the same conference the object is clear at which he aimed. “There may be a day given for the King’s eldest son, or for the Duke of York, his brother, to come into parliament; and upon such terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable both to our civil and spiritual liberties, a settlement may be made with them.” A year afterward, when Cromwell met Whitelocke in St. James’s Park and plainly asked him, “What if a man should take upon him to be a king?” Whitelocke answered, “I think the remedy would be worse than the disease.” Cromwell urging, with
allusion

allusion to himself, the long established reverence paid to the office, Whitelocke again said, "I agree, in the general, with what you are pleased to observe as to this title of King; but whether *for your Excellency to take this title upon you, &c.* I do very much doubt." — "I propound, therefore, for your Excellency *to send to the King of Scots*, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose;" namely, for bringing him to the throne, and at the same time "putting such limits to monarchical power as would secure the spiritual and civil liberties of the country." Afterward, however, within a year of the Protector's death, when no prospect appeared of the restoration of the Stuart family, but, on the contrary, an apprehension prevailed that the succession might be disputed, then it was that Whitelocke accepted the nomination of being chairman to a committee of the House of Commons, to request that "his Highness, the Protector, should for the future bear the title of King." We see no actual inconsistency in all this.

It could not be predicated that the constitution would gain much by the restoration of monarchy in the person of so indolent, careless, and profligate a character as Charles II., or by its continuance in the person of so inexorable a bigot and despot as his brother James. Yet Mr. Fox has remarked, in the masterly work which he has left us, that the reign of Charles II. was an æra of bad government but of good laws. That great bulwark of our constitution, the *Habeas Corpus* act, passed in his reign; forming a second *Magna Charta*, Blackstone observes, as beneficial and effectual as that which was extorted by the barons at Runny Mead. The latter only pruned the luxuriances of the feudal system, but the statute of Charles II. extirpated all its slaveries, unless some trifling exception should be found in the existence of copyhold tenures. The tyranny of James II. was so haughty and fierce as to become intolerable: then

" Vengeance in the lurid air
Lifts her red arm, exposed and bare ;"

the crest-fallen monarchy beholds the uplifted arm too late, and sinks under the deadly stroke. 'The Revolution of 1688,' says the present noble author, 'appears to my mind the perfection of boldness and of prudence.' It may indeed be called a 'Glorious Revolution,' without intending any compliment to the personal character of the Prince of Orange, who would have carried the royal prerogative as high as any of his predecessors, if he could: but he had to deal with some stubborn parliaments, and the constitution was improved under his reign.

reign. In the time of Charles II., juries were brow-beaten by court-Judges, who were appointed and removed as they were obsequious or non-compliant: but in the reign of William an act passed, providing that Judges should be appointed during good behaviour, and removable only by addresses from both Houses of Parliament. William had scarcely breathed from his toils, before he quarrelled with Parliament for refusing to blend his private establishment with the public revenue of the state:

‘ From the doctrine of the responsibility of ministers, it follows that they ought to enjoy the confidence of the Commons. Otherwise their measures will be thwarted, their promises will be distrusted, and finding all their steps obstructed, their efforts will be directed to the overthrow of the constitution. This actually happened in the reign of Charles I. and Charles II. There was but one mode of preventing a recurrence of the same evil. It was by giving to the King a revenue so limited, that he should always be obliged to assemble his parliament to carry on the ordinary expences of his government. On this point, more important than any provision of the Bill of Rights, a warm contest took place in the House of Commons. The Tories, wishing to please the new King, argued, against all justice and reason, that the revenue which had been given to James for his life belonged *de jure* to William for his life. The Whigs successfully resisted this pretension, and passed a vote, granting 420,000*l.* to the King, by monthly payments. The Commons soon afterwards had all the accounts of King James’s reign laid before them. It appeared that his government, without any war, cost on an average 1,700,000*l.* a-year; a revenue of 1,200,000*l.* a-year was given to William, with the expences and debt of a formidable war to be provided for.’

Among the multitude of subjects connected with the constitution of England in this book of *Etchings*, is a very important one which has been entirely overlooked; viz. the origin, extension, and effects of standing armies. We cannot spare room to supply the omission. The first standing army which Europe ever saw, if we except a few mercenary troops kept by our Saxon monarchs, was established by Charles VII. of France, in the year 1445: who seized the opportunity afforded by the death of Henry V. and the long minority which succeeded, for driving the English from their possessions in his territories; and the reputation which he acquired by his successor, together with some well-timed terrors circulated of an English invasion, seduced the people to allow the existence of a standing army during peace. As opportunities occurred, other princes followed the mischievous example. The first regular project in *England* — for poor *Ireland* had long before been subject to it — was undertaken by Charles I.

in 1629, which (according to Trenchard) required only 3000 infantry “to bridle the impertinence of Parliament: to overawe parliaments and the nation; to make edicts to be laws; to force upon the People vast numbers of excises; and in short to overturn the whole frame of this noble English government.” — We pass over the rapid growth of this fearful engine, to see how things stood at the Revolution. When the Convention-Parliament met under King William, they declared that “the keeping up a standing army in time of peace, without authority of Parliament, was contrary to law.” Throughout the whole of his reign, there was a perpetual struggle between him and the Commons on this subject; and when in 1698 they at length compelled him to disband his motley regiments of Dutch and French as well as Scotch and English, he complained of ill usage, and even threatened to quit his throne. A reluctant consent to the bill was at last wrung from him, which he endeavoured to evade by disbanding the men and retaining the officers: but this miserable manœuvre was easily detected, and of course foiled by the vigilance of Parliament. In 1692, the interference of the court was become so notorious, that Sir Edward Hussey brought in a bill for the free and impartial proceedings in Parliament, which passed the Commons, but was thrown out on a majority of two votes by the Lords: in the next year it was revived, and *passed both Houses*, but William refused his assent: — refused his assent to a bill providing for the freedom and impartiality of proceedings in Parliament! * It was in the reign of Charles II. that the plan of influencing the members of the Lower House by gifts and favours of the crown was first systematically framed; and there can be no doubt, says Lord John Russell, that the practice was continued during the reign of William. Sir John Trevor was convicted, when Speaker, of receiving bribes from the city of London to procure the passing of the Orphan’s bill: and Mr. Hungerford was expelled for the same offence. From the Revolution to the present time, many excellent laws,

* It may here be observed, however, that the passing of this bill through both the Houses, and its extinction by the royal veto, prove that the influence of the crown was not very great. This branch of prerogative is never exerted now, when such an opposition of the monarch to the declared voice of the two Houses of Parliament and the implied voice of the people would be deemed a most ungracious and irritating measure. Matters are managed more smoothly; and the royal influence is less perceptibly but not less effectively exerted in the preliminary debates and decisions of the legislature.

such as the Bill of Rights, the Toleration-Act, the Act of Settlement, the *complete* independence of the Judges from regal and ministerial influence, the restraining of the King's pardon from obstructing parliamentary impeachment, &c. &c. have passed, asserting and defining our liberties in clear and emphatical terms : — but Blackstone observes that, if such provisions as these have in appearance and nominally reduced the strength of the executive power, yet, if we throw into the opposite scale the immense increase of force arising from the Riot-Act and the *standing army*, with the vast acquisition of personal attachment derived from the magnitude of the national debt, and the manner of levying those yearly millions that are appropriated to pay the interest, we shall find that the crown has gradually and imperceptibly gained almost as much in influence as it has *apparently* lost in prerogative. (B. iv. ch. 33.) Sir Robert Walpole was certainly not the first minister who governed England by corruption : but he did it, says Lord John, ‘with an openness and a coarseness which created great scandal, and which, perhaps, was more pernicious than the vice itself.’ This is exactly Mr. Burke's sentiment, that “vice loses half its evil by losing all its grossness,” and a very mischievous sentiment it is. Such morality may be pleasing to the higher classes of society : but vice is never so seductive or so contagious as when thus disguised : like the dart of Asdrubal, it is dipped in double poison ; the very coarseness is that which excites disgust : the more open corruption is, the sooner is it reached and the sooner checked.

To comment on all the matters which, in this little volume, Lord J. Russell has brought before us, would be to discuss almost every subject connected with politics and political economy. The extent of this article has already shewn how far it might lead us ; and, if our limits allowed, we should gladly contribute to the dissemination of his opinions on the National Debt, Parliamentary Reform, Public Schools, Liberty of the Press, Parties, &c. : for nothing can be more interesting to the public than an acquaintance with the political creed of its legislators, and a knowlege that the opinions which they entertain on great constitutional questions have not been lightly embraced, but are convictions of the mind, honestly and laboriously attained by a course of historical research. The book, however, is presented to the public in so accessible a shape that there can be no doubt of its extensive circulation : but we repeat that it is *too* brief, for it presumes a greater stock of historical knowlege in the reader than can fairly be expected : though, as the author intimates, it *will* ‘provoke the wits and excite the thoughts

of other men,'—A few words on another subject and we have done.

In the course of his observations, Lord John frequently quotes that most sagacious political writer Machiavel, and that 'much-debated work,' as he calls it, "The Prince," Bacon and Rousseau saw the real drift of the Florentine secretary in this 'much-debated work;' while Harington, Clarendon, and many other writers of celebrity, *suspected* that its author wanted to throw an odium on monarchy. A letter in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 55., settles the point: it is intitled "Machiavel's Vindication of himself against the Imputation of Impiety, Atheism, and other high Crimes, extracted from his Letter to his Friend Zenobio Buondelmonte." At the close of it he says:

"I now come to the last branch of my charge, which is that I teach princes villany, and how to enslave and oppress their subjects. If any man will read over my book of 'The Prince' with impartiality and ordinary charity, he will easily perceive that it is not my intention therein to recommend that government, or those men there described, to the world: much less to teach men to trample upon good men, and all that is sacred and venerable upon earth, laws, religion, honesty. If I have been a little too punctual in describing these monsters, and drawn them to the life in all their lineaments and colours, I hope mankind will know them the better, to avoid them; my treatise being both a satire against them and a true character of them. Whoever in his empire is tied to no other rules than his own will and lust must either be a saint or a very devil incarnate; or if he be neither of these, his life and reign are like to be very short," &c. &c.

Those who are acquainted with the history of Florence will not ask why Machiavel should conceal his principles under a veil of irony almost impenetrable. He was deeply involved in the conspiracy of the Soderini, in the year 1494, by which the three sons of the great Lorenzo de' Medici (Piero, who succeeded his father in the government of Florence, and his two brothers Giovanni and Giuliano,) were proclaimed enemies to their country, and obliged to flee from its vengeance. In the year 1512, the family of the Medici were restored by the assistance of Pope Julius II. and of Ferdinand of Spain; and Lorenzo de' Medici, the eldest son of the deceased Piero, assumed the reins of government. As usual in such cases, all those were now removed who had been in office under the republic; and Machiavel, with an unshaken fortitude, underwent the ignominy and the pains of torture, which were *in vain* inflicted on him for the purpose of procuring information relative to the actors in the conspiracy. Under the reign
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of *this* Lorenzo, who died a victim to his debaucheries, Machiavel wrote "The Prince:" a circumstance sufficient to account at once for the satire which characterizes it and the secrecy which attended it.

At p. 89. of this little volume, two errors occur in the quotation from Milton's *Areopagitica*; viz. 'during' for *ming* her mighty youth, and 'unsealing' for *unscaling* her sight.

ART. V. *A Foreigner's Opinion of England, Englishmen, Englishwomen, English Manners, Morals, Domestic Life, Arts and Artists, Literature, Criticism, Education, Universities, Clergy, Sectarians, Nobility, Parties, Politics, Laws, Lawyers, Merchants, Commerce, Charities, Fashions, Amusements, and a Variety of other interesting Subjects, including Memorials of Nature and Art, comprised in a Series of free Remarks, the result of personal Observation during a Residence of Two Years in Great Britain.* By Christian Augustus Gottlieb Goede. Translated from the original German by Thomas Horne. 3 Vols. Crown 8vo. 15s. Boards. C. Taylor, 1821.

MR. GOEDE seems to have resided about two years in England, viz. in 1802 and 1803, when his opinions were formed and committed to paper; and his translator does not favour us with any preface, or indulge us with any statement of the reasons which induced him to undertake the translation of a work written so long since. Nor has the reader any assistance beyond his own research to ascertain the precise time of which Mr. Goede is speaking, for not a date is to be seen throughout the volumes. He will, however, find in one volume an account of a grand illumination in consequence of peace, and very minute details of a late election at Westminster, which turns out to be the contest between Mr. Fox, Lord Gardner, and Mr. Graham; in another, it appears that Lord Loughborough is still a Judge, and that the author is deeply interested in listening to Curran as an advocate in Dublin; while in another we are told that Parkinson's Leverian Museum is still exhibited, and that Mr. Opie is yet alive.

This writer has left no subject untouched:—manners politics, religion, and the arts, all pass before him in review, though his remarks contain nothing that is either very profound or very novel. We select a passage on the advantages arising from the publicity of the proceedings in our courts of justice; because we consider it as a fair specimen of Mr. Goede's production, and because it has been the fashion of late in some quarters to under-rate the excellence of our trial by jury.

‘ The main excellence of the English judicature consists in publicity, in the free trial by jury, and in the extraordinary despatch with which business is transacted. The publicity of their proceedings is indeed astonishing. Free access to the courts is universally granted; nay, the very galleries are always crowded with inquisitive hearers. In many respects, indeed, they have the appearance of a place of worship. The judges occupy a conspicuous seat; before them, the law clerks and secretaries occupy a somewhat inferior station; opposite to the latter, benches are arranged for the counsel. In the intermediate space, toward the right hand of the Judge, is an elevated place for the witnesses. The defendant usually stands in the midst, over-against the Judge. Upon every extraordinary trial, you may remark short-hand writers in the galleries, who collect the depositions of witnesses, the questions and speeches of the counsel, and the observations of the Judge. A summary account of the most remarkable suits is inserted in all the public journals. Thus the Judge, the counsel, and the jury, are constantly exposed to public animadversion; and this greatly tends to augment the extraordinary confidence which the English repose in the administration of justice. Hence also the people reap the solid advantage of becoming thoroughly instructed in the spirit of the laws, and in the forms of judicial procedure. By the public examination of witnesses, the dignity of the court is enhanced, and the legal process secured against the influence of chicane. No authority can overawe the evidence, or extort a corrupt testimony favourable to the views of the Judge; nay, even an adept in private falsehood would blush to be convicted of perjury in the presence of his fellow-citizens. The happy impressions, which this mode of examination produces upon the national character, are obvious. This majestic spectacle cherishes the flame of patriotism, and fortifies the notions of legal equality. It serves likewise to entertain that ingenuousness of disposition which is manifest among the lowest orders of the community.

‘ In what an awkward perplexity would many an honest German be placed, during an examination of several hours before an assembly, where each individual sifts and records every syllable he utters! In England, you behold members of the lowest class of society conducting themselves before these judicial courts with the greatest composure, evinced by their pertinent and perspicuous answers to subtle and ambiguous interrogations.

‘ The counsel, the Judges, and the jury, have equally the privilege of questioning the witnesses. The jury discharge the office of a moderator between the Judges and the counsel; and, when the scale of justice seems to preponderate on either side, preserve the equipoise.

‘ Englishmen regard the trial by jury as the greatest bulwark of their civil rights; and, most assuredly, the advantages which they derive from it are incalculable; nor is it an extravagant position to assert, that this is the corner-stone of their whole constitution. This is the cement, by which the political fabric is held together;

together; the assimilating principle which unites the constituent members of the commonwealth, and constrains them to guard with unceasing vigilance the impartial distribution of justice. To this salutary regulation, the English owe the abridgement of their judicial suits. Here those gigantic causes, which in many provinces of Germany dilapidate the substance of the parties at issue, reduce whole families to beggary, and exist through many generations as standing memorials of the feeble administration of justice, are unknown.'

As far as we can draw any meaning from some mystical passages interspersed through these volumes on the nature of constitutions, and on the parties in England, we conceive that the writer is a sort of Burkite:—yet he once ventured to mount the cupola of St. Paul's in company with 'his worthy friend Dr. A——g,' whom he describes as 'a zealous patriot.'

'I was shortly before,' says he, 'engaged in a conversation with my friend, concerning the political situation of England, and the formidable dangers that threatened her existence. He was still ruminating on the subject of our discourse, when the prospect of this grand scene suddenly rushing upon his sight made him break out into the following exclamation:—"How! shall this magnificent structure of the industry of a world be buried in a heap of ruins, and this proud and mighty nation submit its neck to the yoke of military discipline? Were it possible that England should be overwhelmed by such a disgraceful fall, and this last retreat of liberty be destroyed, by the great God! I would not survive it." This zealous patriot was an Irishman.'

On another occasion, also, the author very fairly records two eulogies on Mr. Fox; one pronounced by a gentleman to his son, begging him to observe *that lusty man* particularly, and to let his image sink deep in his mind, for that he had done great things for his country;—the other pronounced by a fruit-woman, who, as Fox was crossing the market-place on one of the days of election, in his way to the Shakspeare tavern,—'herself,' as the author observes, 'groaning beneath the load of a comely hillock of flesh,—exclaimed to her comrade, "Hasn't Charley a fine jolly face? God bless his fair goodly paunch!"

In some instances, Mr. Goede betrays considerable ignorance, and falls into mistakes which none but a foreigner could have incurred. For instance; in vol. iii. p. 69.:

'No Englishman,' says he, 'hesitates to rank the statesmen, Fox, Pitt, Hawkesbury, Grey, Lansdown, Thurlow, and many others, among the literati of his country, though they have never assumed the character of authors; for we must not consider a

trivial pamphlet of Fox* as a specimen of his authorship. Dr. Parr has always been regarded as one of the first of English linguists; but he has little distinguished himself, as an author, in this province of literature.

In another place he assures us that it is a matter of ordinary occurrence for a clergyman to be transported to Botany Bay: — but he is not the first person who has misapprehended the meaning of *the benefit of clergy*. He also gives us an etymology of a cant term which we do not recollect to have before seen:

'Of all the extravagances of the English coxcombs,' says he, 'their fashionable cant is the most absurd. It is, generally, an unintelligible gibberish; a compound of broken French, seasoned with some significant and original English terms. There are always some, which have a run. Thus "the boar" lately made a considerable figure among them. At all public amusements, which created languor or satiety, every body complained of "the boar." This is the more extraordinary, as there are only foxes and hares hunted in England.'

We had better perhaps here suspend our notice of Mr. Goede, lest our readers should really find it *a bore*. The work, however, is not deficient in information and good sense, though the former be now stale and of little utility to people of this country, and the latter they will be too much inclined to disregard.

ART. VI. *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution*; including a Narrative of the Expedition of General Xavier Mina: to which are annexed, some Observations on the Practicability of Opening a Commerce between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, through the Mexican Isthmus, in the Province of Oaxaca, and at the Lake of Nicaragua; and on the vast Importance of such Commerce to the civilized World. By Will. Davis Robinson. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. Boards. Lackington and Co. 1821.

THIS book appears to offer high claims to public confidence; and, although it is animated by that republican spirit which may be called natural to a citizen of the United States, yet the author had visited personally the provinces which he describes, was intimately acquainted with the individuals whom he characterizes, and paints every thing with the hues of a vivid fidelity, if not with the gray coldness of impartiality. The narrative embraces the causes and origin of the Mexican revolution, and especially details the romantic expedition of

* His "Letter to the Electors of Westminster." E.
General

General Xavier Mina; who, like another Fernando Cortés, had nearly overturned the Mexican empire at the head of as small a band of soldiers: the Creole patriotic party serving like new Tlascalans, to reinforce his staff with numerous allies accustomed to the local sort of warfare. A poetic degree of interest is attached to the history of this noble martyr of independence, whose abortive enterprize will perhaps one day occupy the tragic pen of some Mexican dramatist.

Mr. Robinson embarked at New Orleans on the 4th of March, 1816, and landed on the 4th of April at Boquilla de Piedra, a post then in possession of the revolutionists on the coast of Vera Cruz. He appears to have acted as supercargo over some investments of arms and ammunition, with which certain American merchants had agreed to supply the insurgents; and he was received in a friendly manner at the headquarters of Don G. Victoria, the commandant-general of the patriot forces. Some difficulties having occurred in paying the drafts of which Mr. R. was the bearer, he was forwarded to Tehuacan, where partial payments were made, and next addressed to Guasacualco: but the troops who escorted him having been surprized by the royalists at Playa Vicente, he was obliged to surrender himself to the Spanish authorities, and to claim the benefit of the *indulto*, or amnesty offered by the crown. He was however sent to Europe in 1818; and finding, after his arrival at Cadiz, and after some correspondence with the American ambassador, that his case would probably terminate in a sentence of banishment to the African fortress of Ceuta, he determined to attempt an escape. He succeeded, and went on board an American vessel which lay at Gibraltar; and took him to Philadelphia.—The business of Mr. R. in the Mexican territories, if liable to the charge of commercial contraband, had nothing in it of rebellious hostility: but there was unluckily a Doctor John Hamilton Robinson, who was a brigadier-general in the service of the Mexican patriots, for whom the author was mistaken; and his assertions of non-identity were placed to the account of fraud.

During his sojourn among the patriot-forces, the writer had the opportunity of consulting the journal of Mr. Brush, commissary-general of Mina; of collecting various local newspapers, and other native sources of intelligence; of reading memoirs of the revolution drawn up by a Creole; and, above all, of observing on the spot the scene of adventure. Since his return, he has obtained a perusal of the correspondence of General Mina with various distinguished individuals in Europe, and has thence been supplied with particulars of the early biography of his hero. With these materials he was

well prepared for his undertaking, and has reason to expect an extensive attention to his book, the execution of which does credit to the literature of Philadelphia.

To the preface, which is the work of the English editor, succeeds the original introduction; and then the memoir of the Mexican revolution, which is divided into thirteen sections or chapters. Of each we may say a few words.

The first chapter gives a summary account of the original conquest of Mexico, details some fundamental provisions of the *Leyes de las Indias*, (which since the age of Charles V. have formed the constitutional code of the country,) and hurries on to the French invasion of Spain, and to the transient substitution of Joseph Bonaparte for Ferdinand VII. French emissaries were sent to Mexico in 1808, for the purpose of transferring to France the allegiance of Spanish America: but, when the Supreme Junta of Seville declared war against France on the 6th of June, 1808, and when the news of this declaration reached Mexico, the entire country rallied round the standard of the antient sovereign, and the air was filled with shouts of *Viva Fernando VII.*! Don Jose Iturrigaray was viceroy at this period; and, on receiving intelligence of the critical situation in which Ferdinand was involved, — both the French and the Spanish authorities issuing orders in his name, — the viceroy resolved to call a junta, to be formed by a representation from each province, in order to adopt a provisional government. This junta first taught the secret of representation to the Mexicans, and revealed the existence of a domestic division of parties; to the largest of which belonged the Creoles, and to the smallest the European Spaniards, who were nicknamed by their adversaries *Gachupins*, from a Mexican word signifying *two-headed*, which had been applied on the original landing of Fernando Cortez to designate his cavalry, the savages having mistaken them at first for two-headed beasts.

The *Gachupins*, finding themselves outnumbered in the *junta*, secretly determined on deposing the viceroy, and, on the 15th of September, 1808, they seized him and his family, and sent them prisoners to Madrid. The successor of Iturrigaray was named Venegas, and brought with him from old Spain rewards, distinctions, and offices for those Europeans who had assisted in deposing the late viceroy. From this period, the two parties have carried on an incessant conflict. An extensive conspiracy was formed by the Creoles in the province of Guanaxuato, headed by one Hidalgo, rector of Dolores, who is here stated to have authorized the cry of "*Destruction to the Gachupins,*" and thus to have commenced

commenced a deplorable provocation to massacre. Cruelty grows out of the awkwardness of semi-civilization: a polished nation attains its ends with the least possible degree of harshness, and the refined classes are always more humane than the vulgar. This consideration forms one of the strongest arguments against mob-rule.

Hidalgo raised a vast force, and marched from his headquarters near Zelaya, with nearly twenty thousand men, to the attack of Guanaxuato; which city he took, putting the Spanish garrison to the sword. The sacking of the city lasted for three days. The plunderers were loaded with doubloons, dollars, and ingots of gold and silver; and the Indians were occupied during several days in carrying off these treasures. It was supposed that each man took away at least five hundred dollars, and the greater number had several thousands; indeed, so profuse was the plunder, that on one occasion dollars were fired from the cannon for lack of ammunition. Hidalgo then marched towards Mexico, and summoned it to surrender; but Venegas barricaded the streets, took spirited precautions of defence, and forced the Creoles to retreat. Hidalgo was pursued by a Spanish officer, named Calleja, who retaliated all his cruelties, took him prisoner, and caused him to be shot on the 27th July, 1811, at Chihuahua.

Chapter ii. describes the state of the revolution after the death of Hidalgo, when a more respectable chieftain succeeded to the command of the independent party, in the person of Don José M. Morelos. He was a priest of excellent private character and respectable information, but entirely unacquainted with military science. Seven thousand men were officered under his auspices, and took possession of Oaxaca and Acapulco, which cost them a siege of fifteen months. Had they thrown open the port, and that of Guasacualco, and received there both ammunition and European officers, Mr. Robinson thinks that the cause of independence would then have been already triumphant. As it was, Morelos promoted the formation of a civil government, and convened a congress of forty persons from different provinces. Don José M. Liceaga was elected president, and sent forth a manifesto of principles on which, as a basis, the patriots offered to sign an armistice for the suspension of hostilities. As the issuing of this public document may be deemed the birth-day of Mexican independence, we shall transcribe it:

‘ “ First. The sovereignty resides in the mass of the nation.

‘ “ Second. Spain and America are integral parts of the same monarchy, subject to the same King, but respectively equal, and without any relative dependence and subordination on either part.

‘ “ Third.

“ Third. America, in her state of fidelity, has more right to convoke the Cortes, and call together representatives of the few patriots of Spain already infected with disloyalty, than Spain has to call over deputies from America, by means of whom we can never be worthily represented.

“ Fourth. During the absence of the King, the inhabitants of the Peninsula have no right to appropriate to themselves the sovereign power, and represent it in these dominions.

“ Fifth. All the authorities emanating from this origin are null.

“ Sixth. For the American nation to conspire against them, by refusing to submit to an arbitrary power, is no more than using its own rights.

“ Seventh. This, far from being a crime of high treason, is a service worthy of the King's gratitude, and a proof of patriotism, which his Majesty would approve, if he were on the spot.

“ Eighth. After what has occurred in the Peninsula, as well as in this country, since the overthrow of the throne, the American nation has a right to require a guarantee for its security; and this can be no other than putting into execution the right which it has, of keeping these dominions for their legitimate sovereign singly, and without the intervention of any European people.”

On these incontrovertible principles, the following just pretensions are founded: —

“ First. That the Europeans resign the command of the armed force into the hands of a national congress independent of Spain, representing Ferdinand VII., and capable of securing his rights in these dominions.

“ Second. That the Europeans remain in the class of citizens, under the protection of the laws, without being injured in their persons, families, or property.

“ Third. That the Europeans, at present in office, remain, with the honours, distinctions, and privileges thereof, and part of their revenue, but without exercising authority.

“ Fourth. That as soon as the state of independence is declared, all antecedent injuries and occurrences be buried in oblivion; the most effectual measures for this purpose are to be adopted; and all the inhabitants of the land, as well Creoles as Europeans, shall indiscriminately constitute a nation of American citizens, vassals of Ferdinand VII., and bent only on promoting the public felicity.

“ Fifth. That, in such a case, America would be able to contribute in favour of the few Spaniards engaged in sustaining the war of Spain, with those sums the national congress may assign, in testimony of our fraternity with the Peninsula, and to prove that both aspire to the same end.

“ Sixth. That the Europeans, who may be desirous of quitting the kingdom, be granted passports for whatever place they may wish; but, in that case, officers shall not be allowed the portion of their pay that might have been granted them.”

The Principles on which the Patriots propose to prosecute the War, are,

“ First. A war between brethren and fellow-citizens ought not to be more cruel than between foreign nations.

“ Second. The two contending parties acknowledge Ferdinand VII. Of this the Americans have given evident proofs, by swearing allegiance to him, and proclaiming him in every part; by carrying his portrait as their emblem; invoking his august name in their acts and proceedings, and stamping it on their coins and money. On him the enthusiasm of all rests, and on these grounds the insurrectional party has always acted.

“ Third. The rights of nations and of war, inviolable even amongst the most infidel and savage people, ought to be much more so amongst us, who profess the same creed, and who are subject to the same sovereign and laws.

“ Fourth. It is opposed to Christian morality to act from hatred, rancour, or personal revenge.

“ Fifth. Since the sword is to decide the dispute, and not the arms of reason and prudence, by means of agreements and adjustments founded on the basis of natural equity, the contest ought to be continued in such a manner, as to be least shocking to humanity, already too much afflicted not to merit our most tender compassion.”

Hence are naturally deduced the following just pretensions :

“ First. That prisoners be not treated as criminals, guilty of high treason.

“ Second. That no one be sentenced to death, or execution, for this cause, but that all be kept as hostages, for the purpose of exchange; that they be not molested with irons and imprisonment; and, as this is a measure of precaution, let them be put loose in places where they cannot injure the views of the party by whom they may be detained.

“ Third. That each one be treated according to his class and condition.

“ Fourth. That, as the rights of war do not permit the effusion of blood but in the act of combat, when this is over, let no one be killed; nor let those be fired upon who fly, or throw down their arms, but let them be made prisoners by the victor.

“ Fifth. That, as it is contrary to the same rights, as well as to those of nature, to enter with fire and sword into defenceless towns, or to assign, by tenths and fifths, persons to be shot; by which the innocent are confounded with the guilty; let no one be allowed, under the most severe penalties, to commit such enormities, which so greatly dishonour a Christian and civilized people.

“ Sixth. That the inhabitants of the defenceless towns, through which the contending parties indiscriminately may pass, be not injured.

“ Seventh. That as, by this time, every person is undeceived with regard to the true motives of this war, and it being unwarrantable to connect this contest with the cause of religion, as was attempted

attempted at the beginning, let the ecclesiastical orders abstain from prostituting their ministry, within the limits of their jurisdiction, by declamations, reproaches, or in any other way; nor ought the ecclesiastical tribunals to interfere in an affair exclusively of the state, and which does not belong to them. If they continue to act as they have heretofore done, they will certainly disgrace their dignity, as experience daily proves, and expose their decrees and censures to the scorn, derision, and contempt of the people, who, in the mass, are anxiously wishing the success of the country: it being well understood, that, in case the clergy are not thus restrained, we feel no longer answerable for the results that may occur from the enthusiasm and indignation of the people; although, on our part, we protest, now and for ever, our profound respect and veneration for their character and jurisdiction in matters relating to their ministry.

‘ “ Eighth. That, as this is a matter of the greatest importance, and concerns indiscriminately all and every inhabitant of this land, this manifesto and its propositions ought to be published, by means of the public prints of the capital, in order that the people, composed of Americans and Europeans, being informed of what so deeply interests them, may be enabled to manifest their will, which ought to be the guide of all our operations.

‘ “ Ninth. That, in case none of these plans are admitted, reprisals shall be rigorously observed.” ’

The cruel conduct of Calleja is arraigned by the author; while the behaviour of the present viceroy, Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, is highly extolled. We presume that he was not appointed in 1815, in which year Morelos was taken prisoner, delivered over to the holy office at Mexico, declared a heretic, degraded from his rank of priest, and given up to the military tribunals, who caused him to be shot as a traitor and a rebel, 22d December, 1815.

After the capture of Morelos, the members of the Mexican congress removed their sittings to Tehuacan, and intrusted some military authority to Don Manuel Teran, a dissolute and encroaching man, conceited, jealous of rivals, and ill adapted for his office. He employed his power to dissolve the Mexican congress, and thus replunged the cause of his party into inauspicious anarchy.

At this period, we learn from the third chapter, Don Xavier Mina arrived on the Mexican shore. He was born in December, 1789, at the family seat near Monreal, in Navarre. Brought up among the Pyrenees, he acquired the hardiness, the activity, and the daring of a mountaineer. He was sent to study at Zaragoza, but in 1808 quitted college to enlist as a private in those armies of the Spaniards, which aimed at the expulsion of the French. He distinguished himself much in a sort of Guerrilla warfare, at the head of a small band

band cut his way through the French lines, took many prisoners, and was promoted by the junta of Seville to the rank of colonel, and soon afterward to that of commandant-general of Navarre. Having been directed, however, to destroy an iron-foundery near Pampeluna, where the French manufactured ammunition, he was inclosed between two bodies of the enemy and taken prisoner. His place of confinement was the castle of Vincennes, near Paris, and he was not set at liberty until the general peace and the abdication of Napoleon.

When the Spanish armies first thought of proclaiming a constitution, Mina, who was a zealous *Liberale*, attempted to promote the insurrection of Navarre, but was obliged to make his escape into France from some royal troops who had orders to seize his person. It is said that he was arrested in France, but the detention was not continued, and he passed over to England, where the government allowed him a considerable pension,—we believe, says the author, of two thousand pounds *per annum*. Whether this was or was not really intended to facilitate his plan of lending assistance to the independents of Spanish America, certainly Mina employed all his resources in procuring a ship, ammunition, and associates, and sailed from England for the Chesapeake in May, 1816, accompanied by thirteen Spanish and Italian and two English officers. After a passage of forty-six days he disembarked at Norfolk, and proceeded by land to Baltimore; where he made arrangements for a fast-sailing brig pierced for guns, purchased artillery and military stores, and reinforced his staff by the accession of several American officers. The intention was to land at Boquilla de Piedras, a port to the north of Vera Cruz, still held by the patriot-General Don Guadalupe Victoria: but unfavourable weather obliged them to make for Port au Prince; the vessel was seriously injured; and during her detention several persons abandoned the expedition. At length, however, Mina reached the island San Luis, near the mouth of the river Trinidad, and landed at Galvezton. Commodore Aury, who commanded there, and was in the service of the Mexican republic, had received no orders to welcome Mina, and appears to have viewed his arrival with jealousy. He suffered the regular drills, but did not facilitate to Mina any communication with the interior; and the latter was obliged to make a voyage to New Orleans in order to open the requisite channels of intelligence. A young man, named Correa, was detected in giving information to the Spanish government which Mina had confidentially intrusted to him; and, on the other hand, a Colonel Perry, who served under Aury

Aury, transferred his allegiance to Mina, but afterward abandoned him with consistent fickleness.

The fourth chapter lands Mina at Soto la Marina, near the mouth of the river Santander, which place was forcibly occupied. Some fortifications were thrown up, a printing press was established, and provisions were made against a siege. The royalist General Arredondo was expected in the neighbourhood; and an expedition, which he directed, succeeded in destroying the shipping. Colonel Perry deserted in critical circumstances; and Mina found it necessary to remove at the head of 308 followers to Horcasitas, and thence to El Valle de Maiz, where he gained a victory, by which he acquired a high reputation for courage, ability, and clemency. He next began to ascend the table-land, fought a successful battle at Peotillos, took Pinos, and accomplished a junction with the patriots, in concert with whom he occupied the fortress of Sombrero. The Lieutenant-Colonel of his new allies, Don Christoval Naba, is thus described:

‘The grotesque figure of the Colonel surprised the division. He wore a threadbare roundabout brown jacket, decorated with a quantity of tarnished silver lace, and a red waistcoat; his shirt collar, fancifully cut and embroidered, was flying open, and a black silk handkerchief was hanging loosely round his neck. He also wore a pair of short, loose, rusty, olive-coloured velveteen breeches, also decorated with lace; and round his legs were wrapped a pair of dressed deer-skins, tied under the knee by a garter. He had on a pair of country-made shoes; and on each heel was a tremendous iron spur, inlaid with silver, weighing near a pound, with rowels four inches in diameter. On his head was placed a country-made hat, with an eight-inch brim, ornamented with a broad silver band, in the front of which was stuck a large picture of the Virgin of Guadalupe, inclosed in a frame, and protected by a glass. He was mounted on a fine horse, and armed with a brace of pistols, a Spanish Toledo, and an immensely long lance. His men were equipped much in the same style; but were principally clad and armed with the spoils taken from the enemy. Though these Mexican Cossacks were thus singularly and rudely equipped, they were robust-looking fellows, accustomed to hardships and severe privations, and full of courage.’

In the fifth chapter, a sketch is given of the state of the patriotic cause, and of the character of its leaders. The want of a representative body, able to depose such unskilful patriotic officers as Torres, was the real cause of the eventual shipwreck of Mina.

In chapter vi. Mr. Robinson narrates the blockade or siege of Sombrero, where Mina appears to have lost valuable time.

The

The seventh continues the narrative until the reduction of the fortress, whence Mina was able to make his escape.

The second volume opens with the eighth chapter, which details the situation of the city of Mexico, and weighs the arguments for and against an attack. The active measures of the viceroy deterred Mina from so hazardous an attempt, He also failed in an expedition against Villa de Leon. The fortress of Sombrero was now again so closely besieged that, however skilfully and bravely defended, it was necessarily evacuated: but Mina with a part of the garrison escaped. — In the ninth chapter, we find him taking refuge at Los Remedios: but the rest of his career is a series of adversities. Almost without a staff, he was become unable to drill his numerous but savage allies into any efficacious discipline. — Chap. x, relates his movement against Guanaxuato, in which he was foiled; and he was at length made prisoner by Orrantia, and shot at Los Remedios.

Chapter xi. narrates the conclusion of the warfare, and the victory of the royalists. The twelfth contains general reflections on the events recorded, and indignantly deploras the cruelties so frequently committed by the victors.

A long and separate section is allotted to geography, and examines the different routes to the Pacific Ocean, with the view of stimulating the British and American governments to agree on some plan for opening a navigable communication, on a grand scale, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. A joint-stock-company might easily be formed by subscription, which would raise the necessary funds, if the district to be perforated were annexed to some one of the settled, stable, and liberal sovereignties. Unless, however, proprietors of every religion and every nation are suffered alike to reside on their property, and to inspect the management of the capitals advanced, no sufficient funds for the undertaking can be collected by voluntary subscription. The British and the North American countries having the greatest commercial navies, and conducting a larger trade to China and to the East Indies than other Europeans, are the most interested in piercing the isthmus. For the local purposes of North America, the author recommends a cut from Guasacualco in the Gulf of Mexico to Tehuantepec on the Pacific; for those of Great Britain, a cut through the lake of Nicaragua, having the river San Juan for its Atlantic entrance, and an artificial channel from the lake for its western outlet; and for those of Peru, a cut from the Gulf of Darien through the province of Choco. After much personal inspection and information collected on the spot, he affirms that each of these

three

three lines can be rendered navigable for large shipping, but especially the cut through the lake Nicaragua. Evidence to this effect was some years ago laid before the British government by Mr. Bryan Edwards of Jamaica, in order to stimulate the British cabinet to purchase from Spain the province of Costa Rica in perpetual sovereignty; as the proposed canal would be confined within the limits of that province, and would, by its prodigious operation on the navigation of the world, render the contiguous island of Jamaica a most important emporium. As it is not too late to realize the plan, we shall make an extract concerning it; premising, however, that the observations are rendered more intelligible in the book by means of the map annexed, which includes the district under discussion.

‘ We now come to treat of a section of the American continent, where the magnificent scheme of cutting a navigable canal between the two oceans appears unincumbered with any natural obstacles.

‘ The province of Costa Rica, or, as it is named by some geographers, Nicaragua, has occupied but the very cursory notice of either Spanish or other writers: they have all, however, stated, that a communication could be opened by the lake of Nicaragua, between the two seas, but no accurate description of the country has ever been published; and indeed so completely has the mind of the public been turned towards the Isthmus of Panamá, as the favoured spot where the canal should be cut, that Costa Rica has been disregarded.

‘ In looking over the excellent maps of Melish and Doctor Robinson, recently published, we perceive that the river called San Juan discharges its waters into the Atlantic Ocean, in the province of Costa Rica, about the latitude of $10^{\circ} 45'$ north. This noble river has its source in the lake of Nicaragua. The bar at its mouth has been generally described as not having more than twelve feet water on it. About sixteen years ago, an enterprising Englishman, who casually visited the river, examined the different passages over the bar, and discovered one, which, although narrow, would admit a vessel drawing twenty-five feet. It is said that some of the traders to that coast from Honduras are likewise acquainted with the passage just mentioned, but it has never been laid down on any map; and if the Spanish government had been informed of it, they would, conformably to their usual policy, have studiously concealed it. After the bar of the San Juan is crossed, there is excellent and safe anchorage in four and six fathoms of water. It is stated that there are no obstructions to the navigation of the river, but what may be easily removed; and at present large brigs and schooners sail up the river into the lake. This important fact has been communicated to us by several traders. The waters of the lake, throughout its whole extent, are from three to eight fathoms in depth.

‘ In the lake are some beautiful islands, which, with the country around its borders, form a romantic and most enchanting scenery. At its western extremity is a small river, which communicates with the lake of Leon, distant about eight leagues. From the latter, as well as from Nicaragua, there are some small rivers which flow into the Pacific Ocean. The distance from the lake of Leon to the ocean is about thirteen miles; and from Nicaragua to the gulf of Papagayo, in the Pacific Ocean, is twenty-one miles. The ground between the two lakes and the sea is a dead level. The only inequalities seen are some isolated conical hills, of volcanic origin. There are two places where a canal could be cut with the greatest facility: the one from the coast of Nicoya (or, as it is called in some of the maps, Caldera,) to the lake of Leon, a distance of thirteen or fifteen miles; the other, from the gulf of Papagayo to the lake of Nicaragua, a distance of about twenty-one or twenty-five miles. The coast of Nicoya and the gulf of Papagayo are free from rocks and shoals, particularly in the gulf, the shore of which is so bold that a frigate may anchor within a few yards of the beach. Some navigators have represented the coasts of Costa Rica, as well on the Pacific as on the Atlantic side, as being subject to severe tempests; and hence these storms have been called Papagayos: but we have conversed with several mariners who have experienced them, and have been assured that they are trifling, when compared with the dreadful hurricanes experienced among the Antilles, in the months of August, September, and October.’—

‘ From the preceding outline it will be perceived, that nature has already provided a water-conveyance through this Isthmus, to within a few leagues of the Pacific Ocean; but, supposing that the route we have mentioned, up the river San Juan, and through the lake of Nicaragua, should, when accurately surveyed, discover obstructions (which we do not anticipate) to the navigation of large vessels, where would exist the difficulty, in such case, of cutting a canal through the entire Isthmus? The whole distance is only one hundred and ninety, or at most two hundred miles from the Atlantic Ocean to the gulf of Papagayo. There is scarcely ten miles of the distance but what passes over a plain; and, by digging the canal near the banks of the river San Juan, and the margin of the lake of Nicaragua, an abundant supply of water could be procured for a canal of any depth or width. Surely the magnitude of such an undertaking would not be a material objection, in the present age of enterprise and improvement, especially when we look at what has been accomplished in Europe, and at the splendid canal now cutting in our own country, in the state of New York. It may be said, that the present poverty of the country, and its thin population, are powerful obstacles to the execution of the project. If Costa Rica were in the possession of a liberal government, willing to lend its encouragement to this important object, capital in abundance would speedily be forthcoming, either from Great Britain or from the United States. Enterprising companies would soon be formed; and

and we hazard little in predicting, that the canal stock of such an association would yield a profit far greater than that of any other company in the world. With regard to the difficulty of procuring labourers in the present state of the population of the country, it could soon be obviated. The Indians of Guatemala and Yucatan would flock to the Isthmus of Costa Rica in thousands, provided the banners of freedom were hoisted there, under any government capable of affording them protection, and rewarding them for their labour. The present condition of those unfortunate people is wretched beyond conception, particularly of those in the interior of Yucatan. — Unfold to these unfortunate beings a new and rational mode of existence, offer them moderate wages and comfortable clothing, give them personal protection, and allow them the advantages of a free external and internal commerce, and they would soon display a different character. Offer to the view of the Indians these blessings, and multitudes would repair to the proposed point, from all the adjacent countries. Under such circumstances, we do not entertain any doubt that twenty, thirty, or even fifty thousand Indians could be procured for the work in question, who would give their labour with gratitude for a moderate compensation. —

‘ We feel great pleasure in stating, that many of these ideas are derived from an interesting and able Memoir, written by the late Bryan Edwards, the celebrated historian of the West Indies. We perused it, several years since, at Jamaica; and, although we have not seen it among any of the published works of that distinguished writer, we believe the Memoir to have been laid before the British government. Bryan Edwards was perfectly aware of the importance of Costa Rica to the British nation, and of the practicability of forming a communication between the two seas in the manner we have suggested; and he made use of the most cogent and eloquent reasoning, to induce his government to seize the Isthmus of Costa Rica by conquest in war, or to obtain it by negotiation in peace. We presume the British government have not lost sight of those representations, nor of other interesting communications on the same subject which have been made to them by several intelligent individuals who had resided in the bay of Honduras. The Isthmus of Costa Rica may, hereafter, become to the New, what the Isthmus of Suez was to the Old World, prior to the discovery of the route to Asia by the Cape of Good Hope. —

‘ Let the reader cast his eye upon the map, and behold its important geographical position. Nearly central, as respects the distance between Cape Horn and the north-west coast of America, — in the vicinity of the two great oceans, superseding the necessity of the circuitous and perilous navigation round Cape Horn, — it appears to be the favoured spot, destined by nature to be the heart of the commerce of the world.

‘ The most ardent imagination would fail in an attempt to portray all the important and beneficial consequences that would result from the execution of this work, the magnitude and grandeur of which are worthy the profound attention of every commercial nation.

nation. It is, indeed, a subject so deeply and generally interesting, that the powerful nations of the Old and those of the New World should discard from its examination all selfish or ambitious considerations. Should the work be undertaken, let it be executed on a magnificent scale; and, when completed, let it become, like the ocean, a highway of nations, the enjoyment of which shall be guaranteed by them all, and which shall be exempt from the caprice or regulations of any one kingdom or state. This idea may, at first view, appear as extravagant as it is novel; but we cannot perceive any thing in it that is not in unison with the liberal and enterprising spirit of the present age; and we feel perfectly assured, that if it receives the encouragement and support of the nations of the Old World, those who will hereafter govern in the New will not hesitate to relinquish a few leagues of territory on the American continent, for the general benefit of mankind; and more especially when America herself must derive permanent and incalculable advantages from being the great channel of communication between the Oriental and Western World.

These volumes form a welcome contribution both to the history and the geography of the Mexican provinces. The convulsions which rocked the cradle of their liberties will long be contemplated with affectionate interest; and the fortunate structure of the region, which, owing to its great elevation above the level of the sea, presents a Grecian climate in a tropical latitude, will secure to it a perfection of prosperity, and a comprehension of productive powers, not elsewhere united on the surface of the terrestrial globe.

An Appendix, containing a detailed statement of the author's claims on the Spanish government, though important to his personal interests, will not much occupy the general reader.

Xavier Mina united humanity, courage, and military science, and was worthy from his virtues to become intrusted with the generalship of the armies of freedom: but he had perhaps less of the statesman than of the officer; and consequently he did not make all possible use of his short practical connection with the insurgents of the interior, in procuring for himself a formal delegation of the supreme command. Some convention of representatives should have been called to bestow moral authority on his military measures, which had too much the appearance of a piratical inroad, and too little of the dignity of an insurrection for independence.

A portrait of Mina is prefixed to Vol. I.

ART. VII. *The State of the Nation at the Commencement of the Year 1822*, considered under the Four Departments of the Finance — Foreign Relations — Home Department — Colonies, and Board of Trade, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 207. 5s. 6d. Hatchard.

ALTHOUGH this pamphlet appeared only in the last month, our readers are probably already aware that it is considered as the ministerial manifesto, sent forth to *meet* the *meeting* of Parliament. In fact, the writer undertakes not only to justify but to eulogize the present government for every thing that has been done by them, both at home and abroad, since the restoration of peace. According to his views, the economy exercised in the reduction of the different establishments has been so extreme as almost to deserve censure for its penurious minuteness *; our transactions with foreign governments have placed the balance of power exactly on the point where it should be; our negotiations have been all dignified, and attended with success; the management of our home-affairs has been wise, prudent, and constitutional; and, with regard to the colonies, never has our commerce been placed under such salutary regulations. Wherever trade has been in any degree opened, the author cannot too highly praise the wisdom of liberal policy; and, wherever restrictions are continued, he admires the ministers as practical men, and no theorists. Perhaps all these points of eulogy may deserve a little examination, before an impartial reader can give his unqualified assent to them.

With regard to the finances, the writer occupies 85 pages with the consideration of this important subject. Here he attempts to condense the results of the public accounts for the last five years, and a prefixed advertisement of two pages specifies a number of miscalculations into which he has fallen in these details: but, even with these corrections, the statements are so erroneous that no dependance can be placed on them, and so confused and contradictory that, without a reference to the parliamentary reports themselves, they would be quite unintelligible. Moreover, they are still so far from shewing what the author infers, that ‘ministers have not only reduced all that was possible, but at the first possible moment,’ that they prove directly the contrary. In 1816, ministers affected to model their peace-establishment on that of 1792,

* This may easily be. Half-wisdom takes half-measures; “saves at the spiggot, and lets out at the faucet;” and, as the end may shew, is “penny-wise and pound-foolish.”

to which they constantly referred ; and they assured the country that the estimate which they were bringing forwards was the lowest that the kingdom could possibly bear in any time of peace. Yet this estimate, as it respected the army, instead of being the same with that of 1792, was one-third larger in Great Britain, more than double in Ireland, and much more than double for the colonies. It is true that the number of the colonies had been increased : but, even with regard to the old colonies, the arrangement of 1816 exceeded that of 1792 by nearly one-third. Ministers, however, declared to the nation that the estimate was in every department the lowest possible, and that farther reductions in any quarter would be destructive to the security and independence of the state. Nevertheless, when they found themselves foiled in their endeavour to continue the income-tax in a time of profound peace, it was discovered to be possible to reduce these establishments still farther. In consequence, before the year 1820, it was ascertained that the dependence of Ireland might be secured with a diminution of 5000 men, and that of the colonies with a decrease of 14,000 ; and, while ministers boasted in 1816 that they could contract the total of the ordinary and extraordinary annual supply within 27 millions, in 1821 it has been found practicable to reduce it to 20 millions. That much of this economy has resulted from the removal of the income-tax, it may not be difficult to conceive : but the nation has survived the shock which it was predicted the cessation of that tax would produce ; and so have the members of the administration of that day, though they assured the world that they would either stand or fall with it. The reductions, however, occasioned by the loss of that tax, must certainly be considered as *involuntary* on the part of ministers ; as must many others which have taken place after long struggles, and in consequence of the vigilance and scrutiny of some perverse members of the House of Commons.

The most important object, certainly, is that the greatest possible reduction should be made in the public expenditure ; and, in considering the past, the nation is chiefly interested to know by what means any thing has been done as far as such knowledge may tend to the continuance of good, or the prevention of evil for the future. That a general tax on all property, funded as well as landed, would be the most equal and impartial impost, if any measure of farther taxation were necessary, many persons would be disposed to admit ; but the necessity of such farther taxation must first be fully established ; and it must be clearly shewn that no greater reduction can take place in any of the existing establishments, and

and that no money now raised is perverted from the purposes for which it is intended, or wasted in ostentation or prodigality. Let the four and a half per cent. Leeward island duties be restored to the island of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands: let it be declared that the droits of Admiralty shall be considered as public money: when it is clear that no more reduction or retrenchment can be made, and that new taxation is indispensable, let every security be given for the due application of such additional revenue; and let it now and at all times, on this and on every occasion, be constantly remembered that the influence, derived to the government from the collection of taxes, is one of the most secret and insidious enemies with which the Constitution has to struggle.

Returning from this digression to the political *optimist* before us, we proceed to the consideration of our foreign relations. His account of the new system should perhaps be given to our readers in his own words.

‘ Without going into a detail of the new system upon which Europe was settled at the period of the treaties, it may be sufficient to state, that the European commonwealth was reconstructed at this period chiefly upon three principles.

‘ The first was, that there should be such a distribution of power amongst the several principal states, as might render each sufficient in itself to maintain its independence, and to withstand any possible incursion of France, till the general confederacy of Europe could move up in defence of the common tranquillity.

‘ Secondly, but always subservient to the first principle, the restoration of ancient powers to their former state of possession.

‘ Thirdly, where such restoration was manifestly impossible, or where it seemed expedient to forego it, in pursuit of the more valuable object of rendering each state sufficient to its own defence, in such case to indemnify the suffering power for its lost territories from the common fund of conquest.

‘ The system of Europe was accordingly settled upon these principles. Under the first of them, the kingdom of the Netherlands was erected, and was rendered compact and self-sufficient by its annexation to the United Provinces. And, as the Netherlands were thus interposed as a barrier between France and Germany, Sardinia, by the annexation of Genoa, was rendered a more adequate barrier between France and Italy. Under the second principle, the Swiss republics and Italian states were restored as nearly as possible to their ancient condition. Under the third, Austria received an indemnity in Italy; whilst Prussia, who was in some degree affected by the new changes, and who lost her ancient influence in Holland, received a portion of Saxony. This last modification was indeed further recommended by the new state of things in Germany, and by the extinction, during the wars of the French Revolution, of the German empire. Under these circumstances, there was no longer any power in Germany sufficiently

sufficiently compact and united to oppose an adequate defensive force against a sudden invasion. Experience had proved that Prussia in her actual state was no equal opponent to France, and that the exposed condition of the smaller principalities, and their compulsory submission to an invading army, necessarily threw them as increments into the hands of the invader. Nor is it necessary to conceal, that it had become expedient, upon many other considerations, to bestow this increase of territory upon Prussia, and to take it from Saxony. If the one had suffered more than any other power in Europe under the long and unsparring oppression of France, the other, to use no harsher term, was scarcely but little entitled to escape the penalty of a war, in which her prince had borne so prominent a part.

It will be recollected that this new system was established when the allies, after the occupation of Paris for the second time, forgot those declarations of their own which had considerably forwarded their success, and themselves replaced a Bourbon on the throne of France. The present writer, however, is very positive that these treaties have nothing to do with the support of despotism, or with the maintenance of the power of sovereigns in defiance of the wishes or in derogation of the interests of the people; and his assurances are so comfortable on this head, that we should be delighted if we saw the slightest ground for crediting them.

‘The leading principle,’ says he, ‘and object of these treaties, and of the condition which they constitute, are the maintenance of the general peace of Europe by the personal amity of the sovereigns, and by a system of mediation, which should, on the one side, recognize the perfect independence of the several states in their own internal concerns; and, upon the other, should hold forth their common interest, and therein their common obligation, to consult the general policy of Europe in all questions affecting the safety of the whole.’

‘It is a malicious and most unjust representation of the character of this system to assert, that the allied powers, and England amongst them, are bound by these treaties to control the internal concerns of other states, or even to act the arbitrator in dissensions between state and state, upon interests belonging only to themselves. As regards England, the obligations of the treaties are expressed in the treaties, and our contract is known to the letter. If the ministers of some of the other allied powers may appear to have pressed the assertion of this right of friendly mediation into that of authoritative control over all and each of the states on the Continent, the excess belongs only to them, and no portion of it attaches to us. They find nothing of this principle in the general treaties; and accordingly the king and government of England do not admit that they are comprehended in the obligation. If the assertion of these pretensions exist at all, it is totally a separate concern of the powers that make them. But it is

is not perhaps too much to say, that the Holy Alliance of the present time, like the treaty of Pilnitz in the French Revolution, has no other existence, at least in the degree asserted, than in the factious writings of the day.'

In one passage, indeed, the author somewhat learnedly terms states and empires κτήματα εἰς αἰς, and we think that the words very happily designate what these treaties tend to render them: but then the phrase means something more than the translation which the author gives of it, 'durable moral persons, states and empires.' The new system, however, has restored the blessings of the Bourbons to France, of the Inquisition to Spain, and of the Jesuits to Europe in general. Every friend to civil and religious liberty must doubtless rejoice at these events; and every friend to the advancement of the human species must doubtless be gratified with the revival of the traffic in slaves which these treaties secured for France for a limited period, after that traffic had been totally abolished there: thus re-animating a monster who was to batten in human misery for a while, and, as soon as he was flushed with the banquet, was to shrink again into nothing. Yet, though his time has expired, he has not been so glutted and cloyed as to wish to abandon the feast. Indeed, the wilful re-commencement of that trade in France has led, since the period nominally fixed for its conclusion, to horrors which words cannot describe, and compared to which the atrocities of its allowed continuance were humane.

The author expatiates on the policy of the foreign enlistment-bill, and rejoices that, although this country must be a considerable gainer from the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, (should they succeed in their attempt,) yet our government had too great a respect for *Order* to allow any assistance to be rendered to them even by individuals. It is true that, at the close of the war on the Continent, the excess of our population became a matter of serious consideration; and every speculation in political economy was at work to hint the cheapest means of sustenance, or the most advisable mode of employment. Yet, at this very period, when a wide field for enterprize opened in South America, the British government deemed it expedient to throw every obstacle in the way; and it is now a grand subject of gratification to the present writer that, though Englishmen have been happily prevented from fighting the battles of liberty, and have shared none of the danger, they may still hope to participate in the benefit of the success. It is certainly a glorious and a noble thing to pick up prosperity out of the hardships of other people; and it is delightful when, to use a phrase of this author, *the wheel of human affairs, running through every possible evolution,*

evolution, ultimately casts up a condition of things in which our wishes and duties may be in unison.'

Not knowing, perhaps, or not chusing to recollect that it was once the boast of this country to be the asylum of liberty from oppression and tyranny, and that some of its most valuable citizens have been refugees from the dragonades of Louis the Fourteenth, the author indulges in much unseasonable mirth on the subject of the alien bills, and seems to think that it is an honour for the ministers of Great Britain to be advanced to the dignity of catchpoles to the allied sovereigns.

After many wise common-places, he is unable to make up his mind on the subject of Turkey: but, in his dread of innovation, and his fondness for the existing order of things, he doubts whether the struggle of the Greeks will benefit either them or Europe. Friends as we are to liberty, we entertain the same doubts, but on different grounds. Should the struggle of the Greeks be unsuccessful, it is admitted that no benefit but much evil will be the consequence; if it prospers, their mutual jealousies are so great that it may be feared whether they will form one compact state of any denomination: while the only point of union, their common religious creed, if it be sufficient to keep them together, will place them in a state of dependance on Russia; and, observing the wily policy of the court of St. Petersburg, it must be very questionable whether any addition to the preponderance of that power can be beneficial to the free states of Europe.

As to the home-department, the author's admiration is so universal and indiscriminate, that whatever has occurred was not only right in time and place, but the best, the discreetest, and the wisest conduct possible. The greatest security has been procured, he assures us, with the least possible detriment to the liberty of individuals. He glances with great complacency at a system in which encouragement has been given not only to spies and informers, but to itinerant suggestors and instigators of mischief; and he recollects with satisfaction, and without adverting to those nobler days of England in which the legislature would have scouted such a profanation, the suspension of the *Habeas-Corpus*-act in a time of profound peace, when no insurrection was existing at home and no invasion was threatened from abroad. — The Six Acts, of 1819, which inflicted the severest blow that the constitution and the press of this country have received for nearly a century and a half, are viewed by this universal panegyrist as 'wholesome rods suspended over the heads of the seditious leaders. The sword, indeed, hangs by a thread, but it falls not; whilst the terror of its fall restrains the audacious.' —

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The transference of the judicature, in case of libel, from a jury to a Justice of the Peace is thus considered :

‘ Upon some points, forbearance is self-abandonment. It cannot be concealed, that in parts of the kingdom, and in some periods of this crisis, loose principles, to say nothing more, were spreading very far ; and that the contagion was reaching that part of our judiciary system, which, in all countries where the noble institution of juries exists, can alone give effect to the laws. Some acquittals were at least extraordinary. Under such circumstances, it was a manifest line of prudence, to rely more upon the menace of law, than upon the execution of law. Restraint and prevention had not only more of lenity, but more of policy, than direct prosecution. This was the principle of the measures of that period. The most immediate object was to restrain those libellers, and to check that general circulation of their cheap seditious tracts, which were the first movers of the popular turbulence. It was a point of first importance to restrain them at once ; to arrest the mischief in its origin ; and the law-officers of the crown entertained no doubt of the legality of putting them at once under bail. The question has since been set at rest. There is no longer any doubt, that the law contains in itself this efficient control against the continuance of a crime decidedly assailing the public peace. The subject of astonishment is that there could exist any doubt upon such a proposition. Is the discretion of a magistrate to be trusted to require bail for the peace, under the apprehension of the personal security of individuals ; and is the same protection to be withholden from the greater interests of the public safety ? But in the one instance you have an offence committed, and a demand of sureties made. And have you not the same in the other ? In the latter, only, the magistrate represents the law, and takes the due security for the public. In both, the law trusts alike to his judgment and discretion. The oath of the party applying for bail, in private menaces or assaults, is only one of the circumstances for informing the discretion of the Judge. In libel, he sees the alleged offence before him, and may reasonably infer the further peril against which he requires the security.’

If it is to be admitted at once that Justices of the Peace have individually powers which they never had by the common law, and which do not appear to be intrusted to them singly by their commission ; — if that is lawful to be done, and fit, in a period of comparative quiet, which was never discovered by the law-officers of the crown, or attempted to be enforced, even at that most disturbed time which preceded the French Revolution ; — yet we cannot help thinking that a circular letter issued by the Secretary of State, directing those to whose discretion, if at all, such power was trusted, to exercise that power indiscriminately, was a strange novelty in the constitutional history of this country. The author, however, quickly passes to other topics, and on every occasion takes care to bring

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to view only one side of the question ; he animadverts on the violences which occurred at Manchester, without reminding the reader of some judicial comments made at York on that transaction ; and he speaks of the trials at Derby, but refrains from mentioning that appearance of studious and industrious concealment which gave to these prosecutions the semblance of a half-told tale. The proceedings in a recent memorable trial, of the highest solemnity, surely did not exhibit the greatest anxiety on the part of ministers to insure the tranquillity or to economize the resources of the country : while the removal of one of the most popular and beloved noblemen in the kingdom from the lieutenancy of a county, for exercising his discretion in performing the duties of that trust, and the recent cashiering of a General-officer without the formality of a court-martial, though an indisputable prerogative of the crown, ill agree with the author's comments on that deference to public opinion which he seems to think is almost carried to excess by the present administration.

The Colonial department is treated with much brevity. The writer insists on the importance of Canada, on the value of the free ports in the West Indies, and on the prospects of the Cape of Good Hope as an infant colony ; and he then proceeds, as in consistency and uniformity he was bound, to eulogize the administration of the Ionian isles. Some remarks are annexed on the Board of Trade, very pleasingly demonstrating that all is right in that quarter also.

We may safely recommend this pamphlet to all those readers who are more fond of argumentation than of facts, and of declamation than of either. It seems to contain the essence of many of Lord Castlereagh's speeches, and is expressed very much in his happy manner.

ART. VIII. *Original Letters principally from Lord Charlemont, the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and many other distinguished Noblemen and Gentlemen, to the Right Honourable Henry Flood. Printed from the Correspondence in their own Hand-writing, in the Possession of the Editor. 4to. 18s. Boards. Rodd.*

THIS correspondence is unquestionably authentic ; and the editor, whose name is not disclosed, but whom private information enables us to state to be Mr. Monck, a relation of Lady Frances Flood, tells us explicitly how it came into his possession. It seems that, shortly after the death of Mr. Flood in 1791, one of his executors and an agent of the deceased occupied themselves for several days in destroying his manu-

manuscripts; and that the sacrifice had been indiscriminate and unsparing, when the editor entered the room and prevailed on them to suspend the conflagration. The letters composing this volume were among those which were rescued; and Lady Frances Flood gave them to her relative, with an injunction that no use might be made of them while the parties existed: but *they* have since gone off the stage of life, and the letters are now published.

A slight sketch of the life of Mr. Flood is prefixed; and we own that we should have both blamed and regretted so penurious a notice of such a name, had we not reason to think, from intimations on which we can rely, that a complete biography of that eminent man may be shortly expected from one who knew him well, and was himself a distinguished actor in the eventful scenes of the period of their common lives; we mean, Lord Ross, late Sir Laurence Parsons. In the mean while, it may be sufficient for the general information of our readers to record that the great Irish statesman was born in 1731, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, under Dr. Markham, afterward Archbishop of York, with whom he retained the closest friendship through life: that he was blest with the goods of nature and fortune: that he had a vigorous constitution, and a considerable share of personal recommendation: that his connection with the Beresford family, by marrying Lady Frances, fifth daughter of the Earl of Tyrone, brought him what was then considered as an ample fortune; and that, by the will of his father, the greater part of his large property devolved to him, which was considerably augmented by a legacy from his uncle. Lady Frances was a woman of strong intellect, although little cultivated; and such was Mr. Flood's respect for her understanding, that he consulted her on every important transaction, and left her at his death his whole estate and his personal property during her life. This is the entire substance of the biographical notice; and though we are impatient to have a more ample detail of a career connected with the most important events in Irish history previously to the Union, and the most celebrated characters who figured in that busy scene of political intrigue, we cannot but feel some gratitude to the editor for not having fallen in with the book-making system of the age: since we have no doubt, if these letters had found their way into the hands of some of his contemporaries, that instead of a thin quarto of one hundred and ninety-eight pages we should have had two large volumes, eked out with disquisitions on every political event that came within the compass of Mr. Flood's life, — the whole narrative of the American war, — discussions on
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parliamentary reform, — ample details about Lord Chatham, &c. &c., and all these preceded by the history of Ireland, from the æra of her antient kings to the times of Mr. Flood and Lord Charlemont.

We have always considered that part of the history of Ireland as the most interesting, and the most fruitful of political instruction, which is included within the thirty years that preceded the Union; and for this reason we deem the present volume an accession, however inconsiderable, to the portion which Mr. Hardy in his life of Lord Charlemont, and other writers, have already contributed towards its elucidation. It was during this time that Ireland produced her ablest statesmen; men whose strength was nurtured in the momentous struggles of the period; and whose glory was acquired by the important concessions which they obtained not only from their own legislature but from the British government. It was in this interval, also, that she advanced rapidly in wealth and population, and rose above the depression to which she appeared to have been irrevocably condemned by the narrow and corrupt spirit of policy with which she was governed; the dependence of Ireland having been uniformly the basis of every measure that related to her. So little were the commercial relations between neighbouring and friendly countries understood, that the great object both of the external government and of her own policy was to depress and restrain her commerce; and the English considered those to be their rivals whom they ought to have regarded as fellow-labourers in a common cause. In that melancholy night also of her fortunes, all public feeling and patriotic exertion became extinct: the Irish people might be said then to have been without a legislature: the popular part of their constitution was wholly dormant: their representatives sat virtually for life; and when the Lords met, they heard prayers, ordered that the Judges might be covered, and — adjourned. The first beneficial measure that had any perceptible influence on the fate of Ireland was the Octennial Bill, which passed in 1768, during Lord Townshend's administration: before which event the parliament, unless specially dissolved, expired only with the demise of the crown. It was to a mere accident that Ireland owed this benefit; for the English government, and the jobbing politicians of the Castle to whom her destinies had been committed, were equally adverse to the measure: but each party wished to throw the odium of rejecting it on the other, and the bill passed.

When Lord Charlemont, whose letters to Mr. Flood form the larger portion of this work, entered into public life, many eminent

eminent men distinguished themselves on the same theatre. Of these, Mr. Gerard Hamilton was the most remarkable. He was the Irish Secretary, first under Lord Halifax, and from an humble origin had been the architect of his own fame and fortune. He was much distinguished by an elaborate speech in the English House of Commons, but afterward more distinguished still by his silence. The truth is that he had no talent for debate, and all his speeches in Dublin were prepared and committed to memory. As a member of the House of Commons, therefore, he was as useless as Addison was in Lord Sunderland's administration. Indeed, he was so nice a weigher of words and balancer of sentences, that he found the process too long for casual debate; which requires a promptitude, and a flow of elocution, wholly incompatible with the anxious polish which he gave to all that he said or wrote. He was a member of the celebrated literary club, in which Johnson admired his conversation and acknowledged his talents. Though he acquired the appellation of *Single-Speech Hamilton*, that designation did not *literally* apply to him, because he spoke several times in the English parliament: but the superiority of his first speech was so transcendent over his subsequent efforts, that they were unnoticed or forgotten. — To this peculiar character the Letters of Junius were once attributed, and he encouraged the supposition by the coquettish negative with which he was wont to disclaim the imputation. Early in life, Burke and Hamilton came into contact, and some posthumous obloquy has adhered to the reputation of the former for having originally accepted a pension on the Irish establishment from Hamilton, when he was secretary under the Duke of Northumberland. It has also been generally supposed that Mr. Burke had sold the pension to meet some peculiar exigency; and one of his biographers (M'Cormick) attributes the circumstance to the pressure arising from former extravagance. It appears, however, from the first letter in this collection, that it was a manly independence of spirit, and a virtuous sense of dignity, which urged Mr. Burke to abandon the pension to Hamilton, in order to emancipate himself from the yoke of an intolerable obligation. Hamilton was mean enough to take it, and actually received it for the remaining years of his life.

The correspondence of Lord Charlemont with Mr. Flood, for it was chiefly confined to the former, occupies nearly the whole of the collection. As these letters are brought into the world without any prefatory matter to elucidate the lives or characters of the parties, it may not be unacceptable to our
readers

readers if, in addition to what we have said already, we offer them a few more remarks.

Lord Charlemont was born in 1728, and was well educated, but did not tread the accustomed routine of scholastic discipline, for at the early age of eighteen he made what was then called the grand tour. He was not an idle or inattentive traveller, but collected as he went along all that minute inquiry and skilful discrimination could derive from the various countries which he visited. During an absence of ten years, he cultivated the best intercourse which the Continent could afford him; and the result was that he acquired that ease of politeness, and that stream of agreeable conversation, for which he was remarkable during the residue of his life. Montesquieu and Hume were among the friendships which he formed; and Mr. Hardy has preserved an interesting paper in which Lord Charlemont gives an account of a visit made by him to the President, at his country-house near Bourdeaux. It is soothing also to learn that his intimacy with David Hume left his mind as it found it, untinctured with the comfortless scepticism of his philosophy; while he bore a willing testimony to Hume's benevolence and warmth of heart.

In the year 1755, Lord Charlemont returned to Ireland, where he determined to reside for the future. He was the private gentleman, in the truest sense of that appellation; and, as far his circumstances permitted, which we have reason to think were by no means affluent, he was a munificent patron of learning. Still, though for the greater part of his life he might be said to have been "*mersus civilibus undis*," such was the constitutional shyness of his disposition, that he never could be induced to address a sentence to that public assembly in which, from his influence and character, a single word would not have been without its effect: though he amply compensated for this inefficiency by his firmness and good sense, and by that plain direct conduct which silenced all envious or sinister interpretation. His letters to Mr. Flood breathe the ardour of the most romantic friendship, and abound with expressions of attachment which are rarely to be found in the correspondence of men of the world. They are also frequently full of the most earnest reproaches of his friend's silence. "My dear, dearest Flood" is an ejaculation common in his epistolary effusions. In a letter from London to Mr. F. in Ireland, he says,

' Judge of my disappointment, my dearest Flood. Detained in Ireland by contrary winds for almost three weeks, in constant expectation of sailing every day, I had omitted answering your letters, and was of course doubly anxious to see you, in order to
obviate

obviate any ill opinion you might have conceived of me for my apparent negligence. At length the wind served, and I set out with a thorough confidence that I was travelling towards you. Arrived in London, my first care was to send to the St. James's Coffee House. The answer was that you were gone to Paris, but were expected back in a very few days, and the next morning I received your billet with an account of your having been obliged to set out for Ireland. I had expected the utmost pleasure in meeting you here. A thousand reasons concurred to render an interview necessary. I well knew that in our circumstances letters were likely to be but a poor resource; indeed, I hardly can remember to have been more really disappointed. The unexpected absence of a beloved mistress could scarcely have affected me more.' (Letter iii. p. 7.)

The most interesting letters are those in which Lord C. communicates to Mr. Flood in Ireland the political transactions of England. On the 8th of January, 1766, he thus writes: *

' Mr. Pitt has spoken several times: his first speech was near two hours long. He began by abusing the late ministry, and in particular George Grenville, who did not choose to answer him; he then found fault with the present also, insinuating that they were under ill influences; I say *influences* in the plural, because I would not be understood to mean only that *influence* which is most suspected. By this he is supposed to have hinted at the too great influence of the Duke of Northumberland. He then spoke to the American affair, and boldly and distinctly declared that the act of taxation was *illegal*, that the colonies could only be taxed by their representatives, and concluded by insisting that the act should be repealed as an illegal act. This produced a warm debate: the majority of the House seemed to be of opinion that, if the tax were to be taken off, it should be done upon a supposition that it was too heavy for the colonies to bear, but the rescinding of the act should be accompanied by an explicit declaration of the right of taxation. Poor expedient! The question of adjournment was put and carried. Yesterday, the debate was resumed, and Mr. Pitt declared it as his opinion, that by this illegal act, the original compact with the colonists was actually broken. This bold declaration seemed to displease the generality, and to alarm the whole House. Norton bounced up, and furiously asserted that his allegation deserved no less than the Tower. To this Pitt answered only by a *bough wough*, and Norton retorted his *bough wough*. The House again adjourned, and this day all the papers relating to America are to be read: none but members admitted. This important affair is likely to be of long duration: the act will probably be repealed, but rather as oppressive than illegal. Thus have I given you all the intelligence I could as yet

* We fill up the blanks of the names.

pick up: I wish it may be intelligible to you, for I have written in such a hurry, and with such a noise of talkers about me, that I hardly know what I am doing. Heavens, what a fellow is this Pitt! I had his bust before, but nothing less than his statue shall content me now; yet his conduct is in general blamed, and the cry is, that whatever may hereafter happen in America, he is to be esteemed the author of it: this Norton asserted, and seemingly with the approbation of the generality. Good night, my dearest Flood; write to me, and believe me most sincerely your affectionate friend.'

The following parallel between the Lords Chatham and Mansfield must be interesting to our readers, as it proceeds from the authentic testimony of so competent a witness:

'For me to attempt a comparison between these two great men, would be much too hardy an enterprise. In all the parts of oratory they are, I think, nearly equal; though they who pretend to be unprejudiced (which I am proud to say I am not) may perhaps think that Mansfield in his speaking has more of the orator, though all will allow that Chatham has, even in his manner, more of the good citizen and virtuous man. The one seems always to speak from conviction, and more from his heart than his head. The general good of mankind seems to be his particular interest, and the warmth of his zeal persuades as much as the strength of his argument: the other apparently speaks for a party, and harangues as if his cause were not his own, but merely his client's. Lord Mansfield's manner seems to command your attention, and to order you to be convinced, under the penalty of passing for a fool. Lord Chatham intreats you to listen to him, a request which it is impossible to refuse, and sues to you to be convinced for your own good. Mansfield can never divest himself of the lawyer: he speaks as if he were fee'd; nor is his manner, though excellent, void of the bar cant. Chatham is the polite gentleman without cant, or the smallest degree of affectation, and seems to deliver his sentiments for no other reason than that he thinks himself in the right, and that it is his duty to persuade others to think as he does. Mansfield, in short, seems to persuade for his own advantage: Chatham for that of his audience; the one commands your admiration, the other gains your love. Mansfield is strong in sophistry, and puzzles you out of your senses; Chatham is as strong in unravelling that sophistry; and you thank him for restoring you to your reason.'

Mr. Flood was much solicited to take office, and the place of Vice-Treasurer was pressed on him. While deliberating on this important measure, he received a letter from Lord Charlemont containing a strong *dehortation* against Mr. F.'s compliance with the offer, expressed in his usual ardent manner.

‘There is a sort of sensibility,’ he says, ‘which, though it approaches to jealousy, ought carefully to be distinguished from that odious passion, and without which, friendship no more than love can hardly exist.’ — ‘Endowed then, as I am, with this excess of sensibility, I will leave you to judge of my feelings with regard to you on a late occasion. To have been left so long without hearing from you would alone have been distress to me, but how was this aggravated by the circumstances attending your silence?’

He then mentions the various reports of his friend’s acceptance of office, and, commenting on them at length, he thus proceeds :

‘In the first place, I must suppose, that in taking office, as in every other circumstance of your public life, your first and principal aim and object would be to do your country service ; and this being taken for granted, as by me at least it ever must be, I declare it as my firm and fixed opinion, that, whatever may be the case in England, it is utterly impossible that office in Ireland can confer the power of doing good ; no office with us being in any degree ministerial. This has long been my opinion, though never so fixed and rooted in my mind as it has been since I have seen how little you, my friend, were able to do when in a situation far more powerful than actual office. — But it may be said that, though political power be not absolutely conferred by office, yet, as a confidential approach to the minister is naturally obtained by it, there will be an opportunity for the salutary operation of good advice ; and noxious measures may by this means be so tempered as to be rendered less hurtful, or possibly innocent. In speculation this may appear plausible ; but I am sorry to say that facts and experience uniformly declare against it. No good man will ever be the favoured agent of an Irish viceroy. His giving wholesome and patriotic counsel will be alone sufficient to exclude him from favour ; and as there ever will be competitors, the worst adviser will always be preferred to the best ; the bold undertaker of evil will be employed in preference to the man who should endeavour to palliate it ; and in the Irish cabinet a Hamilton will ever take place of a Flood. I have hitherto supposed that the patriot, even under the baleful shade of court influence, will yet remain a patriot, and that the wholesome herb, though transplanted into a poisonous soil, will still retain, unimpaired, its salutary qualities. But are we sure of this ? A man may no doubt accept of office with the best and purest intentions ; and that this would be your case I am more than confident. But what preservative can secure us against political contagion ? What strength and soundness of constitution could justify a man for venturing into a climate poisoned by the plague ? Let us for a moment suppose a Sidney, a Hampden, a Flood in office. Their intentions will no doubt still continue unaltered : but will their judgments remain unwarped ? Unknown to themselves, their sentiments, their opinions will change ; they will view objects through a different medium, and
instead

instead of looking at all court-measures with suspicion, as every patriot ought to do, they will see them in their most advantageous light; instead of searching for latent mischief, they will labour to discover some barely possible good; and should the evil be too conspicuous to be concealed even from their clouded sight, still they will endeavour to palliate it, and will frame to themselves excuses which their unbiassed judgment would spurn at. The measure, to be sure, is bad, but then opposition is dangerous; who knows in what evils the country may be involved? Some time or other government will have it in its power to carry this measure, and why not as well now? They who oppose it, oppose from interested considerations; and shall I join in serving them and in carrying their schemes into execution? Should I now fly off, it might be attributed to levity, or perhaps to pique and disappointment. The ministry, too, have obliged me, and I must be grateful; (for in this case the reverse of Mandeville's proposition is sometimes true, and private virtues may become public nuisances;) besides, some equivalent may hereafter be obtained, and by serving government now I may possibly have it in my power to serve my country hereafter. These, and a thousand such flimsy arguments, will be apt to occur; and certain evil will be committed under the wretched pretence, and with a precarious view to a barely possible good. But such narcotics applied to the conscience will have the natural effect of all opiates; they will stupify while they lull, and by degrees all feeling will be lost. An honest man may say to himself, I will accept of office, but I will retain it no longer than is consistent with my duty to my country; and by a timely resignation I shall gain more credit than I should do if I remain unplaced, which might be attributed to inability of procuring office. This, too, is specious; but, alas! sad experience has taught us, that, of all duties, that of timely resignation is the most difficult. A man upon 2000*l.* a year may live well and happily; double his income, he will live more sumptuously, though perhaps not more happily. But can he return to that state, which, though affluent, will then appear to him poverty? *Facilis descensus Averni, sed revocare gradum, hoc opus, hic labor est?* If this be really the case, and that it is so the experience of ages has taught us, what good man would venture to fill his mind with office, or would throw himself into temptation merely for the chance of being able to resist it? And can we blame the people who wish to have their representatives unplaced, and by tests to secure them so? By tests of office, I mean the only tests which are, in my opinion, admissible, and of which I so highly approve that I will do all in my power to further their universality. For what do such tests mean? The constituents only say to the candidate — Sir, we esteem you — we think you worthy to be our representative — your intentions, we know, are good — your judgment, we are convinced, is sound; but we wish that those good intentions should have nothing to thwart them; that your judgment should remain unwarped, unbiassed; — in a word, we wish you to continue our representative, for we are well apprised that

that you cannot serve God and Mammon. Such and many more are, in my opinion, the general mischiefs arising from office, — mischiefs which are balanced by no one real good. But if from generals I should descend to your particular case, the arguments against your acceptance so multiply upon me, that to detail them cannot possibly come within the compass of a letter. Let it, then, suffice in a word to declare, that, from my knowledge of your disposition and of your sentiments, I can confidently affirm that in office it is utterly impossible you ever could be happy. Certain as I am of this truth, friendship alone, unbiassed even by patriotism, warns you against it; and what the patriot would recommend, the sincere and tender friend from the bottom of his heart advises.'

In another letter, he says,

'Heaven grant that it may be so! that you may ever retain unimpaired those honours for which you were born, and that you may ever continue an object of my admiration as I feel you ever must be of my love. Such are the zealous, warmest wishes of a faithful, a tender, but, alas! an anxious heart, which, though it be sufficiently sanguine to hope the best, still, in a matter so essential to all its feelings, cannot be entirely void of fears. Indeed, my dearest dear Flood, I am completely miserable about you.'

In 1783, a negotiation between the Duke of Chandos and Mr. Flood was carried on, respecting the election of the latter for Winchester, which ended in hostilities. We may briefly state the case, though reluctantly, because we think that these animosities, which have been long extinct in the bosoms of men now mouldering in their graves, ought not to be lightly revived. On the other hand, however, as it forms an important part of the collection before us, we feel bound to make a transient reference to it.

The Duke had promised Mr. Flood that at the ensuing dissolution of Parliament he should have a seat for Winchester, a city which he had already represented during one session; and it appears that, as the Duke was under an engagement to his Duchess in behalf of her brother Mr. Gamon, her Grace, who was personally attached to Mr. Flood, voluntarily relinquished the compact, declaring that she wished Mr. Flood to represent Winchester for life. Political events however occurred, which induced the Duke to withdraw his interest from Mr. Flood; and, on the arrival of the latter in London in April, 1784, he found the return filled up with the name of Mr. Gamon. In the course of the correspondence, Mr. Flood thus expresses himself:

'As to his Grace's friendship, Mr. Flood will always respect it as he ought, but in this case he has only to desire that the Duke
will

will adhere to his own declarations. Mr. Flood is duly sensible of his Grace's rank; but the Duke well knows that in certain descriptions of men, though of different *ranks*, there never can be any idea of friendship but on the ground of perfect and equal reciprocity.'

The Duke admitted that the business had proceeded so far that Mr. Flood actually went to his own law-agent, at his Grace's instance, to take certain necessary steps about his (Mr. Flood's) qualification. A long and somewhat uninteresting correspondence ensued; which finally came to the well-known Hibernian issue of all personal controversy, and Sir Lawrence (then Mr.) Parsons was the bearer of a challenge from Mr. Flood to the Duke. We by no means approve of that tyrannic code of honour, or rather of custom, which makes a pistol the criterion of truth, and personal courage a test of integrity. Yet, as there may be many tyros in duelling, who may be at a loss for some approved formula of a challenge duly penned and settled by an eminent character, we subjoin that which was sent by Mr. Flood to the Duke of Chandos, and which Sir Lawrence Parsons was enjoined by his friend not to *deliver* but to *read* to that noble personage. It was addressed to Mr. Parsons.

' My dear Sir,

Cleveland Row, 19th May, 1784.

' I am sure you do me the justice to feel that no man can more lament the peculiarity of my situation respecting the Duke of Chandos than I do, or can be more disposed to accommodate his Grace in every wish to rectify it. You know that it is not the value of a seat, but superior feelings which actuate me. A necessity to vindicate those feelings in a manner *inconsistent with the honour of the Duke* I should esteem a very great misfortune. I wish therefore to suppose *it may be prevented*, and if it should not, I will give beforehand *every satisfaction* to his Grace for the *liberty I must take*, which my life can offer. I am, &c.

' H. FLOOD.'

This enigmatical challenge not being *understood*, a second followed; the same letter being carried by the same party to the Duke, with a message indorsed, both which Mr. Parsons was enjoined to read to his Grace; and, on the Duke's requiring personal satisfaction, to appoint the earliest day, as Mr. Flood was obliged to return to Ireland in the week following. The message indorsed was as follows. The within letter signified that as matters then ' stood, Mr. Flood, if he were to deliver his sentiments, must declare that the Duke of Chandos had acted *dishonourably* by him. It is with great pain that he feels *this declaration is at length extorted from him*.' (June 12. 1784.) What was the termination of this singular negotiation?

‘The Duke answered, that he could only repeat that he was ready to give Mr. Flood every assistance in his power to procure a seat in parliament. Mr. Parsons asked the Duke, Was *that* the answer he should take back to Mr. Flood? The Duke replied, he could give no other. Mr. Parsons then said he thought it necessary to inform the Duke, as he might have something *further to add*, that Mr. Flood would be obliged to leave the kingdom in a few days. The Duke’s answer to this was, that if Mr. Flood would furnish any friend here with powers to conclude for a seat in his absence, he would do what he could to obtain one for him.’ We have always conceived that a challenge, according to the statutes of honour, ought to be so intelligible that all who run may read: but could Mr. Flood’s meaning have been intelligible to his Grace of Chandos, when he returned the answer which we have just inserted? Most probably he said to himself, *Davus sum, non Œdipus*. In truth, the message is involved in so cautious an ambiguity of phrase, and its mechanism is so unnecessarily complex to express that which a simple note appointing time and place would have done unequivocally, that for this reason we have recommended the form to young disciples in the laws of modern honour; since it augments the ordinary chances of a bloodless termination of the strife, by the additional chance of the challenge not being understood.

The editor, in order to render consummate justice to Mr. Flood, has inserted at the end of his collection a long ode on Fame as a specimen of his hero’s poetical talent; and his celebrated speech on parliamentary reform in the English House of Commons in 1790, as a sample of his eloquence. To say of the former that it is destitute of the fire and fervour of the ode, that it is deficient in the *ferret immensusque ruit* of the poet, would still leave space enough for considerable praise: but the truth is that this composition was injudiciously thrust in. It ought to have been permitted quietly to leave the earth, and take its flight to the “limbo of forgotten things;” for it is in fact only a kind of metrical prose, and scarcely on a level with those “copies of verses,” the *vers de société*, which in most families are handed about for the admiration of applauding aunts and enraptured cousins. We give one of the concluding stanzas by way of illustration. (P. 180.)

‘Brief is the frame of mortal birth;
Wherefore the unsubmitting mind
Less brooks to pass forgotten into earth;
And whilst to anxious doubt inclined,
It longs for some æthereal scope
Whereon to rest the aspiring hope.

Fame

Fame cries from heaven, "Be brave;
Dare greatly, and thy name shall live,
And thou upon the tongues of men survive,
Though death should shut thee up in an eternal grave."

With respect to the Speech, we rejoice that it has been reprinted: for, if we mistake not, it was published by Stockdale soon after it was spoken, and received its corrections from Mr. Flood's hand. It is a close argument; and, if it failed in effect, as we have generally understood to have been the fact, the reason must be that it is devoid of the "ambitious ornaments" of that style of declamation by which public assemblies are generally captivated, and is wholly addressed to that small portion of the senate which is influenced by just and regular ratiocination. In a word, it is a disquisition rather than a speech; and Mr. Fox, we have heard, expressed himself concerning it in nearly these words.—Another circumstance will account for Mr. Flood's failure on this occasion. His reputation in the Irish House excited the highest expectations of his greatness in St. Stephen's chapel; and, as it is most probable that he was conscious of the anticipations which were formed, his nerves might have given way when he endeavoured to fulfil them:—he arrived in the House also not a little fatigued by his journey from Dublin, having reached London but a few hours before the debate.—We may remind our readers that Mr. Flood's plan of reform was to add a hundred members to the Commons' House of Parliament, and to extend the elective franchise to all resident householders. He was answered by Mr. Windham, in a speech replete with urbanity and wit.—Of Mr. Flood, as an orator, we have on a former occasion expressed our opinion; and we shall only now say that he was the *pressus subtilisque orator* of the Roman rhetorician, flowing, easy, correct, and perspicuous; never soaring, rarely creeping, and on the whole a neat, copious, strong, and perspicuous speaker.

Altogether, we must express ourselves well pleased with this collection, as a valuable contribution to that species of literature which will rank hereafter among the most essential materials of authentic history. The blank-names ought to have been filled up in those letters which purport to give an account of parliamentary transactions; for, whatever might have been the danger of publishing them at the time of the original correspondence, and whatever may be the standing orders of both Houses down to the present day, neither the editor nor his publisher would have been in danger of being called to their bar for a breach of privilege. At present, the deficiency is perplexing to those who are not minutely conversant with the political characters of the time.

ART. IX. *Remarks made during a Tour through the United States of America, in the Years 1817, 1818, and 1819.* By William Tell Harris. 12mo. 4s. Boards. Sherwood and Co. 1821. Also 8vo. Pamphlet, printed at Liverpool.

ART. X. *Address to those who may be disposed to remove to the United States of America, on the Advantages of Equitable Associations of Capital and Labour, in the Formation of Agricultural Establishments in the Interior Country. Including Remarks on Mr. Birkbeck's Opinions upon this Subject.* By George Courtauld. 8vo. pp. 40. Hunter.

ART. XI. *A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819.* By James Strachan. 8vo. 6s. 6d. Boards. Longman and Co.

ART. XII. *The Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada ; or, Sketches of the Present State of that Province, collected from a Residence therein during the Years 1817, 1818, 1819. Interspersed with Reflections.* By C. Stuart, Esq. 12mo. pp. 335. Longman and Co.

A TERRIFIC Dragon, the modern Doctrine of Population, has actually frightened the good people of this country out of their senses ; and men and women, boys and girls, have been flying for years past in every direction to the Land's End, or have even trusted themselves to the treacherous ocean in order to escape from the voracious monster which they fancied was pursuing them at home. Well they might :

“ This Dragon had *two furious wings,* *
 Each one upon each shoulder ;
 With a sting in his tayl, as long as a flayl,
 Which made him bolder and bolder.
 He had long claus, and in his jaws
 Four-and-forty teeth of iron ;
 With a hide as tough as any buff,
 Which did him round environ.

“ Have you not heard how the Trojan hors
 Held seventy men in his belly ?
 This Dragon was not quite so big —
 But very near, I can tell ye.
 Devoured he poor children three,
 That could not with him grapple,
 And at one sup, he eat them up,
 As one would eat an apple.”

As, however, the brave “ More of Morehall, with nothing at all,” slew the Dragon of Wantley, so has a peerless champion, with the single weapon of a grey goose-quill, pierced the vitals

* Perhaps the geometrical and arithmetical ratios.

~~of~~ the new-born monster, and laid him low, to the great relief and joy of all those trembling fugitives of whom he had threatened to make a meal.

To be serious: we do most sincerely hope that the mistaken humanity of promoting emigration to the Cape of Good Hope and America, from the fear of being over-peopled at home, while we have millions of acres of uncultivated soil, may be abandoned; and that the sounder policy of our forefathers may be followed, (whose wisdom we are so prompt to applaud and so very slow to imitate,) which looked with complacency on a numerous and growing population as giving strength, and dignity, and wealth to the state. It is really distressing to see so much physical power, industry, and intelligence, to say nothing of capital, leaving this island to be transplanted into foreign climates. Every month brings forth a book of travels through Canada or the Western States of America, holding out the most flattering hopes of prosperity to those who will establish themselves on the other side of the Atlantic. Yet it is neither political nor religious persecution which now drives a healthy and a hardy race, in the prime of life, from our shores: it is distress of mind, — impending poverty, — the stagnation of trade, commerce, and agriculture, — the intolerable weight of public burdens, — and the hopelessness of any effectual relief, which have broken the spirit of so many thousands of wretched fugitives.

On the subject of emigration we have lately had so many books before us, that it would be an idle repetition to detail at length the contents of the tracts which stand at the head of this article. If we refer our readers to the notices of the works of Mr. Gray, Dr. Purves, and Mr. Birkbeck, in the M. R. for February, 1817, and July and September, 1819, and February, 1818; and still more particularly to the very full account of the publications of Messrs. Seybert, Warden, Melish, and Bristed, in December, 1820; where the question is considered, "What classes of society may emigrate with the best chance of improving their conditions?"; we shall refer them to a body of information which those, especially, who have an immediate interest in the subject, may consult with advantage. A brief notice, then, will suffice for each of the present tracts. Several more have very recently reached us, which must be the subjects of future report.

Mr. Harris's 'Remarks' are very cursory and slight, full of sentiment and description: but his tour was extensive, and his letters would doubtless be very gratifying to his friends. He is in love with America; and he attributes the distress, to which multitudes of the English there are reduced, very materially

terially to their own improvidence. He asserts that the Germans, who come over in great numbers as *redemptioners*, obtain (with very few exceptions) considerable property, and that they are sober, industrious, and persevering: while the English more frequently indulge themselves in drinking, or, being weavers and mechanics, are disinclined to turn their hands to agricultural employment, from which they might immediately obtain relief. (P. 15, 16.) This is scarcely credible: it is not human nature: men who are capable of the sacrifice, and the exertions, which these men must have already made, can surely not submit to distress when a mere change of occupation would relieve them. — Speaking of the settlers in Upper Canada, Mr. Harris offers a remark which we quote as a caution:

‘Dundas-street connects York with the towns east and west. On Smith’s creek, sixty miles east, a considerable tract has been parcelled out among different applicants to the land-office, who, after presenting certificates of former good conduct and loyalty, and swearing allegiance to His Britannic Majesty, (for which ceremonies the clerk reminds them of his fees,) they draw lots for their several portions of a hundred acres each, under engagement to raise a habitation, and bring five acres of it into cultivation within two years, or forfeit the whole; and then receiving an acknowledgment of their right and title to the same, pay an additional fee of twenty-three dollars. The delays and expences met with, and those which attend their conveyance from Quebec or Montreal, where emigrants generally land, fritter away the little property with which they embarked under the notion of cultivating bounty lands, and frequently place them in the situation of labourers for a scanty pittance on the public roads.’

Mr. Courtauld’s pamphlet is a well-written and seductive ‘Address,’ on the advantages of equitable associations of capital and labour in the formation of agricultural establishments in the interior. It is dedicated to Mr. Rapp, and has particular allusion to his settlement of “Harmony” in Indiana, which is another experiment on Agrarian economy. Every man has his station appointed to him, according to his ability, and every one finds his wants supplied: he goes to the mill for flour, to the apothecary for medicine, to the store for clothes, and so on, for all things necessary for his subsistence. Experiments of this sort have been tried in various ages, and in countries the most distant from each other. The annals of the Chinese empire testify that for a long period of years the earth was enjoyed by its inhabitants in common*; and, indeed, the absence of all hereditary titles and dignities, the

* Lord Macartney’s Embassy, vol. ii. p. 157. Quarto edit. equal

equal division of the parent's property among his children, and the extreme simplicity of all laws relating to the tenure of lands, bear an obvious reference to such a state of equality. The extent, also, to which sumptuary laws are carried in China, regulating the dwellings as well as the apparel of the opulent, point very much to this sort of condition. It is there a maxim of state that the more spacious the apartments of the rich, the more confined must be the cabins of the poor; and the more splendid the establishments of the former, the more miserable will be the condition of the latter: because, as the more labour will be consumed in supplying the superfluities, the less remains for obtaining the necessaries of life;—and Sir George Staunton says that, among the vast crowds which the approach of the embassy from the King of England attracted, not a single individual was seen in the habit of a beggar, or soliciting charity.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, two attempts were made by politico-religious fanatics, of a most sanguinary and dissolute character, to establish a community of goods: the first under Muncer in Suabia, the latter under John Boccold in Munster, a few years afterward. The Jesuits of Paraguay, however, in the commencement of the 17th century, tried the experiment on a much larger scale and with much greater success than in any case before or since. They found the inhabitants of that vast district, which stretches across the southern continent of America, entirely uncivilized: but, with kindness and care, they were able to instruct the savages to cultivate the ground, to build houses, and to connect themselves in villages. The natives thus became voluntary subjects to their benefactors, and a few Jesuits presided over some hundreds of thousands of Indians. They maintained a perfect equality among the members of the community; and each laboured, as in the existing settlement of Harmony, for the public as well as for himself. The produce of their fields was deposited in common store-houses, which were subservient to the wants of every individual; and sanguinary punishments were unknown. We are struck with another feature of resemblance between the policy of the Harmonites and that of the Jesuits. It was a maxim of the latter, from their first establishment, not to publish the rules of their order, which they always concealed under a veil that was impenetrable to a great many even of the members of their own society; and it appears from Mr. Courtauld's account, that a similar reserve is universally manifested as to the nature of those ties by which the society of the Harmonites is held together, and the regulations by which it is directed. On every other

other subject, they were abundantly communicative, but on this sole topic their reserve was inviolable.

About seventeen or eighteen years have passed since Mr. George Rapp and his associates, with some hundreds of labouring people, emigrated from Germany to the United States, and first settled in Pennsylvania; where they cleared land, erected dwellings, mills, and public buildings, and established some useful manufactures. They remained there eleven years, when an opportunity occurred for selling the land to great advantage, in consequence of the increasing populousness of the neighbourhood; and they removed to their present situation, on the eastern side of the Great Wabash, in Indiana, six hundred miles west of their former settlement. Here they purchased a much larger tract of superior land, and plunged once more into the wilderness. About six years ago, they deputed a hundred of their number from Pennsylvania to prepare accommodation for the remainder, who all followed in the next year; and, in the space of a little more than four years, these industrious people had cleared, fenced, and cultivated fourteen hundred acres of heavy timbered land, and planted orchards and vineyards. They have now built a handsome town. — Here we see the singular example of a large body of people voluntarily and unanimously resigning all their individual energies to the despotic control of one man, whose word, if Mr. Harris's account be correct, is as imperative as the mandate of the Russian autocrat; yet he has no guards, no Bastille, no executioner, to give efficiency to his command. He is supreme over all things civil, ecclesiastical, political, and commercial; and his *dominions* present a general appearance of health and content, with as much order, regularity, cheerfulness, and activity as in Mr. Owen's establishment at Lanark, whose benevolent character and schemes often come across us in reading these accounts. The present population of the Harmonites is between eight and nine hundred: they have erected a large brick church, and mills for sawing, grinding, carding, fulling, threshing, &c.; and they have established a brewery, and manufactories of wool and cotton, from the raw materials to the finished cloth.

‘ The produce from their various labours is deposited in the store, whence it is distributed to the members of the society, as they may need supplies; or sold to their American neighbours: the surplus, beyond what may be required in the vicinity of the settlement, is sent down the river to New Orleans. Numerous American customers, of both sexes, arrive daily at Harmony, from the surrounding country, including, probably, a circle of a hundred

hundred miles, to purchase European, East, and West India goods; and to buy or sell country produce.

‘ The tavern is one of the most comfortable in the new settlements of the interior country, though by no means, the most showy; but is remarkable for its cleanliness, neatness, and good order: it is not frequented by any of the society; so that it appears to have been established solely for the accommodation of travellers; of whom a large proportion are those who have business at the store. The school appears to be very respectably conducted, and is numerously attended by scholars of both sexes.

‘ All who have visited this society, unite in expressing their admiration of the rapid progress of its valuable institutions, and its consequent encreasing prosperity. It is equally distinguished for the orderly conduct, and peaceable manners of the people; — for the peculiar neatness of their fields and streets, and in their persons and houses; — and for that uniform industry in every department, which is not excited by an overbearing taskmaster, but seems to be a willing and moderate application, the result of principle and habit: the whole establishment forming a most pleasing, peaceful, and active scene, that renders it peculiarly interesting; and especially to those, who prefer the simple occupations of an industrious and united village, to the more complicated and hurried business of large cities; where eager competition and a taste for dissipation suppress and impair the best social feelings.

‘ That suitable intellect, capital, and physical strength, applied by one united society would be much more competent to meet or avoid the difficulties to be expected in the formation of new settlements in the wilderness than equal powers applied without unity of design or direction; requires only to be stated, to be clearly perceived: but to form a more adequate conception of the superior advantages of such a society, we should first witness the hardships and privations, to which isolated individuals are exposed in such situations; we should then observe the various progress of the numberless attempts of unconnected numbers; and after this, — we should visit *Harmony*.’

Mr. Birkbeck, and indeed all travellers, have been filled with astonishment at the wondrous effects produced by the combination of capital with a large mass of physical strength: but, in alluding to the establishment of the Harmonists and those of another religious sect, the Shakers, he says that the unnatural restraint which forms so prominent and revolting a feature in these institutions, namely, the *discouragement of marriage*, renders their example, in other respects so excellent, altogether unavailing and unworthy of imitation. He accordingly wishes to concentrate capital and population with no other bond of cohesion than common interest arising out of vicinity, the true elements of a prosperous community. Mr. Courtauld says, fairly enough, if these associations can flourish with the absurd and disgusting superstitions attached to

to them, what may not be expected from a society which excludes all that is objectionable in them, and simply adopts the principle of co-operation; a principle which, in an embryo-establishment and an unsettled country, must be more effective than a precarious connection arising out of mere vicinity. He accordingly lays down *his* plan, to which we refer such of our readers as have any desire to study it.

Mr. Strachan published his work with the professed view of diverting the tide of emigration from the United States to the British province of Upper Canada: but two other objects are equally discernible; one is to blazon forth his own ultra-loyalism, which perhaps had never been impeached; and the other is to depreciate Mr. Birkbeck. ‘Many,’ he says, ‘leave Great Britain from political discontents; and *such the province is better without*. Lately the Notes of Mr. Birkbeck have excited much consideration; and all his assertions have been believed without investigation. Though *I think him a bad man, (I know him only from his book,)* yet he is much to be pitied, for his choice is miserable,’ &c. &c. At page 71., also, he charges Mr. Birkbeck with having falsified the statement of expenses and products at Illinois, and with having given the prices of wheat, Indian corn, butter, poultry, &c. at 30 per cent. above the truth: — expecting probably that his own assertions should have the same good fortune which he ascribes to those of Mr. B., namely, that of being ‘believed without investigation.’ Personally we know nothing of either of these individuals: but, from the character of the latter, we certainly do not consider his veracity as affected by Mr. Strachan’s contradictions. Mr. S. abuses the American government in language very coarse and scurrilous (see particularly p. 148.): but, if the information and statements which his book contains are correct, they will be valuable because they are minute.

Mr. Stuart, the author of ‘The Emigrant’s Guide,’ does not enter into so useful a detail as Mr. Strachan; and it is simple justice to acknowledge that, although both expatiate on the independence and growing prosperity of a Canadian emigrant, both also display the difficulties, disappointments, and distresses which he must prepare himself to undergo.

‘The first difficulty,’ says Mr. Stuart, ‘is that of removing from your native country. This is seldom appreciated at the time; but is often felt bitterly afterwards. It is a difficulty, to produce which, arise all those associations of reason and affection, which bind us to our native place wherever it be; which when removed from that place throw around its remembrance a kind of sweet but melancholy enchantment, and often unnerves at a distance the
arm

arm that was strong, and the heart which at first forgot or despised them. Many has been the mind, firm as it was, and willing to struggle, which pining in secret under their influence hath found through them prosperity shorn of its charms, or adversity aggravated with thorns not its own. This indeed is a difficulty from which many doubtless are free. But I would call upon every man, before he undertakes to leave the scenes of his former life, the abode, perhaps, of his ancestors, the graves of those whom he hath loved, and still loves, the places where he hath smiled, and where he hath wept (now alike dear to him), and the companions of his past years, and his own people, and his own country; I would call upon him seriously to examine his heart, and, if possible, to ascertain, what is the strength which it possesses to control or to smother all these recollections, when placed at a distance, and amongst a new people, and in a new country, and surrounded by objects, not one of which comes to his bosom endeared with the bewitching recollections of earlier days!

This is good sense expressed in good language: but Mr. S. is not always so happy; or perhaps the misfortune is in us, whose ears are not attuned to those peculiar cadences of the conventicle which are to him "most musical," to us "most melancholy."

ART. XIII. *Universal Science*; or, the Cabinet of Nature and Art: comprising above One Thousand entertaining and instructive Facts and Experiments, selected from various Departments of Natural Philosophy, and the useful Discoveries in the Arts. Illustrated by numerous Engravings on Wood. By Alexander Jamieson, *Author of the Grammars of Rhetoric and Polite Literature*, &c. 12mo. 2 Vols. About 440 pages in each Volume. 16s. sewed. Whittakers. 1821.

NOTWITHSTANDING this imposing title, it will be obvious even to those who are not very conversant in the depths of reflection, that an elementary view of the whole range of modern science cannot be reasonably embraced within the limits of two small volumes. Many of Mr. Jamieson's sketches, accordingly, are quite defective, or so much abbreviated as to be of little practical utility to the student. Arithmetic, for example, is despatched in three pages: Algebra is confined to five; and Geometry, the purest portion of science, is squeezed into one. Other departments, however, are illustrated with more distinctness and sagacity; and several of the notices of curious facts, and recent discoveries, will be found sufficiently interesting to redeem the cost of the publication, (though the price is too high,) and the trouble of perusal. Information of a popular and amusing complexion has been wisely mixed with the less inviting lan-
guage

guage of abstract propositions and theorems. As the main design of the performance seems to be to convey an outline of the present state of science to youths and novices, it would be unreasonable to call for original or hypothetical disquisition : but, in a work destined for the instruction of the young, and proceeding from the pen of the author of grammars of Rhetoric and Polite Literature, Logic and Intellectual Philosophy, we might expect more accuracy of composition and typography than we find in these pages. Thus, in the first volume, we have *obligiste* for *oligiste*, a golden *fibulæ*, *trappear* for *trap-pean*, the articulation of these joints *are*, as far as the strata reaches, *Maya* for *Mya*, *laburnam* for *alburnum*, *fulera* for *fulcra*, *maniti* for *manati*, *chamælon* for *chamæleon*, *Milleporu* for *Millepora*, *dura matter* for *mater*, *whole* (more than once) for *hole*, *nocticula* for *noctiluca*, *Meiran* for *Merian*, *Suriucum* (we suspect) for *Surinam*, the eye of the sea-serpent is stated to be *about the size of an ox*, *Charsonesus* for *Chersonesus*, *adulation* for *undulation*, &c. &c.

The second volume is less deformed with errors of the press and disordered syntax; yet we perceive *statute* for *statue*, *Duholde* for *Duhalde*, *Serres* for *Sèvres*, *Ignus fatui*, *Kyanile* for *Kyanite*, &c. &c. The logical expression, *another of the same*, seems to have been borrowed from the Scotch psalmody. Some of Mr. Jamieson's definitions are also objectionable on the score of carelessness or inaccuracy. Thus a meteor, we are told, is 'whatever is engendered in the air which surrounds us, and which appears to be beyond the moon.' Again, 'the corolla of a flower is formed by bubbles of water placed in rows, and owes all its beauty, and the lightness of its tint, to the refraction and reflection of the sun on the drops of water which form its pabulum. This though of apparent subtilty is nevertheless verified by experiment.' It is, indeed, not only of *apparent subtilty*, but really at variance with the unqualified position contained in the immediately preceding page; namely, 'that iron is the cause of the beautiful colours of flowers.' — The definitions of *Jugular* and *Thoracic* fish are identical, although different examples are quoted; so that we may predicate of each that it is *another of the same*. — 'Every body, moved in a circle, hath a tendency to fly off from its centre, which centre is called the centrifugal force,' &c. Muslin is defined, 'a loose woollen cloth of the finest cotton yarn,' and weld is said to be 'a tribe, which grows wild,' &c.

Several of the statements, also, contained in these volumes, are either untenable or hazarded in terms too general and unreserved. In the province of Geology, for example, the author too implicitly adopts the Wernerian doctrine of the formation of

rocks and veins ; and the broad assertion, that geologists *are universally agreed* to attribute the phænomena of burning mountains to the contact of water with iron pyrites betrays a very limited range of reading on the subject. Mr. Jamieson himself, in another passage, seems inclined to account for both earthquakes and volcanoes by the intervention of electricity, grounding his opinion on the marked affections of the atmosphere which announce an earthquake: but such indications are by no means uniform or invariable; and the distressing narrative of the overthrow of the town of Carracas, in 1812, here inserted, affords a striking example of the occurrence of a most destructive earthquake without any sensible or visible alteration in the state of the atmosphere; for we are expressly told that ‘the air was calm, and the sky unclouded,’ that ‘never was a night more calm or more serene,’ and that ‘the aspect of the sky formed a perfect contrast to that of the earth.’ The common notion, that comets are alternately subject to the extremes of inconceivable heat and cold, is certainly sanctioned by the name of Newton: but, had that great philosopher lived in the present times, he would have formed his conclusions from the recent discoveries and experiments relative to the propagation of temperature. That the sun is an immense body of fire, and that heat and cold depend on proximity to or remoteness from this alleged mass of ignition, and not on the modifications of the solar rays, as they are affected by direction and difference of media, will not now be seriously maintained by any dispassionate observer of natural appearances. On some occasions we could have desired a less capricious and arbitrary arrangement of his materials than the compiler has exhibited; for what relation can be traced between *Heraldry* and the physical and chemical properties of caloric, which are placed in immediate sequence? The repetition of some passages, without comment or apology, we are willing to attribute to inadvertence; as the re-insertion of the contents of pp. 69—71. at 157—159. of the first volume. The subject of the *Aurora Borealis*, too, is twice introduced; while the quotation from Thompson is inapplicable, because it refers to the *Ignis fatuus*, and not to the *Aurora*.

As favourable specimens of the publication, we may point to the articles *Geography* and *Astronomy*, and to the condensed accounts of several of the processes that are in daily use in our manufacturing districts. The ensuing short extract may suffice as a sample of the author's simple and distinct manner of communicating discoveries or inventions:

‘ *Pyroligneous Acid*.

‘ M. Monge discovered that the acid obtained by the distillation of wood has the property of preventing the decomposition and

and putrefaction of animal substances. It is sufficient to plunge meat for a few moments into this acid, even slightly empyreumatic, to preserve it. Cutlets, kidneys, liver, rabbits, &c. which were thus prepared as far back as the month of July, 1819, were in October, 1820, as fresh as if they had been just procured from market. Carcasses washed with pyroligneous acid have not for three weeks exhibited any sign of decomposition. Putrefaction not only stops, but even retrogrades by its use.

'We now know why meat merely dried in a stove does not keep, while that which is smoked becomes unalterable. We have here an explanation of the theory of hams, of the beef of Hamburg, of smoked tongues, sausages, red herrings, of wood smoked to preserve it from worms, &c. &c.

'Dr. Jorg, professor of Leipsic, has made many successful experiments of the same nature. He has entirely recovered several anatomical preparations from incipient corruption, by pouring this acid over them. With the oil which is produced from wood by distillation in the dry manner, he has moistened pieces of flesh already advanced in decay; and, notwithstanding the heat of the weather, soon made them as dry and firm as flesh can be rendered, by being smoked in the smoking-room. All traces of corruption vanish at once when the vinegar of wood, or the oil of wood, is applied to the meat with a brush. The professor has also begun to prepare mummies of animals, and has no doubt of success. He promises great advantages to anatomy, domestic economy, and even to medicine, from this discovery, for the remedy seems very fit to be applied internally and externally in many disorders.

'It is made in the large way at an establishment at Battersea, of one uniform strength of 50 degrees, by the new excise autometer. This acid is pronounced to be pure acetous acid, perfectly free from sulphuric and all other mineral acids, and from mucilaginous, earthy, and metallic impurities. It is therefore, when diluted, perfectly wholesome with food, and may be used for all the purposes of vinegar.

'The pyroligneous acid admits of being diluted with seven parts of water, which will reduce it to the strength of common distilled vinegar: it is then well qualified for pickling vegetables and fish; the latter, particularly, is found to be preserved longer with this vinegar, and to eat firmer, and better than with any other. This acid is bright and colourless as water; but it readily takes any colour or flavour. It will keep for any length of time, in any climate, without losing its strength, or becoming ropy and thick, or mothery, as it is generally termed. At sea it is particularly useful for the scurvy; and for all medical purposes, it answers the uses of the best distilled vinegar.'

A list of some of the leading works, which treat of the subjects that pass under review, would have formed a valuable accompaniment to the several chapters of this compilation; in part redeeming its uselessness as a guide in the prosecution of some of the sciences which it professes to unfold.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1822.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, &c.

Art. 14. *The Expedition of Orsua, and the Crimes of Aguirre.*
By Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D. Poet Laureate, &c. 12mo.
pp. 215. 5s. 6d. Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.

This account of an expedition undertaken in the middle of the sixteenth century, in search of El Dorado, by Pedro de Orsua, a knight of Navarre; of his murder in the river Orellana; of the subsequent murder of D. Fernando de Guzman, who on the death of Orsua was elected king by the mutineers; and of the long and bloody career of Lope de Aguirre, who succeeded Guzman; was intended by Mr. Southey to form a chapter in his excellent "History of Brazil:" but, being unconnected with all subsequent as well as preceding events in that country, he chose to omit it altogether rather than insert an unfinished and therefore unsatisfactory tale. Yet we think that the episode, which from its dramatic features must always interest, or rather perhaps *excite*, a numerous class of readers, might very well have been given as an Appendix to a work with which it is so nearly connected. The chapter, however, was laid aside, afterward published in the Edinburgh Annual Register, vol. iii. p. 2., and is now reprinted with several additions, for the purpose of rendering it more complete as a separate production. The authorities, from which chiefly the narrative has been composed, are, F. Pedro Simon, who is supposed to have obtained his information from a full account written by a Jesuit, who, being at the time a lad, was himself in the expedition; and Piedrahita, Bishop of Santa Marta, by whom the events are detailed which occurred after the mutineers landed in Venezuela. It is a relation of naked and innumerable murders; a biographical sketch of the wolf and the hyæna, interspersed with anecdotes of the tyger and the lion. The monster whose ferocity is supereminent, and unmitigated by one feature of mercy, is Aguirre. Towards the close of his career, while his army was crumbling away, and intelligence had reached him at Valencia that Pablo Collado, the governor of Venezuela, was raising forces to oppose him, he dispatched a letter to the king of Castile which gives a little insight into his character:

"King Philip," it began, "native of Spain, son of Charles the Invincible, I, Lope de Aguirre, thy vassal, an old Christian, of poor but noble parents, and native of the town of Oñate, in Biscay, went over young to Peru, to labour lance in hand. I rendered thee great services in the conquest of India. I fought for thy glory, without demanding pay, as is proved by the books of thy treasury. I firmly believe, Christian King and Lord, very ungrateful to me and my companions, that all those who write to thee from this land deceive thee much, because thou seest things too far off. I recommend to thee to be more just toward the

good vassals whom thou hast in this country; for I and mine, wearied of the cruelties and injustice which thy viceroy, thy governors, and thy judges exercise in thy name, have resolved to obey thee no more. We regard ourselves no longer as Spaniards. We make a cruel war on thee, because we will not endure the oppression of thy ministers, who, to give places to their nephews and their children, dispose of our lives, our reputation, and our fortunes. I am lame in the left foot from two shots of an harquebuss, which I received in the valley of Coquimbo, fighting under the orders of thy marshal Alonzo de Alvarado, against Francisco Hernandez Giron, who was then a rebel, as I am at present, and always shall be: for since thy viceroy, the Marquis of Cañete, a cowardly, ambitious, and effeminate man, has hanged our bravest warriors, I care no more for thy pardon than for the books of Martin Luther.

“ It is not well in thee, King of Spain, to be ungrateful toward thy vassals: for it was while thy father, the Emperor Charles, remained quietly in Castille, that they procured for thee so many kingdoms and extensive countries. Remember, King Philip, that thou hast no right to draw revenues from these provinces, the conquest of which has been without danger to thee, but inasmuch as thou recompensest those who have rendered thee such great services. I am certain that few kings go to heaven. Therefore we think ourselves very happy to be here in the Indies, preserving in all their purity the commandments of God, and of the Roman church; and we intend, though sinners during life, to become one day martyrs to the glory of God.

“ But the corruption of morals among monks is so great in this land, that it is necessary to chastise it severely. There is not an ecclesiastic here, who does not think himself higher than the governor of a province. I beg of thee, great King, not to believe what the monks tell thee down yonder in Spain. They are always talking of the sacrifices they make, as well as of the hard and bitter life they are forced to lead in America, while they occupy the richest lands, and the Indians hunt and fish for them every day. If they shed tears before thy throne, it is that thou mayest send them hither to govern provinces. Dost thou know what sort of life they lead here? Given up to luxury; acquiring possessions; selling the sacraments; being at once ambitious, violent, and gluttonous; such is the life they lead in America. The faith of the Indians suffers by such bad examples. If thou dost not change all this, O King of Spain, thy government will not be stable.”

This man could blaspheme his Maker, and insult, outrage, deride, and set him at defiance with the most unshrinking hardihood: but superstition is a vampire which never loosens its hold when it has once fanged its victim. At Baraquicimeto, where he lost his life, Aguirre had ordered his men to set fire to the town, leaving only a few houses for the use of his own harquebussiers: but the enemy, knowing the purpose for which they had been left, set fire to these also, and the flames communicated to the church, which like the rest of the town was of wattle-work.

Seeing

Seeing that the church was in danger, Aguirre felt a momentary fear, and ordered the images to be removed and placed in safety elsewhere! He was taken by the enemy, but shot by two of his own men, who feared that, if his life was preserved, he might betray them. The first shot made only a slant wound; "That's badly done," said he: the second he received in his breast, and, exclaiming "This will do," fell and died immediately.

Art. 15. *Memoirs of James the Second*, King of England; collected from various authentic Sources. 12mo. 2 Vols. 16s. Boards. Baldwin and Co. 1821.

Here is a dose of "*James's Powders*," a very celebrated medicine of its kind, but in the present form more in fashion once than it is now. Almost all the essence of these volumes is extracted from the King's own memoirs, as published by Dr. Clarke from the Stuart papers; and the few ingredients taken from Clarendon, Hume, and the larger portion from Sir John Dalrymple, have by no means adulterated the royal flavour of the preparation. We hardly know for what class of readers this work was intended; and it is certainly not easy to name the class to which it is adapted. School-boys would find it dull, and not very instructive: for it is a dry narrative of events, unenlivened by remarks on their character and influence. As to the state of science, arts, literature, manners, commerce, and manufactures, not a word occurs on those subjects. Again; if it be not fit for school-boys, it is not very likely to please the taste, and gratify the larger curiosity, of grown up persons. The compiler would have done well to have consulted Evelyn's memoirs, Mr. Fox's historical work, Lord John Russell's life of his great ancestor, &c. &c.: but he has been satisfied with the shorter method of taking nearly all his materials from the royal historian himself. The portrait drawn, therefore, is just such an one as we might expect; and it is no wonder that the treacherous and tyrannical measures of Charles the Second, and the stern undisguised despotism of his brother James, are rapidly glanced over, while the activity of that "faction which never slumbered," and which never ceased to annoy these virtuous monarchs, receives the chastisement due to its enormity! Yet the compiler disclaims all party-bias. The magnetic fluid, however, is unconsciously imbibed by the patient, who willingly allows the metallic tractors of some grave and skilful operator to be drawn in mysterious circles around him. We can plainly discern the growing influence which they have exercised on the present occasion; and, slight at first, it has insensibly increased, till at last the patient has fairly sunken under it. In considering the misfortunes of James, all the vices of his reign seem to have been forgotten; and a dangerous degree of interest is attempted to be diffused round his character. On the thrown of England, he was a severe and arbitrary despot; at the monastery of La Trappe, a contemptible driveller; in domestic life, his conduct was exemplary.

Art. 16. *A Topographical, Statistical, and Historical Account of Preston, in the Hundred of Amounderness, County Palatine of Lancaster, &c. &c.* By Marmaduke Tulket, O. S. B. 12mo. pp. 347. 10s. 6d. Boards. Whittle, Preston; Longman and Co. London. 1821.

We have in this volume a complete description of Preston, and of all the curiosities and antiquities both in the town and the neighbourhood. It contains, also, among the historical details connected with the place, a tolerable account of the rebellion in 1715, extracted principally from Mr. Patten's history of that event:—but the subject that is discussed at the greatest length is the solemnization of the Guild, which takes place at the end of every twenty years, and which happens to recur in the present year. (3d September.) This local jubilee is a relic of a very different state of society from that which exists at present, when the labourers of the soil in England were very much in the condition of the serfs in Poland, and the policy of our princes bestowed especial immunities on the inhabitants of boroughs; thus indirectly affording manumission to the labourers from the arbitrary will of their lords. In the body of the work before us, between 30 and 40 pages are occupied in the description of the ceremonies usual at this festivity: but the following short extract from the general history of the town may be enough to satisfy the curiosity of our readers.

‘ This public carnival or jubilee is held every twentieth year, by the charter of the town, and generally begins the Monday after the 29th of August, being the decollation of St. John the Baptist. The corporate body are the chief patrons and promoters of this public spectacle; twenty-eight days’ grace are allowed to all who feel disposed to take up their freedom, or in other words renew the same.

‘ The guild continues a fortnight; the last was held in 1802. When an immense concourse of people of all ranks were assembled, processions of the various trades resident in the town, preceded by complete bands of music, paraded the different streets. The mayor, with all his retinue of ladies and gentlemen, with the wardens, &c. of the different companies, at the head of their respective fraternities, each in their official dresses, and with their usual insignia, fell into ranks in due order, the whole of which was preceded by the 17th regiment of light dragoons, in full dress, and their officers in new clothes. In this order they proceeded to St. John’s, the parish church, and after divine service, paraded the principal streets; the mayor afterwards entertained the gentlemen at his own house; the next day the mayoress repeated the treat to the ladies of the town, its vicinity, and other ladies from afar, who also formed a procession on the same day, and in a similar manner, (preceded by girls employed in the cotton manufactory,) superbly dressed and profusely decorated with jewels, four hundred of them (ladies), each wearing an elegant plume of feathers, forming such a brilliant assemblage of beauty and true native elegance as irresistibly to attract universal attention and admiration. The procession was conducted similarly to the preceding

ceding day, in the course of which a miniature model of a steam-engine was exhibited at work, as well as a pair of weavers' looms, performing all the operations of the cotton manufactory; upon the whole, every thing was shewy and brilliant; balls, plays, races, masquerades, public dinners, and dancing, were in full requisition during this interesting guild year. The race-course, about one mile and a half north-east of the town, situate upon Fulwood moor, contained many booths of brick and wood, for the accommodation of its numerous visitors wishing to behold the horses run round the course, together with two grand stands, for the use of the nobility and gentry. This amusement is encouraged by its special patron, the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, assisted by the town's plate, and members' purse of 70%.

The author has formed a pleasing compendium of local information, and we doubt not that his work will be duly appreciated by the frequenters of the ensuing guild. His pretensions, however, are of a much higher nature, and far transcend any praise of ours: he looks to posterity; and the following passage, in which he reveals his real name, equals any that we can remember in the style of our excellent friend P. P., clerk of this parish.

'The chief merit on which I value myself, without being guilty of egotism, and found my hopes of regard in future, is that faithful veracity with which I have compiled this topographical work. Had I been anxious to have captivated superficial readers; who, like swallows, skim over the surface of books in general, a greater degree of embellishment, in point of flowery language, would have been necessary. After all, indulgent reader, cities and towns are nothing of themselves without an historian; and what would Preston be, with all its beauties, and trade and commerce, if I had not stated and recorded its prosperity as it has risen. Who blazons the dignity of its noontide splendour? who upholds its memorials as they totter to decay? who gathers together its fragments, and who sedulously and piously collects its ashes into the shrine of my work, and thereby rears a triumphant mausoleum to transmit its buildings, improvements, and customs, to all succeeding ages? Would not this our pleasant and improving town have perished from human remembrance, for want of an historian, had I not, under the assumed name of Marmaduke Tulket, O. S. B., stepped forward to rescue its ancient and modern fragments from being lost to those myriads of individuals who are to succeed the present generation? — With every respect, I subscribe myself the public's most humble, dutiful, and obedient servant,

' P. WHITTLE.'

POLITICS.

Art. 17. *A Practical Scheme for the Reduction of the Public Debt and Taxation, without individual Sacrifice.* By Jonathan Wilks. 8vo. Pamphlet. Hurst and Co. 1821.

Mr. W.'s recipe shall be given in his own words:

'I propose the following parliamentary enactments: —

P 4

' 1. That

‘ 1. That the sinking fund, as now constituted, do cease to form a part of the finance-system of this country.

‘ 2. That all the public annuities of a lower denomination be consolidated into five per cent. stock, at the following rates ; three per cents at sixty-five ; three and a half per cents at seventy-three and a half ; four per cents at eighty one and a half ; the five per cents remaining at par of 100%.

‘ 3. That an assessment of twenty per cent. shall be laid on all property in the public funds, so consolidated.

‘ 4. That an assessment of five per cent. shall be laid on all private property, not in the British funds ; valuing all fixed property, except buildings, at twenty years’ purchase, and all buildings at fifteen years’ purchase. This assessment to be converted into a redeemable income-tax at the option of the proprietor, his property being security for the payment with interest, at five per cent. per annum, from the date of assessment.

‘ 5. That an assessment of five per cent. be levied for the term of ten years only, upon all incomes not arising from property already assessed ; such as income from foreign estates, incomes of professional men, artists, stipendiary clerks, and on all salaries above fifty-five pounds per annum.

‘ 6. That a like assessment of five per cent., for the term of ten years only, be levied upon all net profits of trade and agriculture.’

To prove that the said recipe is an infallible remedy, Mr. W. has recourse to numerous calculations ; and he assumes Mr. Colquhoun’s exaggerated statements of property, made when all prices were at their maximum, as safe bases at the present moment, when all things (except the taxes) are probably at their minimum. We should be sorry, however, to disturb Mr. Wilks’s comfortable day-dreams by any allusions to matters of fact.

Art. 18. *Reasons for Opposition to the Principles and Measures of the present Administration.* 8vo. Pamphlet. Simpkin and Marshall. 1821.

This pamphlet is written with some point, and the arguments of the author, if not remarkable for their novelty, are at least expressed in a clear and intelligible manner. On so trite a subject, originality could not be expected : but many details, which before lay scattered in reports of the House of Commons, are here brought together ; and an attempt is made to discover whether arguments, which separately have been often urged in vain, may not have some better effect in a more concentrated form.

Art. 19. *An Address to the Members of the House of Commons on the Necessity of reforming our Financial System, and establishing an efficient Sinking Fund, for the Reduction of the National Debt ; with the Outline of a Plan for that Purpose.* By One of themselves. 8vo. pp. 75. 2s. 6d. Richardson. 1822.

A season of financial embarrassment is fertile in projects connected with our public debt, and schemes of national relief, such as the one recommended (see our Number for February, 1821,) by
Mr. Heath-

Mr. Heathfield, or the very different plan (see our August Number) opposed by Mr. Mushet, the strenuous advocate for the inviolability of the public dividends. The pamphlet now before us is an address by a mercantile member of the House of Commons to his legislative brethren, and appears to have been suggested by the unexpected benefit to the fund-holder, and the not less unexpected pressure on other classes, which have arisen from the general fall in the price of commodities. The author begins by citing the example of Holland, when guided by the unfortunate but able and estimable De Witt; who, on terminating the sanguinary conflict between the two countries in the time of Cromwell, embraced the earliest opportunity of reducing the interest of the money borrowed during the war at 5 per cent.; a high interest for that once affluent country. From the finances of Holland, the writer passes to those of England; beginning with a short sketch of the loans contracted in the reigns of William and Anne, and then taking notice of the partially successful attempts to reduce the debt under the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole. Those who know how rapidly the rate of interest declined in the 16th and 17th centuries, and who believed its farther fall to have been progressive, will read with some surprise that so long ago as 1731 our government borrowed money at 3½ and even 3 per cent.; and also that in 1737 our 3 per cent. stock rose to 107. The war of 1740 produced a considerable alteration: but scarcely had peace been concluded twelve months, when our 3 per Cents. rose to 102; and Mr. Pelham, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, was enabled to effect a large reduction (577,000*l.* annually) in the public dividends, by offering to the holders of the 4 per Cents. the simple alternative of the payment of the principal, or 3 per cent. stock at par: the latter was accepted.

Our next contest, that of 1756, was on a more expensive scale, the public being animated by the eloquence of Mr. Pitt, and roused to exertion by our naval successes. It was unluckily the *æra* of the introduction of a non-redemption clause in our loan-contracts; ministers considering that the monied interest would come forwards more readily with their advances, if assured that the dividends would remain undiminished and untouched at a peace. They pledged themselves accordingly to make no reduction of interest on the conclusion of the war, nor any discharge of the principal of the 3 per Cents., otherwise than at the rate of 100*l.* in money for 100*l.* in stock, although in many cases the loan-contractors had not paid above 60*l.* or 70*l.* for such stock. This singular plan was followed during the American war, a season of mismanagement not less in a financial than in a military sense: it was adopted on a far more extensive scale in the contest from which we have but lately emerged; and the object of the present pamphlet is to exhibit the hardship of considering ourselves as pledged to so unequal an engagement.

After having enlarged (p. 35. *et sequentes*) on the great benefit accruing to the stock-holder from the fall of commodities since the peace, the author remarks that one part of the debt was contracted

tracted at a time of low prices ; and another when money was of considerably less value than at present. There are, however, no means of introducing this discrimination into the value of our public funds, but all must be considered as on a par, and be made the object of the same regulations. The questions in point are, at what rate was money borrowed by government during the war under the non-redemption clause ; and how much more would have been required by the loan-contractors, had they received no security against a reduction of interest at the peace ? The answers are that the average-interest paid by Government was very nearly 5 per cent., and, without the redemption-clause, would have been 5½ per cent. In this proportion, the author proposes to calculate the present claim of the stock-holders : they paid for every 100l. 3 per cent. stock, about 59l., which he proposes to repay them with the addition of 10l. for the farther interest that would have been allowed to them by Government if no pledge of non-redemption had been given. Ministers are, in his opinion, intitled to offer the stock-holders either payment of the principal at the rate of 69l. for every 100l. 3 per Cents., or to make at once a corresponding abatement of interest. The present saving from this measure would not much exceed 3,000,000l. : but even that would afford a great relief ; and a farther saving might take place when the current rate of interest underwent a reduction : it being likely, in the opinion of this writer, to fall ere long to 3 per cent.

The concluding pages of the pamphlet contain a vindication from the charge of injustice towards the fund-holder, and a statement of the general advantages of the plan ; on which, however, we decline at present to offer any opinion. Circumstances have, doubtless, proved in late years highly favourable to our fund-holders, and give Government a claim to demand from them more than would be paid through the medium of a property-tax : but it is a matter of no little hazard to make any deduction from our public funds when other governments, our rivals in borrowing, are scrupulously observant of the terms of their contract. We shall have occasion some time hence to resume this subject ; and to inquire whether it be not practicable to make the enhancement of our funds conducive to the relief of the public, without any direct deduction from either principal or interest.

N O V E L S.

Art. 20. *The Soldier's Child* : or, Virtue triumphant. By Charlotte Caroline Richardson, Author of "Harvest, a Poem," &c. 12mo. 2 Vols. 12s. Boards. Robinson. 1821.

As it frequently happens in works of this stamp, the *dramatis personæ* here abound in lords and ladies, and "squires of high degree," scarcely one of whose titular appellations is correctly given. For instance, the *Earl* of Belgrove's eldest son is called *Lord Frederic Somerville*, and on the Earl's death his second son is said to be 'now Lord Somerville : ' a baronet's daughter is styled '*the Lady Ismena*,' in p. 42. ; and, to complete the confusion,

fusion, Lord Somerville receives 'an order for the departure of his troops for *St. Petersburg*,' whither no British troops ever yet went!

In vol. i. p. 132., the amiable lady and daughter of one of the above-mentioned nobles are represented as inhabiting a cottage, in which they amuse themselves with family-concerts; 'the Lady Victoria singing in an arbour to the silver-toned warblings of her footman's flute, or accompanying with her lute his clear and powerful voice!' It would be useless, however, to trouble our readers with farther discussion of a book which is a mere tissue of similar ignorance and absurdities.

We are often puzzled by the strange incongruity manifested in works of this kind. A degree of ingenuity, talent, and invention, is necessary for the fabrication of any tale, even of an ordinary quality; yet the language in which it is conveyed, and the manners which it portrays, seem to arise indubitably and unequivocally from the nursery-room, the waiting-room, or the kitchen.

Art. 21. *Happiness*, a Tale, for the Grave and the Gay. Second Edition. 8vo. 2 Vols. 12s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.

This tale appears to have been written solely for the purpose of inculcating particular religious opinions, and three-fourths of the volumes are occupied by the discussion of controversial points: Sectarians of all descriptions, Calvinists, Anabaptists, and Socinians, pass in review before the author, and meet with censure and reproach in proportion as they deviate more or less remotely from his notions of orthodoxy. The story consists principally of the adventures of two young ladies, one of whom is married to a gambling rake, and the other, who is herself very pious, is at last united to a reformed infidel; who had previously broken the heart of a young damsel, one of her most intimate acquaintance, by deserting her after having engaged her affections.—The work is calculated for a particular class of readers, as this short account will sufficiently indicate.

EDUCATION.

Art. 22. *Pleasing and instructive Stories for Young Children.* By Mary Hughes (late Robson), Author of "The Ornaments Discovered," &c. Small 12mo. 1s. 6d. Half-bound. William Darton. 1821.

Many books very similar to this are already published, though we question not that young readers may be found to whom these pages will give pleasure, unalloyed by doubts respecting their originality.

Art. 23. *The Rebellious School Girl*, a Tale. By Mary Hughes. Small 12mo. 2s. Half-bound. Darton. 1821.

This tale is not without interest, and laudably exhibits the detection of guilt and the triumph of youthful integrity.

Art. 24. *The Scientific Monitor*; or, Sequel of the Scholar's Remembrancer, comprehending the most concise and perspicuous

cuous Illustrations of the principal Branches of Art, Literature, and Science, &c. Designed for the Use of Schools. By M. Seaman, Master of the Academy, Colchester. 12mo. 2s. 6d. Half-bound. Baldwin and Co. 1821.

Were we not already over-stocked with works of this description, we should be disposed to recommend this small treatise to the attention of those who are engaged in juvenile instruction: but so many others of a similar kind exist, over which we do not perceive that the present has any claim to pre-eminence, that we shall content ourselves with merely announcing its publication, and stating that it is compiled with a degree of care and judgment by no means unfavourable to the author's character as a teacher.

Art. 25. *Original Tales of my Landlord's School.* By William Gardiner, late Master of the Sydney and Aylburton Grammar Schools, &c. Small 12mo. 2s. 6d. Half-bound. Mackay.

Some moral lessons seem intended to be given in these fairy tales, which are sufficiently marvellous and ridiculous for the most fanciful readers: but the master of a *grammar-school* should at least have avoided the extreme inaccuracy of such passages as the following: P. 91., 'When the nymphs began to dance, the Queen taking the hand of the Prince, *and* said how happy she was *for* his coming to enjoy her palace,' &c. P. 69., 'The Prince, before the Tartar could recover himself, wounded him in his body, but though severe *it* was not mortal.' P. 102., 'As the King had desired him to pay his workmen quarterly: when *the first expired* he called in the accounts,' &c. &c.

Art. 26. *An Evening in Autumn; or, The Useful Amusement.* Small 12mo. 2s. Half-bound. Harvey and Darton. 1821.

Many writers as well as readers of books for children are probably indebted to Miss Edgeworth's ingenious "Early Lessons," which afford valuable hints both for composition and for conduct; and when her imitators learn to introduce rational subjects of amusement, or even contrive to fill up a page or two with avowed quotations from her works, (as the case is in pp. 22, 23, and 24. of the present publication,) we can acquiesce in their taking such advantage with as much good humour as herself. We have here, however, a more daring plagiarism; for, if the 72d, 73d, and 74th of these pages be compared with the "Continuation of Early Lessons," vol. i. pp. 224, 225., and again the 81st and 84th pages with the second volume of the "Continuation of Early Lessons," pp. 39. and 43., it will be seen that not only the illustrations of natural history which Miss Edgeworth introduces are borrowed *verbatim*, but that the queries of her little heroine *Rosamond*, and the remarks of *Mrs. Egerton*, are most unjustifiably pilfered, and re-produced as the property of this anonymous writer.

M I S C E L L A N E O U S.

Art. 27. *Bibliotheca Britannica, or a General Index to the Literature of Great Britain and Ireland, ancient and modern, including such foreign Works as have been translated into English, or*
printed

printed in the British Dominions; as also a copious Selection from the Writings of the most distinguished Authors of all Ages and Nations. By Robert Watt, M. D., late President of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. 4to. 17. 1s. each Part. Constable and Co. Edinburgh; Longman and Co. London.

Those labourers in the literary vineyard, who have had occasion to make an extensive research for authorities in their particular departments of study, and who know the defects of the classed catalogues and other *indices* to books, can alone form an adequate estimate of the value of a work on the plan of Dr. Watt. If we examine our great libraries, particularly those which, from being intitled by act of parliament to a copy of every new production, ought to be more particularly adapted to the use of the public, we shall find that not one in the long list has as yet prepared a classed catalogue. In the greatest of our collections, the British Museum and the Bodleian, new catalogues are in forwardness: but no attempt has been made to make them *par ordre de matières*, and they are merely alphabetical; containing no lists of titles under the heads of subjects, and affording no other reference to a book than by the name of its author.

The French have long been remarkable for the liberality with which they offer their literary stores; and at the *Bibliothèque du Roi* in Paris, the greatest collection in the world, strangers are admitted and allowed to read books even without an introduction, while persons who are known are permitted to take them to their homes. The value of this accommodation, however, is much lessened by the want of a classed catalogue of recent execution, the only work of the kind being in MS., and not sufficiently late to comprize the publications of the present century. This want is in some degree supplied by the *Manuel de Libraires* of Brunet, a work in 4 vols. 8vo., of which the first three are for the use of booksellers, describing the title and price of particular editions; while the last volume contains a synoptical list of titles, carefully divided and classed. The Germans, long noted for their assiduity and methodical turn, have carried their bibliography farther than either the French or the English: the university of Göttingen has a very good classed catalogue in MS.; and the printed work of Ersch contains an accurate and well-arranged index to all German publications between the years 1750 and 1810. Among ourselves, the only classed catalogues hitherto printed have been those of minor libraries; particularly that of the Royal Institution in London, and that of the Writers to the Signet in Edinburgh, each of the greatest utility. Of the college-libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, several of which are more extensive and valuable than they are generally supposed to be, few possess a classed catalogue even in MS.; and this defect is inadequately supplied by the arrangement of the books on the shelves according to their subjects, since no collocations can convey so prompt and clear an impression as an uninterrupted list of titles.

That task which particular librarians have laboured to accomplish

comply for a limited collection, Dr. Watt has performed for the literature of his country at large. The relative merits of a classed and an alphabetical catalogue are frequently a topic of discussion; the partisans of the latter maintaining that no arrangement, however judicious or carefully executed, can supersede the clearness of alphabetical order, while others assert that nothing is more discouraging and repulsive than to have no other clue to a library than an unconnected list of names and titles. What inference is to be drawn from these opposite opinions? — that each method has its advantages; and that every literary man who aims at having a complete and easy reference to a library must be provided with an alphabetical catalogue for one purpose, and a classed catalogue for another. With considerable satisfaction we found that Dr. W.'s work combined both purposes: it consists of two parts, the first of which is a catalogue of authors, with the titles of their respective works: as an example of which we make a short extract from the beginning of the article on Lord Bacon.

' BACON, FRANCIS, Viscount of St. Albans, a most distinguished philosopher and chancellor of England, in the reign of James I., was born in London 1560-1; died in 1626. — *Essays or Councils, civil and moral*, London, 1597, 8vo. The same, London, 1606, 1625, 1629, 1639. 4to. 1612, 1613, 1618, 1629, 8vo. and 1668, 12mo. *De Sapientiâ Veterum*, London, 1609. 8vo. also 1617, 4to. 1639, 12mo. In English, by Arthur Georges, London, 1619. 12mo. In Italian, London, 1618, 1619. 12mo. Lugd. Bat. 1633. 4to. *Instauratio Magna, sive Novum Organum, accedit Parascue ad historiam naturalem et experimentalem*, London, 1620, 1677, fol. Lug. Bat. Elzev. 1645. 12mo. Lug. Bat. 1650. 12mo. *Instauratiônis magnæ pars tertia*, London, 1622. 8vo. Of his great instauration, the *Sapientiæ Veterum* formed the first part, and the *Novum Organum* the second.'

The latter part of Dr. W.'s work will be a catalogue of subjects, such as Agriculture, Architecture, and Education, each followed by a long list of works connected with it: thus:

' EDUCATION. — 1541. *Auteurs sur l' E. des Infans*, 360 — 1578. A Manuel Palæologus on the E. of Kings, 38. j. — 1584: Dell' E. Christiana, 35. j. — 1671. A Latin poem on the E. of a prince, 61. q. — 1691. *L' E. Maximes et Reflections*. 41. m. — 1692. Proposals for making E. less chargeable, &c., 12. q. — 1719.'

The numerals and letters added to each title are references to the preceding part of the present publication. Thus, on turning to p. 36., letter *a*, of the list of authors, we find the work in question; and the same on referring to p. 38. *j*; to p. 35. *j*, &c.

The second part is thus, in a great measure, an index to the first, but it is far from being a mere compilation; considerable reflection, judgment, and practice being occasionally required to determine the head to which a title properly belongs. Dr. W. seems to have aimed at no refined distinctions, but to have followed Mr. Locke's plain, practical rule of assigning each title to the head to which it most naturally belongs. In consequence, we find the

the answers to the works of a particular writer given not under Religion, Politics, Morals, or other heads, which from their comprehensive nature would be necessarily vague, but under the name of him to whose publications they referred: *e. g.*

‘ HUME, DAVID, Esq. — 1752. Essay in answer to H. 'on Miracles, 6 u. — 1753. Some remarks upon Mr. H.'s Political Discourse of the Populousness of Ancient Nations. See MANKIND, 1753—1757. Remarks on D. H.'s Essay on the Natural History of Religion. See RELIGION, HISTORY OF, 1757, 1758.’

These extracts, short as they are, will convey an idea of the plan of the work: but it would be a far more difficult task to give an adequate notion of the time and labour requisite for such an undertaking. A certificate prefixed to Part I., and signed by four gentlemen of the first respectability at Glasgow, declares that it formed the chief occupation of Dr. W. during the last twenty years of his life. In a publication of such size and expence, it was indispensable to have recourse to the aid of subscription: but the list of names prefixed, though respectable, is greatly short of what it ought to be with reference either to the magnitude of the labour or the importance of the book. It is in fact one of those tasks, barren with regard to fame, but highly valuable in point of utility, which ought not to have fallen to the lot of an individual, but to have been executed at the expence of a great public body.

The pages are very closely printed; and the work will be completed in six parts, at the total cost of 6*l.* 6*s.*

Art. 28. *Sketch of a Plan for settling in Upper Canada a Portion of the unemployed Labourers of England.* By a Settler. 8vo. 2*s.* Harding. 1821.

It is *Upper Canada* which this settler recommends as being surpassed by no country in the world in climate, general fertility, the means of comfortable subsistence, and personal security; and he proposes to colonize it with people now subsisting in England on parochial relief. Families disposed to colonize are assumed to average five persons, three of whom are capable of labour. The sum of 200*l.* is estimated to be requisite for each family; and the experiment can hardly be successfully tried with fewer than 200 families. A loan is to be raised by act of parliament, mortgaging the parish-rates; to be repaid in ten years.— Not being very sanguine as to the feasibility of the scheme, we refer to the pamphlet itself for a detail of particulars which can scarcely be abbreviated.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The letter from Alphington has been mislaid, and but recently found. The communication was adapted to a Magazine rather than to the Monthly Review, but we will state to our readers the suggestions of the writer in his own words:

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ Two palpable errors exist in Pope's translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, which I do not recollect to have seen noticed; and which are to be found in the latest editions.

‘ The

' The first of these errors is contained in Book IX., lines 325, 326. 45 - 3, and 533.:

" Fools that ye are ! (the savage thus replies,
His inward fury blazing at his eyes.)"

" Sing'd are his brows : the scorching lids grow black."

" Seest thou these lids that now unfold in vain?"

and consists in Mr. Pope having bestowed *two* visual organs on the giant Polypheme. The second is to be met with in Book IX., line 405.:

" Brain'd on the rock ; his *second* dire repast ;"

and is owing to the inadvertency of the translator, who entirely forgot what he had previously written in lines 342. to 348.:

" He answer'd with his deed : his bloody hand
Snatch'd two, unhappy ! of my martial band ;
And dash'd like dogs against the stony floor :
The pavement swims with brains and mingled gore :
Torn limb from limb, he spreads his horrid feast,
And fierce devours it like a mountain beast."

And in lines 368. and 369.:

" The task thus finish'd of his morning hours,
Two more he snatches, murders, and devours !"

By which it plainly appears that line 405. has a reference to the *third* "dire repast" of the Cyclops, instead of the "*second*."

' Perhaps you will not deem me guilty of too much presumption, if I should offer an amendment of these passages, by the following substitutions:

' For lines 325. and 236.:

" Fools that ye are ! (the savage made reply,
His inward fury blazing at his eye.)"

' For line 463.:

" Sing'd is his brow : the scorching lid grows black."

' For line 533.:

" Seest thou this lid that now unfolds in vain."

' And for line 405.:

" Brain'd on a rock : his third most dire repast."

" I desire to remain, with respect, Gentlemen,

' Alphington, near Exeter,

' Your most obedient servant,

' Jan. 1. 1822.

' EDWARD TRAPP PILGRIM.'

Civis may be a good citizen, but he is a very bad writer ; he may have a good heart, but he has evidently no head ; he may display a good taste at a turtle-feast, in the Temple of Apicius at Guildhall, but he has no taste for the productions of the Muse, or pretensions to a seat in the Temple of Apollo ; and, finally, he may know how to regulate the little matters of domestic economy, to which he so oddly alludes, but he is not qualified to "ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm" of public affairs.

' A Constant Reader' rather unluckily *nullifies* his own title to that appellation, by inquiring for our account of a book which was inserted in our December Number.

☞ The APPENDIX to the last Volume of the Monthly Review was published on the 1st of February, with the Review for January.



THE MONTHLY REVIEW,

For MARCH, 1822.

ART. I. *Memoirs of the Court of King James I.* By Lucy Aikin. 8vo. 2 Vols. 1l. 4s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1822.

FAVOURABLY as the public received Miss Aikin's *Mémoires* of the Court of Elizabeth, to the merits of which we bore our testimony, (vol. lxxxvii. N. S. p. 225.) it was to be expected that she would be encouraged again to employ her pen on a similar undertaking. In presenting us, however, with the volumes which we now announce, as a sequel to those *Memoirs*, and expressing a hope that the same indulgence will be extended to them, she adds that 'many circumstances, some of them connected with the subject of her pages, others of a personal nature, conspire to increase her anxiety and her diffidence.'

We know not to what circumstances this allusion refers: but we have great pleasure in introducing this agreeable performance to the early attention of our readers, although, in continuing the memoirs of the English court, the fair author has advanced to a period much less interesting than that which was included in her former work, and the anecdotes of which are much more generally accessible. Compared with the æra of Elizabeth, indeed, that of James is peculiarly deficient both in national energy and the eminence of individual personages; and, while the character of that great Queen, if it does not always conciliate esteem, at least inspires respect, the character of James is, in its best point of view, not very interesting, and in some points even repulsive. On the preceding occasion, Miss Aikin was passing over ground familiar to few except antiquaries and professed students of history; and, in gleaning from the voluminous collections of Strype, the Burleigh, Sidney, and Talbot papers, the *Memoirs* of Birch, and the *Progresses* of the Virgin Queen, as recorded by Nichols, she combined materials that were chiefly so remote from general observation as to be almost unknown. No collection of the sort had been made

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before from the same sources ; and the judgment which she manifested in the selection, the ingenuity with which she interwove the discordant materials into one uniform composition, and the agreeable style in which she wrote, rendered the work so instructive and entertaining that it naturally became a great favourite with the public.

The history of the court of James I., as we have already intimated, is not a path in the same degree untrodden ; for Mr. Harris, particularly, in his “ Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James I.,” had already sifted all the preceding writers, either worthy or indifferent, and especially all the contemporary authorities, with reference to the private history of that monarch and the manners of his court. Harris was a man of great industry and research ; and, although his zeal often led him to partial conclusions, the information which he collected is most valuable, and he has left unextracted scarcely any thing that deserved notice, in any works published before his time on the subject of his inquiry. Little more, therefore, remained for subsequent writers, than to use his account as a storehouse of quotations ; to examine the few curious books which chanced to escape his notice, and such manuscripts as had been brought to light more recently, or which existed in public repositories still unexamined ; to recast the materials in a more popular shape ; and to weigh the characters of the principal personages with a somewhat more impartial judgment.

All that thus was yet to be done has been most successfully accomplished in the volumes before us. Among other productions, Miss Aikin has consulted with great advantage Sir John Harrington's *Nugæ*, Lodge's Illustrations, and an amusing work of Sir John Finett, Master of the Ceremonies, to which the public attention was called a few years ago by Mr. D'Israeli, in his “ Curiosities of Literature ;” and she has procured extracts to be made from manuscripts in the Hatfield collection, and in the British Museum. In moulding and kneading this mass of historical information, she has given it a form so agreeable as almost to resemble a fictitious narrative ; and she has delineated the principal characters with such accuracy and precision, that, with the exception of the monarch himself, (towards whom she is slightly tinged with the partiality of a biographer,) she is almost invariably just in her distribution of praise or censure. We think, therefore, that she has made the subject which she has undertaken as amusing as it could well be rendered : but it is not in its own nature capable of affording the great interest which other æras in our history possess.

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We could not expect from Miss Aikin much illustration of the history of James before his accession to the English crown. The delicacy of a female writer must naturally shrink from discussing too minutely the assassination of the "bonny Earl of Murray" by Huntly, or the dark circumstances of the Ruthven Plot, as it is called. The character of James was indeed developed very early in life; and the same system of favouritism, the same accommodation to circumstances, and the same conceit of wisdom, while his arts of dissimulation in fact imposed on no one but himself, portrayed the truckling monarch of Scotland which afterward characterized the pedant king of England. Among the most singular particulars of this period, are the correspondence kept up with James by Cecil and other ministers of Queen Elizabeth, the strange visit made to James by Sir Henry Wotton in disguise, and the change which, with a view to insure his succession to the English crown, James adopted in his language, when from a reviler of the *papistical ordinances* of the English church he became an intolerant foe to *puritanism*. A letter from Henry Earl of Northumberland, extracted from the Hatfield collection, and inserted at p. 56., sufficiently shews the nature of the correspondence that passed between Elizabeth's courtiers and James; and, while that monarch was weak enough to believe that he was ruling the English councils, the letters from England were merely the tricks of the shrewd statesmen of the day to secure themselves eventually in their posts, and to gain an ascendancy in the favour of the future sovereign.

The impression made by the King's conduct and appearance, at the time of his entry into England on his accession, and Osborne's description of him in his green hunting-dress, with his great rolling eyes and pursy body, his broad Scotch dialect, and his gross familiarity of manners*, are well known; and his warrant for the immediate execution of a outpurse at Newark upon Trent, without judge or jury, was an example to his subjects of the sudden sallies and strange temper of their new monarch. He was indeed throughout life an unreasonable and humoursome being; and, except in cases which worked on his fears, it was impossible on any occasion to anticipate the turn which his whims might take. The mysterious circumstances attending Raleigh's conspiracy are not much elucidated in the work before us: but we are obliged to Miss Aikin for giving a curious letter from Sir

* For an account of the re-print of Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs*, see *M. R. N. S.* vol. lxii. p. 293.

Dudley Carlton to the Earl of Northumberland, containing the most minute account that we recollect of the pardon of Cobham, Grey, and Markham, at the scaffold, and of the reprieve of Raleigh. We think that our readers will be pleased to be presented with this detail, accompanied by Miss Aikin's judicious comments :

‘ The two priests, who underwent the penalty of treason in all its horrors, died courageously ; Clarke, however, “ stood somewhat upon his justification, and thought he had hard measure ; but imputed it to his function, and therefore thought his death meritorious as a kind of martyrdom.

‘ “ Brook next suffered, being in fact the chief conspirator ; and the Bishop of Chichester, after attending him to the scaffold, went from him to the Lord Cobham ; and at the same time the Bishop of Winchester was with Raleigh ; both by express order from the King, as well to prepare them for their ends, as likewise to bring them to liberal confessions, and by that means reconcile the contradictions of the one's open accusation and the other's peremptory denial. The Bishop of Chichester had soon done what he came for, finding in Cobham a willingness to die and a readiness to die well ; with purpose at his death to affirm as much as he had said against Raleigh. But the other Bishop had more to do with his charge ; for, though, for his conscience, he had found him well settled, and resolved to die a good Christian and a good Protestant, for the point of confession, he found him so strait-laced that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accusation ; only the pension, he said, was once mentioned, but never proceeded in.

‘ “ Grey, in the mean time, with his minister Field, having had the like summons for death, spent his time in great devotions ; but with that careless regard of that with which he was threatened, that he was observed neither to eat or sleep the worse, or be anywise distracted from his accustomed fashions.

‘ “ Markham was told he should likewise die ; but, by secret message from some friends at court, had still such hope given him that he would not believe the worst news till the last day ; and though he could be content to talk with the preacher which was assigned him, it was rather to pass time than for any good purpose ; for he was catholicly disposed ; to think of death no way disposed.

‘ “ While these men were so occupied at Winchester, there was no small doings about them at court, for life or death ; some pushing at the wheel one way, some another. The Lords of the Council joined in opinion and advice to the King, now in the beginning of his reign, to shew as well examples of mercy as severity, and to gain the title of Clemens as well as of Justus. But some others, led by their private spleen and passions, drew as hard the other way ; and Patrick Galloway, in his sermon on Tuesday, preached so hotly against remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice, as if it were one of the seven deadly

deadly sins. The King held himself upright betwixt two waters; and first, let the Lords know, that since the law had passed upon the prisoners, and that they themselves had been their judges, it became not them to be petitioners for that, but rather to press for execution of their own ordinances; and to others, gave as good reasons; let them know that he would go no whit the faster for their driving, but would be led as his own judgement and affections would move him; but seemed rather to lean to this side than the other, by the care he took to have the law take his course, and the execution hasted.

“ Warrants were signed and sent to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, on Wednesday last at night for Markham, Grey, and Cobham, who in this order were to take their turns as yesterday, being Friday, about ten of the clock. . . . Markham being brought to the scaffold, was much dismayed, and complained much of his hard hap, to be deluded with hopes, and brought to that place unprepared. One might see in his face the very picture of sorrow: but he seemed not to want resolution; for a napkin being offered by a friend that stood by to cover his face, he threw it away, saying, he could look upon death without blushing. He took leave of some friends that stood near, and betook himself to his devotions, after his manner; and those ended, prepared himself to the block.

“ The Sheriff, in the mean time, was secretly withdrawn by one John Gib, a Scotch groom of the bed-chamber, whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left to entertain his own thoughts, which, no doubt, were as melancholy, as his countenance sad and heavy. The Sheriff, at his return, told him, that since he was so ill prepared he should yet have two hours' respite; so led him from the scaffold, without giving him any more comfort, and locked him into the great hall to walk with Prince Arthur. The Lord Grey, whose turn was next, was led to the scaffold by a troop of the young courtiers, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends; and coming in this equipage had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom. At his first coming on the scaffold, he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the present purpose, which he seconded himself with one of his own making, which, for the phrase, was somewhat affected, and suited to his other speeches; but, for the fashion, expressed the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit. . . . Being come to a full point, the Sheriff stayed him, and said he had received orders from the King to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him. Whereupon he was likewise led to Prince Arthur's hall. . . .

“ The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and by his former actions promised nothing but *matiere pour rire*, did much cozen the world; for he came to the scaffold with good assurance and contempt of death. He said some short prayers after his minister, and so outprayed the company that helped to pray with him, that a stander by said, “ He had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing single.” For Sir Walter Raleigh, he took it
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upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of him was true, and with these words would have taken a short farewell of the world. He was stayed by the Sheriff, and told, that there resteth yet somewhat else to be done, for that he was to be confronted with some other of the prisoners, but named none. So as Grey and Markham, being brought back to the scaffold, as they then were looked strange one upon the other, like men beheaded and met again in the other world. Now all the actors being together on the stage (as use is at the end of a play), the Sheriff made a short speech unto them, by way of the interrogatory of the heinousness of their offences, the justness of their trials, their lawful condemnation and due execution there to be performed, to all which they assented; then saith the Sheriff, 'See the mercy of your Prince, who, of himself, hath sent hither a countermand and given you your lives.' There was no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such huzzas and cries, that it went from the castle into the town, and there began afresh, as if there had been some such like accident.

' " Raleigh, you must think, (who had a window opened that way,) had hammers working in his head to beat out the meaning of this stratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next; but the King has pardoned him with the rest, and confined him with the two Lords in the Tower of London, there to remain during pleasure. Markham, Brookesby, and Copley are to be banished the realm. This resolution was taken by the King without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praise of yesterday's action; for the Lords knew no other but that the execution was to go forward, till the very hour it should be performed; and then, calling them before him, he told them how much he had been troubled to resolve in this business; for to execute Grey, who was a noble young spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a manner of injustice. To save Grey, who was of a proud, insolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had shown great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a solecism; and so went on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, still travelling in contrarieties, but holding the conclusion in so indifferent balance that the Lords knew not what to look for till the end came out; 'and therefore I have saved them all.' The miracle was as great there as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect; for the applause that began about the King went from thence into the presence, and so round about the court."

' The reader will decide how far this act of royal clemency, under all its circumstances, merited the eulogiums lavished upon it by the courtiers of James. Previously to the arrival of the tardy respite, the unhappy prisoners were made to undergo, as we have seen, all the terror and all the ignominy of the scaffold; — nothing was spared them of the last scene but the axe and the halter, and in comparison of the misery to which they were reserved, even these might have been regarded as mercies. Markham, in his indigent exile, became a spy of Sir Thomas Edmonds the English resident in Flanders: the high-spirited Grey languished

guished out a few years of imprisonment, and died : Cobham, too despicable to be the object either of jealousy or vigilance, was after a time suffered to stray out of the Tower without inquiry ; but his ample revenues having been confiscated and shared to the last shilling amongst the hungry courtiers of James, he remained in a state of utter destitution ; neither his lady, who enjoyed a large independent income, nor Cecil, who had married his sister, nor any other connection of the noble and ancient house which he represented, was moved either by humanity or common decency to administer to his necessities ; but a poor " trencher-scraper," formerly his servant in court, is said to have relieved him with scraps, and to have lodged him in a miserable garret of his poor dwelling ; where he died of filth and wretchedness. Such was the fate of those who had owned themselves guilty of designed though not executed treasons. Raleigh, who asserted himself to be innocent, who perhaps was really so ; and who, at all events, had been condemned in defiance of every rule of English law and common justice, was treated with somewhat more decency ; since he was not exhibited to the gaping multitude on a scaffold, and was allowed for the present to enjoy the income of an entailed estate ; but his goods were confiscated, he was remanded to an imprisonment of indefinite duration, alleviated however by the society of his faithful wife and the visits of some learned friends ; and above all, the unremitted sentence was still kept hanging over his head. The pedantic trifling of James's speech to his council on this occasion is highly characteristic.

Perhaps we have not a more striking instance in our whole history of the influence which the personal character of the sovereign exercised over the higher orders, than that which occurs on the accession of James. To an air of gallantry, and manners founded in an excess of chivalrous and romantic sentiment, in a moment succeeded a cold exterior, (indicating paltry cunning, selfishness, and servility,) gross and vulgar manners, and a jargon of low humour and affected phrases. The proud and generous spirits, who shortly before presided in the cabinet and the court, and spread about them the radiance of genius and the elegance of a refined taste, which were reflected back and multiplied in every quarter from the ambitious emulation of aspirants, and the unconscious imitation of all around, were supplanted by the mean and low-born minions whom James brought with him from Scotland : while the uncouthness, the pedantry, and the sensuality of the King himself made a sensible impression throughout the court, and the contagion of example exercised its most mischievous influence. Miss Aikin extracts with deserved approbation the excellent ballad of the Old and the New Courtier ; and, in another part of her *Memoirs*, she gives from the Harleian MSS. a specimen of the turn of the age.

in a well known letter from the daughter of Sir John Spencer, Lord Mayor of London, to her husband Lord Compton, afterward Earl of Northampton, setting forth all her demands for equipage, attendants, and furniture. It is certainly amusing, though we fear not exclusively characteristic of any particular age.

Details of the conference at Hampton Court and of the Gunpowder Plot are supplied by Miss Aikin with great correctness, but we think that these subjects have been completely exhausted by her predecessors. The character, however, of that able statesman, Salisbury, against whom the most unjust imputations have been raised with respect to that plot, is written with so much judgment, that we cannot refrain from laying it before our readers in Miss Aikin's own words :

‘ As the son of Burleigh ; as the last great statesman of the school of Elizabeth ; as the patron of Dutch independence ; as the avowed enemy of the Spanish alliance, and the chosen object of the calumnies, the hostilities, and even the assassination-plots of the Jesuits and other popish fanatics, the Earl of Salisbury had originally firm holds on the affections of the English people : nor did his temper or manners oppose any bar to popularity : he bore authority with meekness, and was not subject to the gusts of pride and passion. Cheerful, mild, insinuating, affable, and full of bounty, he strongly attached his immediate dependents, and gave great satisfaction to those who applied to him on matters of business. Even towards the rivals, or opponents, whom he was accused of conducting to their ruin, Essex and Raleigh, his deportment had ever been decent and apparently humane, and he at least avoided the gratuitous baseness of trampling on the fallen. In the official virtues of diligence, order, promptitude and dispatch, no one could excel him ; and the reforms which he introduced into the management of the Exchequer, the active and enlightened encouragement which he extended to the infant manufactures of the country, his skilful conduct in foreign transactions, and his wise and effectual cares for the improvement of Ireland, and especially for the establishment of legal tribunals throughout that island, extorted the praises of all parties. Yet it is certain that he lived and died the object of general distrust, obloquy, and hatred. “ Nothing in my Lord of Salisbury’s death,” writes the contemplative Donne, “ exercised my poor considerations so much as the multitude of libels. It was easily discerned, some years before his death, that he was at a defensive war both for his honour and health, and, as we then thought, for his estate ; and I thought that had removed much of the envy. Besides, I have just reasons to think, that in the chiefest businesses between the States, he was a very good patriot.” These remarks are just : yet it must not be supposed that the general sentiment was void of reasonable foundation. The treachery practised by Salisbury towards all his political opponents, and especially towards the nation’s

tion's favourite, Essex; the rapacity which swelled his coffers at the expense of such as had demands upon the treasury, of which he kept the key; and the licentiousness said to stain his private life, afforded matter sufficient for popular invective or anonymous libel; but men of noble minds and comprehensive views passed over in disdain the vices of the man, to fix their note of reprobation on the crimes of the minister.

‘ During the lifetime of Elizabeth, the nation seems to have been content, in deference to her sex and character, to waive many of its undoubted rights and privileges, and to indulge her in the despotism which she loved, confident that she would use it, on the whole, like a parent of her people. But on her death, it was its wish and purpose to resume its own, and to confine the foreign king, whom it had been pleased to accept as her successor, within the bounds of law. A party, of which Raleigh was perhaps the head, had even confederated for the purpose of imposing certain specific limitations and conditions on the King of Scots before his admission; but all these designs in favour of liberty had been baffled by the management of Salisbury, who early discovered to what excess James was disposed to carry his prerogative maxims, and for his own purposes resolved to indulge him in this mischievous inclination to the utmost. It is one of the charges brought by Weldon against this minister, that he burned “a cart-load of precedents which spoke the subjects’ liberties;” and whether this unsubstantiated charge be founded in truth or not, it is certain that he often both spoke and acted as if no such precedents had ever existed. He is said to have told the King that he might safely ride the English people, and need no bridle but their asses’ ears; and the leading measures of his administration were in character with so vile a suggestion. Such were, the attack upon the freedom of elections in the first session of James’s parliament; — the arbitrary augmentation of the customs by royal authority; — the creation of a number of new, oppressive, and illegal patents; — and the revival of the old feudal exactions; — the detestable doctrines promulgated by him on the state trials; — and above all, his atrocious and most shameless assertion that torture itself might justifiably be inflicted on free-born Englishmen, at the will and pleasure of their sovereign.

‘ For offences like these, no diligence, no abilities, no merits in other branches of duty, could be accepted as a compensation by any true lover of his country even in that age; and posterity, enlightened by the political lessons of the succeeding reigns, will be little disposed to reverse the judgement of his contemporaries.

‘ Such however was at this time the miserable deficiency both of talent and integrity in the cabinet of James, and the state of embarrassment and weakness to which it reduced the country, that both prince and people soon learned to value Salisbury by his loss.

‘ It is somewhat uncertain on what terms this minister stood with the King at the time of his death. On his departure from London for Bath, James went in person to take leave of him,
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charged the physicians, "*on their heads*," to be careful of him, and expressed with tears to those about him his apprehension of the loss of so wise a counsellor. He also sent a gentleman to Bath, on some hopes being given of the treasurer's amendment, to present him with "a fair table-diamond," accompanied with a most gracious message, and the Queen added a similar message and another jewel. But in demonstrations like these, towards a man of such rank and consequence, there is nothing conclusive; and it was certainly a prevalent opinion at the time, that he was menaced with disgrace. The evidence of Donne, who lived much with courtiers, is of some weight; but a much stronger testimony, and probably the most conclusive to be met with respecting the personal feelings of James towards his minister, occurs in the *Apophthegms* of Bacon.

'This wary courtier, being asked by the King his opinion of the deceased lord-treasurer, ventured, it seems, to reply, that he was no counsellor to make his Majesty's affairs grow better, but yet one to keep them from growing worse. James's answer was; "In the first you speak like a true man, in the second like a kinsman." In a somewhat similar spirit it was afterwards quaintly said, "that he was the first ill treasurer, and the last good, of James's reign." It may on the whole be concluded, that James must originally have viewed with some prejudice the son of that statesman who had brought his mother to the block, and that he could never cordially have loved a minister who opposed his extravagant donations to Carr and to others of his favourites; who was irreconcilably hostile to any close alliance with Spain, or any further indulgence to the Catholics; and whom the high-church party, which possessed the royal ear, was continually accusing of puritanism. Yet the extensive influence of Salisbury, his experience, his acknowledged ability, and his subserviency on all points where prerogative was concerned, gave him a stability not easily to be shaken; and it may well be doubted whether James would ever have ventured to displace him, to make way for the misrule of the minion whom he advanced in his stead.'

The peace with Spain brought over to England an ambassador whose authority at court during the whole of James's reign deserves much consideration; and we were somewhat surprized not to find a more ample account of Count Gondemar in the volumes before us. Wilson, in his *Memoirs of James I.*, gives many curious anecdotes of the influence acquired by this galant and insidious foreigner among the ladies of the English court. For James himself he had an utter contempt; and, knowing the real timidity of the King's character, his manner towards him was frequently imperious and insolent. His profusion and ostentation seem to have originated in policy at least as much as in natural disposition; and, by means of great shew and a haughty demeanour, except where the fair sex were concerned, he maintained at a
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great height the grandeur of the Spanish name.—The subsequent letters, extracted from Harrington's *Nugæ*, contain an amusing description of the English court when the star of Somerset was beginning to rise, as well as of the King's pedantic conversation.

Lord Thomas Howard to Sir John Harrington.

“ My good and trusty knight ;

“ If you have good will and good health to perform what I shall commend, you may set forward for court whenever it suiteth your own conveniency : the King hath often inquired after you, and would readily see and converse again with the “ merry blade,” as he hath oft called you since you was here. I will now premise certain things to be observed by you toward well gaining our Prince's good affection : — He doth wondrously covet learned discourse, of which you can furnish out ample means ; he doth admire good fashion in clothes, I pray you give good heed herēunto ; strange devices oft come into man's conceit ; some one regardeth the endowments of the inward sort, wit, valour, or virtue ; another hath perchance special affection towards outward things, clothes, deportment, and good countenance ; I would wish you to be well trimmed ; get a new jerkin, well bordered and not too short ; the King saith, he liketh a flowing garment ; be sure it be not all of one sort, but diversely coloured, the collar falling somewhat down, and your ruff well stiffened and bushy. We have lately had many gallants who failed in their suits for want of due observance of these matters. The King is nicely heedful of such points, and dwelleth on good looks and handsome accoutrements. Eighteen servants were lately discharged, and many more will be discarded, who are not to his liking in these matters.

“ I wish you to follow my directions, as I wish you to gain all you desire. Robert Carr is now most likely to win the Prince's affection, and doth it wonderously in a little time. The Prince leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, smooths his ruffled garment, and, when he looketh at Carr, directeth discourse to divers others. This young man doth much study all art and device ; he hath changed his tailors and tiremen many times, and all to please the Prince, who laugheth at the long-grown fashion of our young courtiers, and wisheth for change every day. You must see Carr before you go to the King, as he was with him a boy in Scotland, and knoweth his taste and what pleaseth. In your discourse you must not dwell too long on any one subject, and touch but lightly on religion. Do not of yourself say, ‘ This is good, or bad ;’ but, ‘ If it were your Majesty's good opinion, I myself should think so and so.’ Ask no more questions than what may serve to discover the Prince's thought. In private discourse, the King seldom speaketh of any man's temper, discretion, or good virtues ; so meddle not at all, but find out a clue to guide you to the heart and most delightful subject of his mind. I will advise one thing ; — the roan jennet, whereon the King rideth every day, must not be forgotten

forgotten to be praised ; and the good furniture above all, what lost a great man much notice the other day. A noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the King mounting the roan ; delivered his petition, which was heeded and read, but no answer was given. The noble departed, and came to court the next day, and got no answer again. The Lord-treasurer was then pressed to move the King's pleasure touching the petition. When the King was asked for answer thereto, he said in some wrath, ' Shall a King give heed to a dirty paper, when a beggar noteth not his gilt stirrups ? ' Now it fell out that the King had new furniture when the noble saw him in the court-yard, but he was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dressing of the horse. Thus, good Knight, our noble failed in his suit. I could relate and offer some other remarks on these matters. . . .

' " You have lived to see the trim of old times, and what passed in the Queen's days. These things are no more the same. Your Queen did talk of her subjects' love and good affections, and in good truth she aimed well ; our King talketh of his subjects' fear and subjection, and herein I think he doth well too, as long as it holdeth good. Carr hath all the favours, as I told you before ; the King teacheth him Latin every morning, and I think some one should teach him English too ; for as he is a Scotch lad, he hath much need of better language. The King doth much covet his presence ; the ladies too are not behind hand in their admiration ; for I tell you, good Knight, this fellow is straight-limbed, well-favoured, strong-shouldered, and smooth-faced, with some sort of cunning and show of modesty ; though, G— wot, he well knoweth when to show his impudence. You are not young, you are not handsome, you are not finely ; and yet will you come to court and think to be well favoured ? Why, I say again, good Knight, that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto ; your Latin and your Greek, your Italian and your Spanish tongues, your wit and discretion, may be well looked unto for a time, as strangers at such a place ; but these are not the things men live by now-a-days. Will you say, the moon shineth all the summer ? that the stars are bright jewels fit for Carr's ears ? that the roan jennet surpasseth Bucephalus, and is worthy to be bestriden by Alexander ? that his eyes are fire, his tail is Berenice's locks, and a few more such fancies worthy your noticing ? Your lady is virtuous, and somewhat of a good housewife ; has lived in a court in her time, and I believe you may venture her forth again ; but I know those would not so quietly rest, were Carr to leer on their wives, as some do perceive, yea, and like it well too they should be so noticed. If any mischance be to be wished, 'tis breaking a leg in the King's presence, for this fellow owes all his favour to that bout ; I think he hath better reason to speak well of his own horse than the King's roan jennet. We are almost worn out in our endeavours to keep pace with this fellow in his duty and labour to gain favour, but all in vain ; where it endeth I cannot guess, but honours are talked of speedily for him." ' —

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‘ “ It behoveth me now to recite my journal, respecting my gracious command of my sovereign Prince to come to his closet. When I came to the presence-chamber, and had gotten good place to see the lordly attendants, and bowed my knee to the Prince, I was ordered by a special messenger, that is in secret sort, to wait awhile in an outward chamber, whence, in near an hour waiting, the same knave led me up a passage, and so to a small room, where was good order of paper, ink, and pens, put on a board for the Prince’s use. Soon upon this, the Prince his Highness did enter, and in much good humour asked, If I was cousin to Lord Harrington of Exton? I humbly replied, His Majesty did me some honour in inquiring my kin to one whom he had so late honoured and made a baron; and moreover did add, we were both branches of the same tree. Then he inquired much of learning, and showed me his own in such sort as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetime. He sought much to know my advances in philosophy, and uttered profound sentences of Aristotle and such like writers, which I had never read, and which some are bold enough to say, others do not understand; but this I must pass by. The Prince did now press my reading to him part of a canto in Ariosto; praised my utterance, and said he had been informed of many as to my learning, in the time of the Queen. He asked me, what I thought pure wit was made of; and whom it did best become? whether a king should not be the best clerk in his own country; and if this land did not entertain good opinion of his learning and good wisdom? His Majesty did much press for my opinion touching the power of Satan in matter of witchcraft; and asked me, with much gravity, if I did truly understand why the devil did work more with ancient women than others? His Majesty, moreover, was pleased to say much, and favouredly, of my good report for mirth and good conceit; to which I did covertly answer: as not willing a subject should be wiser than his prince, nor even appear so.

‘ “ More serious discourse did next ensue, wherein I wanted room to continue, and sometimes room to escape; for the Queen his mother was not forgotten, nor Davison neither. His Highness told me, her death was visible in Scotland before it did really happen, being, as he said, spoken of in secret by those whose power of sight presented to them a bloody head dancing in the air. He then did remark much on this gift, and said he had sought out of certain books a sure way to attain knowledge of future chances. Hereat he named many books, which I did not know, nor by whom written; but advised me not to consult some authors, which would lead me to evil consultations. I told his Majesty, the power of Satan had, I much feared, damaged my bodily frame; but I had not further will to court his friendship, for my soul’s hurt. We next discoursed somewhat on religion, when at length he said, ‘ Now, Sir, you have seen my wisdom in some sort, and I have pried into yours. I pray you, do me justice in your report, and, in good season, I will not fail to add to your understanding in such points as I may find you lack amendment.’ I made curtsy hereat,

hereat, and withdrew down the passage and out at the gate, amidst the many varlets and lordly servants who stood around. I did not forget to tell, that his Majesty asked much concerning my opinion of the new weed, tobacco, and said, it would by its use infuse ill qualities on the brain, and that no learned man ought to taste it, and wished it forbidden."

The sequel of Somerset's life, his marriage, and his fall after the murder of Overbury, are well known matters of history, and so likewise are the expedition and shameful execution of Sir Walter Raleigh. No person certainly ever suffered more from the change of sovereigns than that extraordinary man; nor has the character of any been more variously represented by party-violence. Hume's palliation of James's conduct to him is one of the greatest blots in his history of that king; yet perhaps the pity induced by Raleigh's misfortunes has occasioned him to be over-rated by some other writers. His abilities were unquestionably of the highest order, and his mind was ever vigorous and enterprising: but his moral qualities are much more questionable. The "authentic description" which he published of Guiana is a pure romance: the constitutional principles, which he maintains in some parts of his writings, are in strange contrast with others; and the notions which he is said to have entertained respecting a limitation by Parliament of the crown, when conferred on James, are entirely irreconcilable with some of his servile addresses to that monarch. His *History of the World*, in which the richness and boldness of the imagery extort the praise of Hume as displaying the model of the old style, and attract the enthusiastic applause of Mitford, was both projected and, as far as he was concerned, written by him in prison; and it is impossible not to admire in this undertaking the nobleness of his spirit. The history contains some of the most splendid passages in the English language, and many of these are *undoubtedly* composed by Raleigh, from the reference which they bear to his own particular situation, as well as from the ardor and enthusiasm of a mind still powerful, though struggling under oppression. The subsequent passages from other writers, however, evince that the whole merit of the history cannot justly be attributed to Raleigh; and we quote them (although the latter of them is written with a degree of asperity which we do not approve) because the question is a matter of some curiosity, and we do not recollect to have seen it discussed by any modern author. Drummond of Hawthornden relates that Ben Jonson told him, "Sir Walter Raleigh esteemed more fame than conscience. *The best wits in England were employed in writing his*

his history. Ben himself had written a piece to him of the Punic war, which he altered and set in his book." * Algernon Sidney, in commenting on a posthumous publication by Raleigh, observes, "that the public cause may not suffer by his fault, 'tis convenient the world should be informed that, though he was a well qualified gentleman, yet his morals were no way exact, as appears by his dealings with the brave Earl of Essex. *And he was so well assisted in his History of the World that an ordinary man with the same helps might have performed the same things.* Neither ought it to be accounted strange if that which he writ by himself had the touch of another spirit, when he was deprived of that assistance, though his life had not depended upon the will of the prince, and though he had never said that the bonds of subjects to their kings should always be wrought out of iron and those of kings to their subjects out of cobwebs." †

Another singular character in the age of James was the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury; and the reader of the present Memoirs will be pleased with the portrait of him given in vol. i. p. 369., for which we cannot make room in our pages. Short sketches of Wotton and of Donne, written with equal ease and vivacity, are also contained in these volumes, and for which likewise we must refer to them. We regret extremely that our limited space forces us to the same abstinence with regard to the account of Bishop Andrews; in which the topics are happily selected, and the whole is written in such a tone of sincere reverence for this prelate's genuine worth, that we perused it not only with pleasure but with delight. While the generality of men around him were engaged in mean servilities, or in rancorous controversies on points of faith, this amiable bishop strove to maintain his own self-respect, to promote and cherish the benevolence of his fellow-creatures, and to *do good* in his generation. His sincerity and worth, indeed, are in perfect contrast with the time-serving adulation and ambitious pretensions of many of his contemporaries on the bench: who, while they knew that their sovereign had been implicated in murder, that in the case of Somerset he had perjured himself when he swore that he would never pardon any party convicted of Overbury's death, and saw that for reasons best known to himself he could brook the insolence of such creatures as Somerset and Buckingham, yet dared to profane the majesty of Heaven by

* See Drummond's works, "Heads of a Conversation between Drummond and Ben Jonson."

† Discourses on Government, vol. ii. p. 274.

idolizing James as more than the vicegerent, as the actual representative, of the Supreme Being; and who were willing to give him every attribute of power and virtue, if in return he would but gratify the intolerance of the hierarchy.

This learned monarch in vain suggested to the Hollander the convenience of burning Vorstius: but at home he was more successful; for in his reign fire and faggots were twice employed in the conversion of heretics, and the pious admirers of the unity of the Church were edified by the agonies of Legate and of Wightman. The dishonesty, however, and meanness of Bancroft and his followers in the reign of James tended to endanger the Church as much by shocking the common sense of the people, as the honest but absurd zeal of Laud for ceremonies was calculated, in the next reign, to effect by shocking their prejudices. It requires a great degree of subtilty to compare and appreciate the merits of different systems of faith, and considerable intelligence to appreciate the benefits of ecclesiastical establishments of any kind. The vulgar, therefore, cannot readily enter into such speculations: but, when they perceive religion made the cloke of ambition, when they see the ministers of our faith prostituting their functions by idolizing despotism, and when they hear them propagating absurd doctrines of policy as articles of Christian faith, the purity of the lawn is no longer spotless and unsullied in their eyes, and the power of the Church, which like all other human power is founded in opinion, rocks to its very foundations.

One of the most difficult parts of James's reign for a female to treat is the consideration of the dissensions of the different courts of justice; with the reasons that induced the King to give a preference to those in which the civil law had been established, and also to advance the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery in derogation of the courts of common law: yet these topics are in fact discussed by Miss Aikin with peculiar correctness and perspicuity. The Court of Chancery, indeed, was until the time of Lord Nottingham a court of an arbitrary nature: its powers were undefined, its practice was unsettled, its decisions were not regulated by any rules or precedents; and it was the fashion to maintain, in the cant phrase of the age, that the chancellor had *potestatem absolutam* as well as *regulatam*. Miss Aikin has discerned and very justly appreciated James's objects*; and she has done justice, and no more than justice, to the motives and conduct

* For some illustrations of this king's tyrannical disposition, see *Monthly Review*, N. S. vol. lxxiii. p. 207.

of Lord Coke in his contests with Lord Ellesmere and Lord Bacon. Indeed, the character of Bacon is but too truly given in that severe line of Pope which is in every mouth. In early life, he was guilty of the grossest ingratitude, and in advanced age, according to occasion, of the most inexcusable insolence and the meanest servility. His letters to James and to Coke, contained in the "*Cabala*," form a complete illustration of his private character; and some few specimens of them are inserted by Miss Aikin, sufficient to expose the sad infirmities of a man whose greatness and wisdom, except when ambition taught him to *crawl*, were transcendent examples of the powers of our nature. Coke, deficient as he was in any philosophical views or statesman-like principles, and with an understanding oppressed and shackled by the fetters of his profession, was yet as superior to his splendid rival in directness of conduct and in plain honesty, as he was below him in erudition, in science, and in elegant accomplishments. His industry was indefatigable, his memory most retentive, his judgment sound, and his faculty of technical reasoning in a prodigious degree subtle and acute: but he had no power of argumentation on a more extensive scale; he had never searched into the springs of human actions, or balanced the conveniences or inconveniences of different institutions; he had no curiosity for the study of nature; he had never observed the progress of intellect, or the relation between knowledge and happiness; nor did he entertain any anticipations of the advancement of his species. He had no versatility of genius: but he was what he professed to be, a sound lawyer, and an upright and impartial Judge; who interpreted the laws with integrity, and preferred the sacrifice of his honours to the violation of his trust in accommodation to the court.

We extract the unfinished illustrations on the history of the employment of the rack in England, which Miss Aikin has published from some manuscript-collections of the late Sir Samuel Romilly; both on account of their intrinsic importance, and as a pleasing instance of the research of that wise and good man on subjects interesting to humanity.

“ There is nothing upon which Englishmen have greater reason to pride themselves, than those peculiar notions of government and law which have at all times distinguished them from the other nations of Europe, in the absence of judicial torture and of all cruel modes of executing convicted criminals. While these prevailed in all the neighbouring states, especially in France and Scotland, they were scarcely known in this country; and with the exception of the punishment for high treason, and of the barbarous punishment of the *peine forte et dure*, were never recognised by our law. Upon occasion, indeed, of crimes which were con-

sidered as of great enormity, there has appeared in some of our public men a disposition to have recourse to torture for the discovery of accomplices, or to extort confession; but its illegality, and absolute incompatibility with the whole system of our government and jurisprudence, have generally prevented it from being actually practised. A memorable instance of this kind occurred during the proceedings against the Knights Templars in the reign of Edward II. The Archbishop of York, in the examinations which he took against the supposed offenders, was desirous of applying the rack; but suggested to several monasteries and divines the doubts he entertained whether he could have recourse to it, seeing that in this realm of England it had never been seen or heard of. He further desired their opinion whether, if torture should be applied, it should be done by priests or laymen; and whether, if no person could be found in England to do the office, he might send for expert torturers from foreign parts." (See Walter Hemingford, p. 256.) —

“ On the trial of the persons concerned in the Babington conspiracy, Sir Christopher Hatton, one of the commissioners, asks Savage, one of the prisoners who had made a confession, whether it had been extorted from him by the rack. ‘ I must ask thee one question, Was not all this willingly confessed by thyself without menacing, without torture, and without offer of any torture?’ ” (Howell’s State Trials, vol. i. p. 1131.)

“ Lord Coke too, upon the trial of the Earls of Essex and Southampton, says, ‘ Though I cannot speak without reverent commendations of her Majesty’s most honourable justice, yet I think her overmuch clemency to some turneth to overmuch cruelty for herself; for, though the rebellious attempts were so exceedingly heinous, yet, out of her princely mercy, no man was racked, tortured, or pressed to speak any thing further than of their own accord and willing minds for discharge of their consciences.’ ” (Howell’s State Trials, vol. i. pp. 1338. 1348.)

“ Lord Coke, in another place, enumerates among the privileges of peers, that they are not to be tortured. ‘ For the honour and reverence which the law gives to nobility, their bodies are not subject to torture *in causâ criminis læsæ majestatis*.’ (Lady Shrewsbury’s case, Twelve Reports.) In the third Institute, however, fol. 35., the same learned writer declares, that all torture of accused persons is contrary to law. In the second Institute, fol. 48., he says, that *Magna Charta* prohibits torture by the words, ‘ *Nullus liber homo aliquo modo destruat*.’ ” —

“ In Scotland a greater refinement of cruelty in inflicting torture was adopted than I have ever read of in any other country. The innocent relations of a suspected criminal were tortured in his presence to wring from him, by the sight of their sufferings, what no corporal pain inflicted upon himself could extort from him. Thus in 1596, a woman being accused of witchcraft, her husband, her son and her daughter, a child of seven years old, were all tortured in her presence to make her confess. (See Arnot’s Crim. Trials, p. 368.) Whether this was done in any other

other instance than that of witchcraft, the terror of which seems to have wholly extinguished men's natural feelings, together with their reason, I do not know."

Let us quit this painful subject, however, with the consolatory reflection that, in our country at least, this instrument of ecclesiastical torture was originally employed only before tribunals which were regulated by the civil and the canon law; that it was never directly sanctioned or admitted by the common law of the land; and that it seems to have been used in some cases not of ecclesiastical cognizance, merely by the encroachment of the ecclesiastics who were accustomed to preside in both courts. At all events, we rejoice that the extent to which such means of inquisitorial perverseness and tyranny were ever adopted here is now become only a question of antiquarian speculation; and that bigots of all parties, both religious and political, in the present day, express equal horror at such outrages against justice and humanity. — We gladly turn to more pleasant topics, and close our account of the memoirs before us by the following extracts, which give an amusing view of the manners of one of our ambassadors to France, and of a French ambassador in England; with an account of a singular embassy from Russia to England, when that power was regarded with a very different degree of consideration in Europe from that which she maintain modern days.

“Weldon speaks of the Earl of Carlisle's giving at Essex-house, to the French ambassador, the most sumptuous feast that was ever seen before or since, “in which was such plenty, and fish of that immensity, brought out of Muscovia, that dishes were made to contain them; no dishes in all England before could near hold them.” The fish was no doubt sturgeon. The glories of his French embassy are thus described by Wilson: “He, with a great train of young noblemen and other courtiers of eminency, suited themselves with all those ornaments that could give lustre to so dazzling an appearance as love and the congratulation of it carried with it. . . . I remember I saw one of the lord ambassador's suits (and pardon me that I take notice of such petty things): the cloak and hose were made of very fine white beaver, embroidered richly all over with gold and silver; the cloak, almost to the cape, both within and without, having no lining but embroidery. The doublet was of cloth of gold, embroidered so thick that it could not be discerned, and a white beaver hat suitable, brimful of embroidery both above and below. This is presented as an essay, for one of the meanest he wore.” The day of audience being fixed, some debate arose whether the ambassador and his train should go in coaches or on horseback; but the former mode was rejected, because it would conceal too much the splendor of their equipments; and it was agreed that they should ride with rich footcloths.

“ Six trumpeters and two marshals in tawny velvet liveries completely suited, laced all over with gold richly and closely laid, led the way. The ambassador followed, with a great train of pages and footmen in the same rich livery incircling his horse, and the rest of his retinue according to their qualities and degrees, in as much bravery as they could devise or procure, followed in couples, to the wonderment of the beholders. And some said, how truly I cannot assert, the ambassador's horse was shod with silver shoes lightly tacked on; and when he came to a place where persons or beauties of eminency were, his very horse prancing and curvetting in humble reverence, flung his shoes away, which the greedy understanders scrambled for, and he was content to be gazed on and admired till a farrier, or rather the *argentier*, in one of his rich liveries among the train of footmen, out of a tawny velvet bag, took others and tacked them on, which lasted till he came to the next troop of *grande*es. And thus, with much ado, he reached the Louvre.” —

‘ The first act of the Marquis Cadenat, of whose reception we have a full account from Finett, was to offend the dignity of the Earl of Arundel, who was sent to meet and compliment him at his lodging at Gravesend, by “ not meeting his Lordship till he came to the stair-head of his chamber-door, and at his parting accompanying him no further;” of which the Earl showed his resentment by appointing a meeting *in the street* the next morning, previously to their embarking together on board the royal barges, and by quitting the ambassador at the bottom of the stairs of Somerset-house, appointed for his residence; telling him that there were gentlemen there who would show him his lodging. “ His Majesty,” continues the narrator, “ sensible more of the cause given by the ambassador, than of the measure returned by the Earl of Arundel, stormed much at it,” and extorted from Cadenat an apology in the form of a plea of indisposition when he received the first visit of the Earl. After this, the Marquis was conducted in great state to Westminster, and had a gracious audience of the King in the House of Lords, which was adorned with rich hangings on the occasion. Two or three days afterwards he was invited by the King to an entertainment, when he had the assurance to keep his Majesty waiting for his dinner above an hour. His suite, in the mean time, were brought to the Court of Requests, where a table was spread for them; but when the Duke of Lenox, who had conducted them thither, quitted them without seeing even the principal persons of their number seated, they began to think themselves slighted. To make the matter worse, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Lord Privy Seal, entered the room in their robes of office, and without ceremony placed themselves all together on the right-hand side of the table; on which the Frenchmen took their cloaks, and, “ with shows of much discontent,” departed to their coaches. The master of the ceremonies and others followed and entreated them to return, but in vain; they one and all protested that they had dined at home, and drove off. Their principal cause of quarrel was, that “ gentlemen of
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the long robe, as they, with a French scorn, termed those great officers of state," should have taken precedence of them; but one of them was also offended that he had not been invited to dine with the King; his father having, on a similar occasion, dined with Queen Elizabeth. The whole story perhaps betrays a want of real cordiality between the two courts. At the end of a fortnight this captious and parading embassy, which imposed a needless charge of 200*l.* *per diem* on the treasury of James, departed, — to the great joy of all persons concerned.

'Howel, the letter-writer, has the following anecdote connected with this subject: — "There is a flaunting French ambassador come over lately, and I believe his errand is nought else but compliment. . . . He had an audience two days since, where he with his train of ruffling, long-haired monsieurs, carried himself in such a light garb, that after the audience the King asked my Lord Keeper Bacon what he thought of the French ambassador: he answered, that he was a tall proper man. 'Aye,' his Majesty replied, 'but what think you of his head-piece? Is he a proper man for the office of an ambassador?' 'Sir,' said Bacon, 'tall men are like houses of four or five stories, wherein commonly the uppermost room is worst furnished.' " —

'One of the few remaining incidents of the year 1617 was the arrival of a Russian embassy, which afforded matter both of admiration and amusement to the King and the inhabitants of London. Sir John Finett is the narrator of the particulars of its reception.

'On the day of audience, the ambassador with his two assistants proceeded to court from their quarters in the city, all their servants of less esteem marching on foot before them, "the rest in coaches provided by the merchants, each of those on foot carrying before them with ostentation to open view some parcel of the various presents sent to his Majesty from the Emperor. This consisted of sable furs, black foxes, ermines, hawks, with their hoods and mantles covering their backs and wings, all embroidered with gold and pearl; two lining sables, a Persian dagger and knife set with stones and pearls, two rich cloth of gold Persian horse-cloths, a Persian kettle-drum to lure hawks with, &c. — besides many sables and black fox-furs sent the King from three of the principal nobles of the Emperor's court, and besides some presented to his Majesty from the ambassador and the chancellor. The Queen and Prince had likewise their several presents of furs from all these mentioned, altogether esteemed worth 4000*l.* sterling." On their arrival, they were received and ushered into the King's presence in the banqueting-house with all due ceremonies; but, "being entered the room, the exceeding press of people so hindered their profound superstitious reverences, or rather adorations, (as stooping and knocking their foreheads against the ground,) intended to have been thrice, but by that hinderance only once, and that close to his Majesty, performed by them, as it turned much to their discountenance and discontent." To repair this misfortune, the bearers of the present, about fifty in

number, were afterwards marched one by one along the privy gallery; "where his Majesty might at his leisure, in his return, take better view of what the press had before hindered."

"These ambassadors were again conducted to court some time afterwards, to receive audience of the King, to transact business with the council, and afterwards to dine with his Majesty; when several perplexing accidents occurred which are faithfully recorded by the master of the ceremonies. The King's coach not being sent for their conveyance in due time, Lord Delaware was not in waiting at the court-gate to receive them on their arrival: "so as the ambassadors, punctilious in their reception, made a stand against the court-gate; but at last, against their ceremonious stomachs, went on as far as the midst of that first court, where they were met by the said lord." But the King was now gone to chapel, the ambassadors were obliged to wait an hour for his return, and there was then no time to do business with the council before dinner. Being asked whether they would do business after dinner, they excused themselves, saying, they hoped his Majesty would allow them to take their wine, which could not be if they must meet the council afterwards. Yet it was a rule in their country, that they must always "see the Prince's eyes" on the day on which they met his council. To humour them in this point, James was obliged to admit them to his presence the next day, on their way to the council. Thus *oriental* were at this period the manners of the semi-barbarous Muscovy!"

We have been desirous that our readers should form their own judgment of the present Memoirs from adequate specimens; and indeed we could not by any other means so plainly evince the extent and variety of the entertainment which Miss Aikin has set before the public. If we were disposed to be hypercritical, we might doubtless find some flaws in the volumes, and might object to such words as 'dedicatees,' (vol. i. p. 75.); or to such portions of sentences as the following: 'A mistress capable of estimating abilities of the first class, and free from that jealousy of base and inferior natures which shrinks from *their* employment.' (Vol. i. p. 65.) When informed regarding Sir John Davies, that, 'returning after some years to England he was raised to the Bench; and that he had just received the appointment of Lord Chief Justice when he was cut off by an apoplexy in the year 1626,' (vol. i. p. 94.) we might inquire whether it was not to the King's Bench in *Ireland* that he was raised, and of which he was appointed Chief Justice. We might insinuate, also, that there must be some mistake in the following passage: 'The dangerous example of employing churchmen in affairs of state was first set by James in the admission of Dr. Williams, afterwards Lord Keeper, to a seat at the Council-board, which took place in 1619,' (vol. ii. p. 132.): — at the same time hinting that

that the fair author perhaps entertains somewhat too high an opinion of the judgment of this Dr. Williams, and that an examination of his letters might reduce her admiration: while, on the contrary, in another part of the work, it would have been excusable if she had sprinkled a little more of the holy incense of praise on the genius of Buchanan. We might object, likewise, to some parts of the delineation of James's character given in the first volume; (p. 60—62.) and particularly to one subject on which Miss Aikin has there commented, and which it would have been much better to leave untouched. Finally, we might observe that some parts of the history which is given of Ben Jonson are founded on his own statement in conversation with Drummond, which, as Ben was very boastful, may be a little questionable authority where it is entirely unsupported by other evidence; and that at the same time Miss Aikin has omitted the most characteristic circumstance in the whole statement, that when “he was reconciled to the Church of England, and left off to be a recusant, at his first communion, *in token of his true reconciliation he drunk out the full cup of wine.*” — We have no inclination, however, to be lynx-eyed in spying out petty blemishes where so much real excellence is displayed; nor would it be fair in us to make our comments precise and tedious when the work itself is full of entertainment.

ART. II. *Views of Society and Manners in America; in a Series of Letters from that Country to a Friend in England, during the Years 1818, 1819, and 1820. By an Englishwoman.* 8vo. pp. 520. 13s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.

IF, when compared with the fair sex, men be allowed to trace with greater force, fulness, and exactness, the physical and political features of a country; its geology and natural history; the character of its mountains, rocks, seas, and rivers; the principles of its government; the strength and discipline of its armies and navies; the extent and nature of its foreign as well as domestic commerce and connections; still, in compensation to the ladies, it will be conceded, in return, that they are peculiarly quick in discerning, and equally happy in portraying, those delicate lineaments of moral character which frequently elude the notice of our obtuser organs. Yet perhaps it is true that they are prone to draw a flattering though a resembling portrait of the original; and to this complaisance they may be insensibly led by the desire of returning good offices. Into whatever society introduced, they are received with a smile of complacency and

welcome: the air of benignity and cheerfulness which beams from their own countenances is communicated to those around them: in the company of females, the roughest of us soften down the asperities of our nature; and we at least endeavour to suppress and conceal them from observation. The effort is laudable on our part, as a homage paid to the sex: they feel it accordingly, acknowledge it, and gracefully remunerate the courtesy with their usual good nature, by every indulgence that is compatible with fidelity in the delineation of the portrait.

Miss Wright — if that be the name of the lady, as we have understood it is, to whom we are indebted for the instructive and amusing volume before us — landed at New York evidently more than half an American in her feelings. The incivility and boorishness of the lower classes across the Atlantic have occasionally been noticed by travellers, and we are here supplied with a few anecdotes to counteract the impression: but they are much too insignificant to prove any thing. The charms of the young women at New York, their ‘fairy fingers,’ and cheeks with the blended hues of ‘the lily and the rose,’ are somewhat poetically described; and the author laments that the beauty of these ‘girls’ is commonly on the wane at the age of twenty-five!

‘The American youth of both sexes are, for the most part, married ere they are two-and-twenty; and indeed it is usual to see a girl of eighteen a wife and a mother. It might doubtless, ere this, be possible, if not to fix them in habits of study, at least to store their minds with useful and general knowledge, and to fit them to be not merely the parents but the judicious guides of their children. Men have necessarily, in all countries, greater facilities than women for the acquirement of knowledge, and particularly for its acquirement in that best of all schools, the world. I mean not the world of fashion, but the world of varied society, where youth loses its presumption, and prejudice its obstinacy, and where self-knowledge is best obtained from the mind being forced to measure itself with other minds, and thus to discover the shallowness of its knowledge, and the groundlessness of its opinions. In this country, where every man is called to study the national institutions, and to examine not merely into the measures but the principles of government, the very laws become his teachers; and in the exercise of his rights and duties as a citizen, he becomes more or less a politician and a philosopher. His education, therefore, goes on through life; and though he should never become familiar with abstract science or ornamental literature, his stock of useful knowledge increases daily, his judgment is continually exercised, and his mind gradually fixed in habits of observation and reflection. Hitherto the education of women has been but slightly attended to; married without knowing any thing of life but its
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amusements, and then quickly immersed in household affairs and the rearing of children, they command but few of those opportunities by which their husbands are daily improving in sound sense and varied information. The wonderful advance which this nation has made, not only in wealth and strength, but in mental cultivation, within the last twenty years, may yet be doubly accelerated when the education of the women shall be equally a national concern with that of the other sex; and when they shall thus learn, not merely to enjoy, but to *appreciate* those peculiar blessings which seem already to mark their country for the happiest in the world. The number of the schools and colleges established throughout the union for the education of boys is truly surprising.

The manners of the women are peculiarly marked by sweetness, artlessness, and vivacity; and their dress, 'though somewhat more showy and costly than is wise or befitting the daughters of a republic, never mocks at decency.' That the young men are not equal in grace to their fair companions, either in manner or address, we can readily believe: but surely, under the tuition of such enchanting instructors, it is impossible that they should not make a most rapid progress in all that is elegant, polished, and polite.

It is Mr. Irvine, if we recollect rightly, who in his "Sketch Book" has somewhere lamented that the character of the Americans has been most unfairly represented by several English travellers; that is to say, by fugitives, speculators, and idlers, many of whom have gone thither without any recommendations, and others who have forfeited the confidence reposed in them by misconduct. These persons, having met with a cold reception or an absolute repulse, have vented their disappointment in splenetic publications; representing the Americans—too wary to be deceived, too serious for frivolities, too much occupied to be idle—as being an overbearing, suspicious, and forbidding race. A similar complaint is made, in terms that *ought to be* affecting, by a friend of the present author. (See p. 46.) If an erroneous and revolting impression has been produced in Europe by such writers, it is a bare matter of justice to remove it. The Americans are a thoughtful people; vigilant and active both in their private concerns and the concerns of government:

'They are very good talkers, and *admirable listeners*; understand perfectly the exchange of knowledge, for which they employ conversation, and employ it solely. They have a surprising stock of information, but this runs little into the precincts of imagination; facts form the ground work of their discourse. They are accustomed to rest their opinions on the results of experience, rather than on ingenious theories and abstract reasonings; and are always wont to overturn the one, by a simple appeal to the other.

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They have much general knowledge, but are best read in philosophy, history, political economy, and the general science of government. The world, however, is the book which they consider most attentively, and make a general practice of turning over the page of every man's mind that comes across them; they do this very quietly, and very civilly, and with the understanding that you are at perfect liberty to do the same by theirs. They are entirely without *mauvaise honte*, and are equally free from effrontery and officiousness. The constant exercise of the reasoning powers gives to their character and manners a mildness, plainness, and unchanging suavity, such as are often remarked in Europe in men devoted to the abstract sciences. Wonderfully patient and candid in argument, close reasoners, acute observers, and original thinkers, they understand little the play of words, or, as the French more distinctly express it, *badinage*. When an American, indeed, is pressed into this by some more trifling European, or by some lively woman of his own nation, I have sometimes thought of a Quaker striking into a Highland reel. This people have nothing of the poet in them, nor of the *bel esprit*, and I think are apt to be tiresome, if they attempt to be either.'

A complimentary notice is taken, in this part of the work, of a distinguished foreigner, which we cannot refrain from extracting; both because the passage is interesting, and because we have the good fortune of knowing that the delineation is correct from a personal acquaintance with the subject of it, when he was in England many years since, and when he lately again visited our shores on his return from America to Portugal:

' We met yesterday, at the house of a lady who assembles in her drawing-room all the talent of the city, a character well known and highly respected throughout this country; the Portuguese minister, Correa de Serra. Mr. Brackenridge of Baltimore, in dedicating to him his little work on Louisiana, has pronounced him to be "one of the most enlightened foreigners that has ever visited the United States." The observations with which he follows up this compliment are so similar to what I have universally heard applied to this amiable philosopher by the citizens of this country, that I am tempted to quote them. "Your amiable simplicity of manners restores to us our Franklin. In every part of our country which you have visited, (and you have nearly seen it all,) your society has been as acceptable to the unlettered farmer as to the learned philosopher. The liberal and friendly manner in which you are accustomed to view every thing in these states, the partiality which you feel for their welfare, the profound maxims upon every subject which, like the disciples of Socrates, we treasure up from your lips, entitle us to claim you as one of the fathers of our country." After such testimonies from those who can boast an intimate personal acquaintance with this distinguished European, the observations of a stranger were a very impertinent addition.

addition. I can only say, that, as a stranger, I was much struck by the unpretending simplicity and modesty of one to whom unvarying report ascribes so many high gifts, vast acquirements, and profound sciences. The kindness with which he spoke of this nation, the admiration that he expressed of its character, and of those institutions which he observed had formed that character, and were still forming it, inspired me, in a short conversation, with an equal admiration of the enlightened foreigner who felt so generously. As he walked home with me from the party, (for your character is not here fastened to a coach, as Brydone found his was in Sicily,) I chanced to observe upon the brilliancy of the skies, which, I said, as a native of a moist and northern climate, had not yet lost to me the charm of novelty. He mildly replied, "And on what country should the sun and stars shine brightly, if not on this? Light is every where, and is each day growing brighter and spreading farther." "Are you not afraid," I asked, encouraged by the suavity of the venerable sage to forget the vast distance between his mind and years and my own, "Are you not afraid, as the representative of royalty, of loving these republics too well?" He retorted playfully, "As the courtly Melville adjudged Elizabeth the fairest woman in England, and Mary the fairest in Scotland, so I deem this the fairest republic, and Portugal, of course, the fairest monarchy." It was impossible to hold an hour's conversation with this philosopher, and not revert to the condition and future prospects of the country which gave him birth.

Our attention was excited by some observations on the Indians, and on the conduct of America towards them. That State has assiduously endeavoured to protect them from the impositions of traders and land-jobbers; at least of *private* and *individual* jobbers, who are prohibited from entering into any contracts for land with them, and from bartering spirituous liquors or fire-arms; a destructive trade which is prosecuted on the western borders. It is to be wished that the Canada government would enforce the latter regulation: but while blankets, wearing apparel, implements of husbandry, peltry, &c. are the American articles of barter for the fur and game of the Indian hunters, those of the traders of the North-West are chiefly spirituous liquors and fire-arms. This mischievous traffic secures a preference in the Indian market, where more furs will be given for a keg of whiskey or a musket than for a whole bale of woollen goods; and thus armed and intoxicated, these poor savages wage war with each other, and with the more southern tribes, in some cases almost to extermination. The intrigues of European traders, says Miss Wright, and the species of goods exchanged by them with the savages, have done more towards exterminating the aborigines by war and disease, than the rapid spread of white population, the
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falling of forests, and the destruction of game. This last cause operates on the borders only, but the other is felt to the Pacific and to the icy barrier of the north. The Indians are now disappearing from the earth by the silent but sure operation of corruption and misery: wherever the Canadian trader pierces, he carries poison with him; and thus he is at once working the destruction of the native hunters and of the rich trade which he prosecutes with them. The restrictive laws on the Indian trade, enacted by the American government, are said to be carefully enforced; and agents are stationed along the line of forts protecting the western frontier, to whom appeals can always be made by the Indians. Under the eye of these agents, a fair and stated price is laid on American articles of barter; and individuals are thus compelled to be honest, because they would find no market if they did not sell on equal terms with the government-establishments.

Although reservations of particular tracts have usually been made by the native tribes in the sales of territory which they have concluded at different times with the States, or with Congress, yet, as the white population has advanced to these borders, game and of course the hunters have receded from them: but a few of the latter, more peaceful or more indolent than the rest of their tribe, have remained. Thus in the vast field of white population, now stretched from the Atlantic to the Missouri, we find some little specks of the red Indian, 'scattered,' says Miss W., 'like the splinters of a wreck upon the surface of the ocean.' — It would carry us much too far to estimate the reasons which are here suggested for the very slender success that has hitherto attended all attempts, whether of the legislature, of societies, or of individuals, to improve the condition of these half-civilized natives and to assimilate their habits to those of the whites: but we perceive much of plausibility and probably of truth in them.

'It is invariably seen that the savage, when removed into the centre of a civilized world, acquires a taste for the coarser indulgences that he finds within his reach, before he can be taught to engage in irksome employments that promise only moderate and future good. Industry and temperance are virtues of calculation, and the savage is unused to calculate. When removed from the fortes, the Indian has lost his accustomed incentives to exertion; those more hidden ones that surround him he does not see, or, if pointed out to him, does not feel. His old virtues are no longer in demand, and a length of years were requisite to lead him to adopt new ones. Ere this season comes, his slender and decreasing numbers will probably be reduced to a cypher. In passing lately through the Oneida settlement, we saw many cabins deserted, and
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the inhabitants, who still haunted the remainder, dragging on a drowsy existence, painfully contrasted with the life and vigour of the white population that is flowing past them.'

When our fair traveller reaches the Canadian frontier, all the enthusiasm is extinguished which inspired her pen within the territories of the republic. In ignorance and infatuated superstition, the Canadian, we are told, remains in the same state as when he first migrated from his native France; the priest 'continues to hoodwink and fleece the people, and the people to pamper and worship the priest, just as in good old times.' Howsoever they differ in many respects, in one thing the population of Upper and of Lower Canada are agreed; viz. in detesting their republican neighbours; a detestation excited in the first case by a jealousy of the power and wealth of the republic, and in the latter by the influence of the priests. The author says, however, that, as far as her own personal observation extended, she did not find this hostile feeling much shared by the poorer settlers of Upper Canada. While the population of the Lower or French Canada has remained stationary as to improvement, that of the French Louisiana, which was ceded to the United States about sixteen years ago, — not held as a military possession, but taken into the confederated republics as an independent province, — is in a state of progressive and rapid improvement.

True patriots will lay aside their own hostilities when the enemy is at their gates, but it has happened sometimes that they resume them on his expulsion. It is well known that an active competition for ascendancy long existed in the United States between the Federalists and the Anti-federalists. This struggle, which had been renewed with redoubled violence under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, and which we perfectly well remember to have been hailed by some unfriendly prophets on this side of the Atlantic as the harbinger of an entire dissolution of the republican government, was finally closed at the breaking out of the second war with this country: — a war which, in its progress, cemented all parties, established the national independence of America, and perfected the civil union

'The constitution of the United States is formed upon the model of those of the different States of which the United States is composed, but furnishes its administrators with other and more extended powers; not clashing with or superseding those exercised by the state-governments, but directed to different ends. Like the motions of the planetary system, each republic revolves upon her own axis, but moves in unison with the others; exerting her

her own centrifugal force, and yielding to the power which holds her in the magic circle of the confederacy.

'The singular position of this government as the centre of a mass of republics, strengthening and multiplying every lustre that rolls by, gives to it a character of its own, and one as wonderful as it is grand. I cannot speak the effect that its minute consideration produces on the mind: it is such as the spectator feels when he contemplates for the first time a steam-engine of the great Watt; its powers, as simple as they are sublime, playing evenly, and noiselessly, and irresistibly; and then, when the mind is startled at the consideration of its energy, and the vast world which it regulates and pervades, comes the reflection, that ~~the~~ hand of the workman can check it in a moment of time!'

Englishmen have often been annoyed by the want of homage paid to them by American servants, and their inattentive reception at inns: but the Americans are a proud people, and a foreigner must attend to this consideration: they will not bear to be 'scolded and sworn at.' A traveller, says Miss W., may go from the Canada frontier to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Missouri, and never receive from the *native-born citizen* a rude word, provided that he does not give one. Service there is a favour received, however well the servant is paid, and household-service is an employment not at all coveted. No American will bear an insulting word: the common mode of resenting an imperious order is to quit the house at once, without waiting or even asking for a reckoning. The same indifference which a servant feels, as to whether he stays or goes, is felt by an innkeeper with regard to his guests. On arriving at a tavern, the traveller excites no sort of sensation, in whatsoever state he may come: the master bids him good day; meals are prepared at stated times, to which he must accommodate himself; and to assume any lofty airs is only to get the laugh against him.

Of all Europeans, the Dutch and the Germans thrive best in America; for they *locate* themselves, as the phrase is, with great sagacity, strike root in the soil where they first fix, and prosper. The valley of the Mohawk is chiefly peopled by old Dutch emigrants, who have preserved for generations the character and customs of their country. As a settler, next best to the German thrives the Scot;—the Frenchman is given to turn hunter;—the Irishman becomes a drunkard;—and the Englishman is a speculator:—but emigrants now, particularly from England, are said to be of a higher, more educated, and substantial class than formerly. Actual destitution of all the goods of this world alone gave the momentum to emigration some years back: but now the dread of destitution at home urges many people to seek, *in time*, a country

country in which they may employ the capital that yet remains to them, unburdened by tythes, taxes, and poor-rates. Families now, therefore, carry with them a considerable capital, as well as all their industry and skill; and a sum varying from five hundred to five thousand pounds is not an uncommon fund for an English family now to carry across the Atlantic. Miss Wright says that *she knows* thirteen families, who not long since arrived in the States from England, not one of which possessed less than the former sum, and others more than the latter. Well may she exclaim, ‘I fear the policy of England’s rulers is cutting away the sinews of the state—why are her yeomen disappearing from the soil, dwindling into paupers, or flying as exiles!’ We find it difficult, however, to concur in her opinion that those emigrants only are an acquisition to America who are a loss to the countries from which they come; even granting that the *surplus* population (to use a term which is exceedingly grating to our ears) of all countries is generally the vicious part of it. The continent of America will profit by such a population, more than by having her vast savannahs and immeasurable forests untenanted except by wolves and bears. The difference to America, immediately, between the starving emigrants of Switzerland and Germany, who are simple agriculturists, quiet and industrious, and such of the poor British, Irish, and French as carry with them the vicious habits and corrupt manners of large manufacturing towns and crowded sea-ports, must no doubt be very considerable: but these vicious habits will wear away with the first generation, if they can live so long. The poor wretches must work or die; for beggary is an unprofitable trade in America, and so is thieving. Which of our London gangs of pickpockets or housebreakers would cross the Atlantic to exercise their *profession*? If the first generation, then, is compelled to be honest and forced to work because its very existence is at stake, the great probability is that the next generation will display those virtues from choice, habit, and principle, which the first exercised only from necessity.

Although the extracts, which we have introduced from Miss Wright’s book, relate rather to the state of society and manners than to subjects more immediately connected with civil policy and government, it must not be inferred that she is silent on these “weightier matters of the law.” On the contrary, she has rather a taste and tendency for disquisitions on such subjects; and some readers will perhaps think that too much of history and politics is mixed up with these letters. Miss W.’s remarks on the first American Congress; on the establishment of the Federal Republic and its founders; on
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the character and interests of the different sections of the confederacy, 'and their influence on the floor of Congress;' on the history of the state of Vermont; and on numberless historical sketches of events which took place in the American war; — will very probably, by many readers, be considered as occupying an unreasonable space. The descriptions of country, as the fair traveller passes from one district to another, up the river Hudson to West Point, Albany, the falls of the Genessee and of the Niagara, Lake Champlain, &c., like most other descriptions which it has been our fate to read, are vague and monotonous. In traversing such wild scenery, however, we can imagine that the feelings are irrepressibly excited but the descriptions are sometimes unmercifully extended and very ecstatic. Much information is communicated on the subject of the slavery which prevails in the Southern States; as well as on the general condition of the Negro, and of the Indians. — How far the republican partialities, which Miss Wright imbibed during her residence in the American States, may interfere with the favourable reception to which her work is intitled by the variety of interesting information which it contains, we are unable to say: but she has doubtless made up her mind to incur a certain degree of hostility, which she might feel it beneath her to avoid by a more prudent and less unreserved expression of her sentiments. In speaking of the American navy, we cannot but think that her bias has carried her out of the straight course of fact in various points; and we believe that she is most notoriously in error when she states that, during the late war, 'a British deserter was never knowingly employed' in American ships. (P. 346.)

ART. III. *The Village Minstrel*, and other Poems. By John Clare, the Northamptonshire Peasant, Author of "Poems on Rural Life and Scenery." 2 Vols. 12mo. 12s. Boards. Taylor and Hessey. 1821.

WERE any proof wanting of the great encouragement afforded in the present day to every kind of poetical talent, and especially to merit in a humble guise, it would be supplied by the volumes before us. The pen, with which we inscribed our opinion of this author's former productions, is scarcely worn to the stump, when we are again called to appreciate his untutored efforts by the appearance of two fresh volumes. Before, however, we enter on the brief remarks on the merits of these poems which it is our intention to make, it may be right to give some account of Clare's present situation,

ation, as we feel assured that our readers must be interested in the situation of so lowly a son of genius as this Northamptonshire peasant.

Since the publication of the poems to which we have above alluded, and which attracted a considerable share of attention, the genius of the author has acquired for him some powerful and valuable friends. The kindness of his publishers, indeed, should first be mentioned: for they afforded him an opportunity of appearing before the world not only without a chance of loss, but with a decent remuneration*, and thus became the means of making his merits known to several noblemen and gentlemen; who generously contributed a fund sufficient at all events to secure the poet from the evils of poverty, and to enable him to apply his mind more freely to his favourite pursuit. John Clare was no sooner in possession of this little competency, than, "not having the fear" of Mr. Malthus "before his eyes, but moved and seduced by the instigation" of a natural feeling, he became wedded not to "immortal verse," but to the 'rosebud in humble life,' *alias* 'Patty of the vale,' *alias* 'Martha Turner,' a country-maiden on whom his affections had been for some time fixed. The lady's dower, we are told, and we congratulate her lord on the acquisition, consists of 'the virtues of industry, frugality, neatness, good temper, and a sincere love for her husband.' His household at the present time comprehends his aged and infirm parents, his wife, and one "sole daughter of his house and home;" who, it is said, seems to be the *avant-courier* of a numerous progeny. We are sorry to add that, notwithstanding the kind exertions which have been made in his favour, he still occasionally feels the pressure of pecuniary difficulties: but we sincerely hope that the publication of 'The Village Minstrel' will put his finances on a very flourishing footing.

Cordially, however, as our feelings may be interested in the personal situation of Clare, we must not allow them to influence our judgment; for the true value of the poems must consist in their own intrinsic excellence, and not in the consideration of the disadvantages under which the author has laboured. We allow the latter plea to be valid when encouragement and support are in question, but it cannot be suffered to weigh down the even balance of criticism. The few observations, which we made on Clare's former publication, may also be applied to the present; in which we ob-

* Four times the amount of the sum which Milton received for the copy-right of his "Paradise Lost."

serve the same natural graces of thought and simplicity of rural imagery which his earlier poems so profusely displayed : but we could have wished that it had not been deemed necessary by the poet's friends so soon to present him again before the public, as we feel persuaded that, by labour and attention, his style would be most materially improved. We would advise him very assiduously to cultivate the high models of poetic taste in which our literature is so rich, not for the purpose of becoming a servile imitator, but to imbue his mind with their spirit ; and we cannot forbear to suggest to him the advice which Dr. Moore offered to Burns, but which in fact is much more applicable to Clare, that he should "deal more sparingly for the future in the provincial dialect." Burns's *Scoticisms* give a lively simplicity and beauty to his poems, but there is nothing "Doric" in the Northamptonshire dialect of this writer.

We shall make our selections from the smaller poems, though many very pleasing verses might be extracted from 'The Village Minstrel.' The following poem on *Sunday* has evidently been written after a perusal of "The Cotter's Saturday-night."

' *Sunday.*

' The Sabbath-day, of every day the best,
The poor man's happiness, a poor man sings ;
When labour has no claim to break his rest,
And the light hours fly swift on easy wings.
What happiness this holy morning brings,
How soft its pleasures on his senses steal ;
How sweet the village-bells' first warning rings ;
And O how comfortable does he feel,
When with his family at ease he takes his early meal.

' The careful wife displays her frugal hoard,
And both partake in comfort though they're poor ;
While love's sweet offsprings crowd the lowly board,
Their little likenesses in miniature.
Though through the week he labour does endure,
And weary limbs oft cause him to complain,
This welcome morning always brings a cure ;
It teems with joys his soul to entertain,
And doubly sweet appears the pleasure after pain.

' Ah, who can tell the bliss, from labour freed,
His leisure meeteth on a Sunday morn,
Fix'd in a chair, some godly book to read,
Or wandering round to view the crops of corn,
In best clothes fitted out, and beard new shorn ;

Dropping

Dropping adown in some warm shelter'd dell,
With six days' labour weak and weary worn;
List'ning around each distant chiming bell,
That on the soft'ning breeze melodiously doth swell.

‘ And oft he takes his family abroad
In short excursions o'er the field and plain,
Marking each little object on his road,
An insect, sprig of grass, and ear of grain;
Endeavouring thus most simply to maintain
That the same Power that bids the mite to crawl,
That browns the wheat-lands in their summer-stain,
That Power which form'd the simple flower withal,
Form'd all that lives and grows upon this earthly-ball.

‘ The bell, when knoll'd its summons once and twice,
Now chimes in concert, calling all to prayers;
The rustic boy that hankers after vice,
And of religion little knows or cares,
Scrapes up his marbles, and by force repairs,
Though dallying on till the last bell has rung:—
The good man there his book devoutly bears,
And often, as he walks the graves among,
Looks on the untravel'd dust from whence his being sprung.

‘ The service ended, boys their play resume
In some snug corner from the parson's view,
And where the searching clerk forgets to come;
There they their games and rural sports pursue,
With chuck and marbles wearing Sunday through:
The poor man seeks his cottage-hearth again,
And brings his family the text to view
From which the parson's good discourse was ta'en,
Which with what skill he may he labours to explain.

‘ Hail, sacred Sabbath! hail, thou poor man's joy!
Thou oft hast been a comfort to my care,
When faint and weary with the week's employ
I met thy presence in my corner-chair,
Musing and bearing up with troubles there;
Thrice hail, thou heavenly boon! by God's decree
At first creation plann'd, that all might share,
Both man and beast, some hours from labour free
To offer thanks to Him whose mercy sent us thee.

‘ This day the field a sweeter clothing wears,
A Sunday scene looks brighter to the eye;
And hast'ning on to Monday morning's cares
With double speed the wing'd hour gallops by.
How swift the sun streaks down the western sky,
Scarcely perceiv'd till it begins to wane,
When ploughboys mark his setting with a sigh,
Dreading the morn's approaching hours with pain,
When capon's restless calls awake to toil again.

‘ As the day closes on its peace and rest,
 The godly man sits down and takes “the Book,”
 To close it in a manner deem’d the best;
 And for a suiting chapter doth he look,
 That may for comfort and a guide be took:
 He reads of patient Job, his trials’ thrall,
 How men are troubled when by God forsook,
 And prays with David to bear up with all; —
 When sleep shuts up the scene, soft as the night-dews fall.’

An ‘ *Impromptu*’ is pretty, though rather bordering on the Lake-style.

• ‘ *Impromptu.*

‘ “ Where art thou wandering, little child?”
 I said to one I met to-day —
 She push’d her bonnet up and smil’d,
 “ I’m going upon the green to play:
 Folks tell me that the May’s in flower,
 That cowslip-peeps are fit to pull,
 And I’ve got leave to spend an hour
 To get this little basket full.”
 — And thou’st got leave to spend an hour!
 My heart repeated — she was gone;
 — And thou hast heard the thorn’s in flower,
 And childhood’s bliss is urging on:
 Ah, happy child! thou mak’st me sigh,
 This once as happy heart of mine,
 Would nature with the boon comply,
 How gladly would I change for thine.’

The lines ‘ *To the Rural Muse*’ are perhaps some of the most finished which Clare has yet produced; yet even in them we observe some inaccuracies of expression which greatly weaken the effect:

• *To the Rural Muse.*

‘ Simple enchantress! wreath’d in summer blooms
 Of slender bent-stalks topt with feathery down,
 Heath’s creeping vetch, and glaring yellow brooms,
 With ash-keys wavering on thy rushy crown:
 Simple enchantress! how I’ve woo’d thy smiles,
 How often sought thee far from flush’d renown;
 Sought thee unseen where fountain-waters fell;
 Touch’d thy wild reed unheard, in weary toils;
 And though my heavy hand thy song defiles,
 ’Tis hard to leave thee, and to bid farewell.
 ‘ Simple enchantress! ah, from all renown,
 Far off, my soul hath warm’d in bliss to see
 The varied figures on thy summer-gown,
 That nature’s finger works so ’witchingly;
 The colour’d flower, the silken leaves that crown

Green nestling bower-bush, and high towering tree;
Brooks of the sunny green and shady dell:

Ah, sweet full many a time they've been to me;
And though my weak song falters, sung to thee,
I cannot, wild enchantress, bid farewell.

Still must I seek thee, though I wind the brook
When morning sunbeams o'er the waters glide,
And trace thy footsteps in the lonely nook
As evening moists the daisy by thy side;
Ah, though I woo thee on thy bed of thyme, —
If courting thee be deem'd ambition's pride,
It is so passing sweet with thee to dwell —
If love for thee in clowns be call'd a crime,
Forgive presumption, O thou queen of rhyme!
I've lov'd thee long, I cannot bid farewell.

We have not time to enter into a detailed criticism on the merits of the individual poems, and still less to make any remarks on the introduction which is prefixed to these volumes, and which lies open to some objection: but one sentiment is expressed by the writer of the latter, which we cannot prevail on ourselves to overlook. He observes:

' Poets of all ages have been cherished and rewarded, and this not as of mere favour, but from a feeling that they have a claim to be so considered. If of late years a less generous treatment has been experienced by any, it is not chargeable on the nature of man in general, but on an illiberal spirit of criticism, which catching its character from the bad temper of the age, has "let slip the dogs of war" in the flowery fields of poesy. We may hope that kinder feelings are returning, that "olives of endless age" will grace the future belles lettres of our country, and that especially the old and natural relation of poet and patron may be again acknowledged, as it has been in the present instance:

' "The kindly dew-drops from the higher tree
And wets the little plants that lowly dwell."

Now it certainly does appear to us that the interests of literature would receive very little benefit by the renewal of those times in which poets were proud to dance attendance in the halls of the great, and measured their reputation by the number of their patrons, not by the honest judgment of the public voice. We should indeed regret to see the literary character degraded once again to the necessity of selling adulation, and purchasing patronage; for to that end the system, if once commenced, inevitably tends. We do not object to the liberal support extended by the rich and the powerful to a man in Clare's situation: but we do protest against the revival of a practice, which in our own literature has left on record so many disgraceful instances of the pro-

titution of genius and talent, and the frequency of which made the first moral poet of our country exclaim,

—— “ Be *one* poet's praise
That, if he pleas'd, he pleas'd by manly ways;
That flattery ev'n to kings he held a shame,
And thought a lie in verse or prose the same.”

ART. IV. *Travels in various Countries of the East*; being a Continuation of Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, &c. Edited by the Rev. Robert Walpole, M. A. 4to. 3l. 3s. Boards. Longman and Co.

WE have already spoken in terms of just commendation concerning the first volume of this interesting collection*; and the continuation now before us is still more intitled to a favourable notice, as it embraces a greater variety of subjects, and is more exempted from those typographical defects which we before observed and regretted. We then pointed out what we conceived to be the advantages of a miscellany comprizing the journals of intelligent travellers, and the disquisitions of scientific and learned men on the remains of antiquity, as well as other topics connected with this beautiful and highly favoured portion of the eastern world.

Other advantages, also, are incident to such a collection; among which not the least considerable is that of obtaining the actual memoranda of each traveller in his own words, — the exact and faithful record of what he himself saw and observed, in an unstudied state, and not tricked out as it were for the express purpose of making a book. It may be added, that there is no other way of acquiring a complete and copious system of information relative to the European or the Asiatic provinces of Turkey: for, in the present political condition of those countries, it would be absurd to expect an uniform and entire view of them from a single traveller. They can be seen only partially, and therefore can be elucidated only by detached observations. Indeed, the obstacles by which travelling is interrupted in that region cannot be conceived without some effort of the imagination. The greater portion even of the most interesting provinces are mountainous and rugged, scarcely intersected with roads, and yielding neither comfort nor accommodation of any description: while many places are periodically visited with a scourge, which is not merely the inevitable lot of the soil or atmosphere, but the natural consequences of the habitual and characteristic sloth,

* See Rev. for July, 1819.

that exerts no diligence and takes no precautions to counteract or prevent pestilential exhalations. All these impediments are aggravated by the animosity, hereditary and unsleeping, which prevails between the degraded descendants of the Doric and Ionic tribes and their Ottoman oppressors; by the protection afforded to banditti by the physical features of the country; and by the total absence of all police or government. For these reasons, if any thing is to be learned concerning this vast empire and its provinces, it is to be gained only in parts or parcels, and from the successive contributions of various travellers.

Although much has been recently written about Turkey and other countries of the East, no account leads us to cherish any expectation of a moral or a political amelioration among the inhabitants. Improvements in art or science, or in the administration of the provincial governments, seem wholly out of the question; and every evil, natural or civil, is allowed to have its uninterrupted course. The plague is still permitted to destroy its almost countless victims, because no means to resist its progress are adopted; hordes of robbers and assassins interrupt the communication between different parts of Asia Minor and Syria; the chiefs of contiguous provinces are engaged in unceasing hostilities with each other; and extensive districts, once memorable for their almost spontaneous fertility, are abandoned to waste and desolation.

In these regions, thus inhabited, man seems to be the most barren and yet most melancholy subject of contemplation. The traveller, therefore, directs his attention to other objects, and happily finds most abundant matter of great and varied interest. The comparison of antient and modern geography; — mineralogy, botany, zoology; — the remains of antient art; — and the manners and customs of the diversified population; — all present him with a field of research which is nearly inexhaustible. The result has therefore been such as we might rationally have predicted. Our geographical knowlege of the interior of Asia Minor is daily receiving new and valuable accessions: — the interesting route pursued by General Koehler in 1800 through Bithynia and Pisidia has been illustrated by the indefatigable diligence of Colonel Leake, who has been enabled to construct a map far superior in accuracy to any yet extant of that country; — and Captain Beaufort's survey of the Caramanian shore, hitherto so erroneously laid down in our charts, is an inestimable addition to our geographical knowlege of the south of Asia Minor.

It is respecting Greece, however, that our information is the most copious, for we must be contented to remain com-

paratively in darkness as to the other provinces of Turkey, for a reason that is obvious. The population of Greece is for the most part Christian, and we can therefore carry on an intercourse there which the unsocial and intolerant character of Mohammedanism renders impracticable. The materials collected by Mr. Hawkins, Colonel Leake, and Sir William Gell, have contributed most essentially to Grecian geography: since the days of Spon, Wheler, and Stuart, important inquiries relative to the architectural antiquities of the country have been prosecuted with unwearied diligence by Baron Haller, Mr. Cockerell, and Mr. Wilkins; and the memoir in this volume communicated by Mr. Hawkins, relating to a temple in Eubœa, will amply repay the attention of the scholar and the virtuoso. Dr. Sibthorp's papers, moreover, extracts from which have been printed in the present work, are unaffected and perspicuous elucidations of these subjects. His researches have greatly advanced our knowledge of the natural history of Greece and of the *Ægean* islands: his list of birds, fishes, animals, and plants, is more complete than any which has yet appeared; and his remarks on the products of the soil, and on the agriculture and statistics of the country, are wholly new.

Such are the general materials of which Mr. Walpole has constructed this volume of his learned miscellany. It would have been better, indeed, had he adopted a more regular classification of his subjects: but, as he himself tells us, all the papers intended for publication were not in his possession at the same time; and various causes prevented those who have assisted him with their communications, from sending them sufficiently early to be inserted in such parts of the volume as the editor intended to appropriate to them.

The first memoir, on the Tar-springs of Zante, communicated by Mr. Hawkins, contains several scientific facts of singular importance. These celebrated springs, situated in a morass near the south-eastern extremity of the island, were visited and described by Herodotus more than two thousand years ago; and they appear to have undergone no material change since, except from the progressive growth of the peat, which has choked up all the small lakes or ports described by that author. The springs which produce the bitumen are situated on the two opposite sides of the morass; and this substance, gradually oozing out of the earth below, settles at the bottom of the pit which serves as a reservoir for collecting it. Here the inquisitive traveller, as in the days of Herodotus, may still dip his myrtle-bough into the water, and draw out the liquid mineral. — Mr. Hawkins was anxious to ascertain

whether the bitumen came out of the rock below, or merely oozed out of the peat in which it originated; and for that reason, during his residence in Zante, (1795,) with the assistance of the Venetian Admiral Correr, (who employed in this difficult operation the most able-bodied men of his crew,) he procured the pit to be so completely drained as to expose the bottom to observation. The spring of water was then perceived to issue from the peat at the depth of four feet, without any bitumen. The bottom of the pit was nearly three feet deeper in the peat. Here some gallons of bitumen had collected, but no particle of it was seen in the substance of the peat; and Mr. Hawkins, therefore, inferred that it oozes in minute portions from the substratum of rock. The quantity of bitumen annually extracted from this pit is about twenty barrels; and its reproductive faculty increases with the quantity taken out. When first extracted from the water, it is of the consistence of honey; and in colour, opacity, and smell, it resembles melted pitch.

Although, in the present advanced state of geological science, the tar-springs of Zante have ceased to excite astonishment, they may still be classed among the rarest phænomena of the earth: but they derive probably their chief importance from their classical celebrity, having been visited and described not only by the father of history but by Dioscorides, Vitruvius, and Pliny.

Mr. Schmeiner, at the instance of Mr. Hawkins, made the subjoined analysis of two pounds' weight of the saline water:

	Grains.
Sulphate of magnesia	90
Sulphate of soda	40
Selenite	10
Muriate of lime	28
Muriate of magnesia	24
Muriate of soda	172
Resinous matter	8
	<hr/> 372

Dr. Sibthorp's voyage in the Grecian seas, and along the western shore of Greece, discloses several interesting botanical and zoological facts relative to the seven islands called the Prince's islands, about six leagues from Constantinople, the Dardanelles, Cyprus, Lero, Patmos, Strenosa, and Argentiera. We could have wished, however, that the editor had not omitted the lists of plants inserted in the original MS., because Dr. Sibthorp's communication is almost wholly of a scientific character.

Lemnos, we believe, has been seldom visited, and Mr. Walpole has given an extract from the journal of Dr. Hunt, who, with the late Professor Carlyle, spent a few days on the island in the course of their voyage to Athos. It proved, however, to be wholly barren of the remains of its former greatness, and of its memorable labyrinth not a vestige could be traced. Our classical readers will no doubt recollect the one hundred and fifty columns of this labyrinth, its massive gates, and its numerous statues: but *ipsæ periére ruinae*. For our part, we cannot solve the strange problem, that a place so celebrated from the fabulous ages down to the time of Strabo should not now present to the eye of the antiquary one valuable vestige of antient art. We are not indeed surprized that the caverns of Vulcan and his Cyclops are no longer discernible: but that not one Pelasgic fortress, or Doric or Ionic edifice, the work of Athenian or Carian colonists, nay not so much as an antient medal, could be found in the whole range of the island, has considerably perplexed us. We can assign no other cause for the desolation than the volcanic composition of the island; and we are induced to infer, therefore, that the true Lemnian ills, “*Ἀημία καὶ ἀνά*,” have been volcanoes and earthquakes.

We were much disappointed in perceiving so jejune a notice of the ruins of Nicopolis, visited by Dr. Sibthorp; — that celebrated city, founded by Augustus in commemoration of his Actian victory; — and not a syllable dedicated to the elucidation of the geographical mystery in which the relative sites of Actium and its bay are still involved. The learned Doctor, however, thought more of a lichen than of aqueducts or thermæ, or of Strabo and Pausanias. The ruins of the amphitheatre at Nicopolis are the most perfect relics of an antient theatre now subsisting; every part, even to the proscenium, being nearly perfect: yet it excites no other observation than the following: ‘There are considerable remains of a theatre. I gathered on the walls of it the *Asplenium Hemionitis*. Near the gateway, I observed the *Celtis Australis*.’

When Dr. Sibthorp was at Zante, (1795,) the island was under the Venetian government, and he describes the depravity and licentiousness of its manners in the strongest terms. It is pleasing to an English mind to reflect that these disorders were repressed when it passed under the protection of the British government, and the following sketch of its former condition will enable us to estimate the amount of the blessings which have been thus conferred on that beautiful island:

‘The

'The great object of the republic of Venice is to provide for its poor nobility. The Proveditor of Zante exercises his office for three years, and then carries off from 6000 to 20,000 sechins; part of this is made by fines or liberation-money, that is, the money paid by criminals to escape from prison; and the Zantiote, not finding the sword of justice lodged in the hands of an active government, becomes his own executioner, and makes no distinction in the measure of crimes. Hence the massacres which disgrace the island, and carry off the flower of the Zantiote youth. So low is the estimate of murder, that 30 piastres are considered as the price of blood. — "I would shoot you," says one Zantiote to another, "but I have not 30 piastres to pay for your skin." During my stay at Zante, I heard frequently the discharge of fire-arms in the streets, and was informed of several murders. The idea of consumption being contagious is very prevalent at Zante. A sick person accidentally discovered that his brother had died of a consumption, and the malady had been carefully concealed from him by the doctor. The patient, enraged at the supposition of his having caught the disorder from his brother, in consequence of not being advised of it, loaded his pistols, and when the doctor, in one of his visits, approached the bedside of his patient, the latter discharged the contents into his body. This happened while the philanthropic Howard was at Zante, who was shocked with horror at the scene.' (P. 104.)

The most interesting portion of this volume is the selection from the papers of the late lamented Mr. Browne, who fell a martyr to his zeal in the prosecution of geographical discovery, of which the bounds have been considerably extended by his labours. An account of the murder of this unfortunate traveller has already appeared in our Journal, as related by Sir Robert Ker Porter in his Persian tour: (Rev. for September last :) but the biographical memoir of him which Mr. Walpole has inserted in the volume before us is a most acceptable contribution; and we learn that it is derived from the pen of the same accomplished writer to whom the public is already indebted for the life of Mr. Mungo Park. Need we mention the name of Mr. Wishaw? We can only present our readers with a concise abstract of it.

William George Browne was born in London in 1768. His education was private till he went to Oxford, where he applied himself with great diligence to classical reading, and went carefully through the whole of the Greek and Latin historians. He took also a wide range in general literature; and such was his industry at this time, that he read from twelve to fifteen hours in a day. After the usual period of academical residence, it was necessary to think of some plan for his future life. The instinct of adventure, and a certain passion for enterprize, at first suggested to him the army: but
a little

a little reflection convinced him how ill he was suited by character and habit for such a profession; and, having for a short time attempted the study of the law, he resolved at last to be contented with his small patrimony, on which he lived afterward without any regular employment. He then improved himself in modern languages, and acquired a correct taste for the fine arts. Botany, chemistry, and mineralogy, which were afterward of the greatest use to him in his travels, he also cultivated with great assiduity. From a very early period, he was anxious to gain distinction as an explorer of remote countries, and had ever been a diligent reader of travels: but it was the publication of Bruce's work on Abyssinia that gave the immediate impulse to his long-cherished ambition. He then became impatient to follow the same course, and to struggle with the same difficulties. He read also, at this time, and with similar emotions, the proceedings of the African Association, then first published; a book abounding with new and interesting views of the vast continent of Africa, and opening an unbounded field for research and enterprize. He was now determined to attempt a passage into the interior of that country; and a paper, which he has left on this subject, thus shortly describes his own idea of the physical and moral qualities necessary for the undertaking:

“ Among the requisites for my journey, of which self-examination induced me to believe myself possessed, were a good constitution, which, though far from robust, was, I knew, capable of enduring fatigue and change; steadiness to my purpose; and much indifference to personal accommodations and enjoyments; together with a degree of patience, which could endure reverses and disappointments without murmuring.”

In 1791, Mr. Browne left England; and, after a residence of two months at Alexandria, he travelled westward into the desert to explore the unknown site of the temple of Jupiter Ammon. For this purpose, he proceeded to the Oasis of Siwah: but, experiencing great difficulty and danger from the inhabitants, and finding nothing satisfactory as to the object of his search, he returned early in 1792 to Alexandria. Having visited Rosetta, Damietta, and the natron lakes, he established himself for some time at Cairo, where he applied with redoubled diligence to the study of the Arabic language, and of oriental customs and manners. He sailed up the Nile as far as the celebrated ruins of Thebes, and visited Syene, the antient boundary of the Roman empire, and the famous cataracts of that river. Hence he endeavoured to penetrate into Nubia: but a war having broken out between the Mamalûks of Upper Egypt and a neighbouring chief, no person

Person was suffered to pass into that country from Egypt, and he was reluctantly obliged to abandon all hopes of reaching Abyssinia during that season. At Genné, on the Nile, recollecting the striking description given by Bruce of the great quarries between that place and the Red Sea, he directed his course thither by a journey of considerable danger, and performed it in safety by means of a successful assumption of the oriental dress and manners. His curiosity was amply rewarded by those immense excavations, formed in the earliest ages, from which the great Egyptian monuments were obtained, and which furnished statues and columns to Rome in her wealthy and luxurious days.

He had now seen the whole of Egypt, and began to form his plan for visiting the interior of Africa: but he determined to limit his views to Abyssinia, and to go carefully, and with geographical exactness, over the ground traversed by Bruce. Insurmountable obstacles still opposing his journey through Nubia, he thought that he had no alternative but to accompany the great Soudān caravan to Dar-Fûr, a Mohammedan country west of Abyssinia; whence he might, as there was reason for believing, penetrate into Abyssinia, and obtain some information respecting that unknown branch of the Nile which had occupied so much of his attention. At any rate, it was a new track, wholly untrodden by European travellers.

The caravan left Egypt in May, 1793, the hottest season of the year, the thermometer being occasionally during the journey at 116 in the shade; and after inconceivable hardships he reached Dar-Fûr in July. Here he was treated by the reigning sovereign with the utmost harshness and cruelty; a circumstance which, combined with the fatigues of his journey and the effects of the rainy season, produced a dangerous and alarming illness, from which he slowly recovered. Not being permitted to quit the country, and being plundered of the greatest part of his effects, he resigned himself to his fate, and cultivated an intercourse with the principal inhabitants; by means of which he obtained such a knowledge of the Arabic dialect which prevailed there, as to partake of their society and conversation. For more than two years, he remained an ineffectual suitor for leave to depart; and it is wonderful that in these miserable circumstances, surrounded by dangers, and hopeless of escape, his health and spirits did not desert him. That, on the contrary, he was able to collect much curious and minute information respecting the country, can only be attributed to an invincible serenity and firmness of mind which must exalt him above the most distinguished travellers.

At length, having obtained permission to quit Dar-Fûr, after a constrained residence of three years, he returned in the spring of 1796 to Egypt, and resided at Cairo till the December following; when, having visited Syria, Palestine, Aleppo, and Damascus, he proceeded through Asia Minor to Constantinople; arriving there in December, 1797, and proceeding thence by Vienna, Berlin, and Hamburgh to England, after an absence of nearly seven years.

In 1800, Mr. Browne published his work under the title of "Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the Year 1792 to 1798." It excited much expectation, and the author spared no pains to fit it for the public eye: but it never became popular. He had adopted an erroneous theory of style; and his book was abrupt, artificial, and affected. Some of its passages offended against good taste, and others against strict morality. 'It was written,' says his biographer, 'with a certain coldness and languor, and was deficient not only in that spirit with which great enterprizes ought to be described, but in those picturesque touches which give life and reality to a book of travels.' Still it contained much new and valuable information, and many of the details concerning Egypt were then highly interesting. It is this which constitutes the essential merit of Mr. Browne's work. As to its geographical accuracy, Major Rennell's testimony is full and explicit.—He had no sooner completed this publication than he prepared for another journey, and immediately visited Athens and Smyrna, and subsequently Cairo, where he passed the winter of the same year. Early in 1802, he went to Salonika, explored Mount Athos, and afterward sojourned for several months at Venice. Thence, in 1803, he employed a considerable time in viewing the antiquities of Sicily. On his return to London, he arranged the materials collected during these expeditions, but afterward abandoned the design of publishing them, from what motives we are not informed. The extracts from his papers, contained in Mr. Walpole's second volume, were taken from the MS. which he prepared for this purpose.

He was not, however, idle and inactive, for oriental and classical literature employed the greater part of his day: but he mixed little in general society, and led the life of a retired scholar in the vast solitude of the metropolis, his few friendships being founded on similarity of studies and pursuits. The late amiable Mr. Tennant, so highly distinguished for his chemical and literary attainments, was among the most intimate of his associates. That gentleman, indeed, had a singular fondness for oriental literature, and felt peculiar gratification

in Mr. Browne's society. By strangers, however, the character of this accomplished traveller was liable to be misunderstood; for, whether from temperament or acquired habit, he was unusually grave and silent, and in mixed company was cold and repulsive. For some time, even with Mr. Tennant, he remained gloomy and thoughtful: but, when he had indulged himself a few minutes with his pipe, his countenance brightened, and he discoursed in a lively and picturesque manner on the subjects of his travels. In a letter written by Mr. Tennant to an intimate friend, soon after he had received the account of Mr. Browne's death, he says, "I recall with a melancholy pleasure the *Noctes Arabicæ* which I have so often passed with him at the Adelphi, where I used to go, whenever I found myself gloomy or solitary; and so agreeable to me were these soothing, romantic, evening conversations, that after ringing his bell I used to wait with great anxiety, fearful that he might not be at home."

He now passed several years quietly in London: but his ruling passion returned, and he meditated new expeditions. Many projects having suggested themselves, he at length fixed on the Tartar city of Samarcand, and the central region of Asia around it. Accordingly, in the summer of 1812, he departed from England, and at the close of the year went from Constantinople to Smyrna, where he established himself for some time. In 1813, he travelled in a north-easterly direction through Asia Minor and Armenia, and arrived on the 1st of June at Tebreez, on the frontiers of Persia. Here he remained several weeks, and received from Sir Gore Ouseley every aid towards the prosecution of his meditated journey into Tartary; when, having at length completed his preparations, he took his departure for Teheraun, intending to proceed from that capital. The subsequent events can be known only from the testimony of those who accompanied him. After some days, both his servants came back with an account that, at a place near the river Kizil Ozan, about 120 miles from Teheraun, they had been attacked by banditti, and that Mr. Browne had been dragged a short distance from the road, where he was plundered and murdered, but they were suffered to escape. The soldiers, who were dispatched with orders to search for his remains, and for the assassins, reported on their return that they had failed in both objects, but that they had fully ascertained the fact of Mr. Browne's death, and had found some portion of his clothes; adding that they believed the body to have been abandoned to beasts of prey.

In his person, Mr. Browne was thin, of a dark complexion, and pensive countenance. His moral character was deserv-

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ing of every praise, and he was remarkable both for the steadiness of his attachments and the warmth of his friendships. Far from being affluent, he was yet liberal and generous, and (which is very important in reference to his character as a traveller) he was a man of exact and punctilious veracity. He had no brilliancy of parts, but he was an intense student. As an orientalist, he may be ranked among the most learned in that branch of letters, and he was unrivalled in his familiar acquaintance with eastern manners: — an acquirement which enabled him to personate the oriental character with very rare exactness and propriety. Although a good scholar, he was deficient in taste; and an ambition to shine betrayed him into perpetual faults as a writer:

‘The affectation of his style,’ says Mr. Wishaw, ‘formed a singular contrast to the simplicity of his manners and conversation. Another of his peculiarities was his enthusiastic admiration of oriental life, acquired no doubt partly from long residence in the East, and partly arising from the natural tranquillity and repose of his disposition. It had indeed a considerable effect on his understanding, since it produced the paradoxical dissertation at the end of his travels in Africa, in which, after an elaborate comparison between the eastern and European nations, as to wisdom, morality, and happiness, he gives his decided preference to the former!!’

On opening his will, a paper in his hand-writing was found enclosed, containing a remarkable passage from Pindar; expressive of that generous ambition, and that contempt of danger and death, which are the inspiring principles of all great enterprizes. His most intimate friends were scarcely aware that he had such powerful but deep feelings, which the habitual reserve and coldness of his character effectually concealed from observation.

Ο μέγας δε κίνδυνος
ἀναλκιν ἔφω-
τα λαμβανει. Θανεῖν δ' οἷσιν αναγκα,
Τί κέ τις ανώνυμον γῆρας εν σκότῳ
Καθήμενος ἔψοι ματαν, απαντων
Καλῶν ἄμμορος; ἀλλ' ἐμοι μέν ἐτοσὶ
Ἄθλος γ' ὑποκείσεται.

Pind. Olymp. Od. A'. v. 129.

We make no apology for having thus imparted to our readers the substance of this interesting piece of biography, which is the sketch of no common hand, and the product of a mind which knew how to temper the warmth of private friendship by a strict observance of what is due to truth and
to

to justice. — From Mr. Browne's journey in 1802 through Asia Minor, we extract the following passage, illustrative of the manners of a tribe little known to Europeans :

‘ Erakli is agreeably situated in the midst of gardens full of fruit and forest trees. About forty minutes from the city, begins the ascent of the mountainous ridge, a continuation of Taurus. It employed us nearly five hours to reach the summit. The Katerdgis, not knowing the road, were obliged to take guides from Erakli to conduct them. A little farther we came to a small village, near which I saw, perhaps, an acre or two of cultivated land. The Turkmen, with their flocks, dwelling under tents, inhabit this almost inaccessible region. A series of stupendous bare rocks succeeds to the first summit. The air is cool and salubrious, even in the hottest season ; and pellucid springs give spirit and animation to the scene. The summit of this primitive ridge is composed of a large grained marble ; other calcareous substances recline on its ample sides, or are upheaved by its frequent asperities. They are all of them massy rocks, without any appearance of strata. A number of very ancient cedars, whose stunted growth and fantastic branches cast a gloomy shade, diversify the rugged sides of the mountain.

‘ In my visits to the Turkman tents, I remarked a strong contrast between their habits and those of the Bedouin Arabs. With the latter, the rights of hospitality are inviolable ; and while the host possesses a cake of bread, he feels it a duty to furnish half of it to his guest ; the Turkman offers nothing spontaneously, and if he furnish a little milk or butter, it is at an exorbitant price. With him it is a matter of calculation, whether the compendious profit of a single act of plunder, or the more ignoble system of receiving presents from the caravans for their secure passage, be most advantageous. The Arab values himself on the *hasb we nasb*, that is his ancient pedigree ; the Turkman, on his personal prowess. With the former, civility requires that salutations be protracted to satiety ; the latter scarcely replies to a *Salam aleikum*.

‘ The muleteers, who had preferred this devious path to the high road, to avoid the Dellis, were now alarmed at the frequent visits of the Turkmen. They described me to them as an officer of Chappan Oglou's retinue, employed to communicate with the English fleet on the coast ; an explanation which appeared to satisfy them ; and fortunately I was able to support that character. It is to be observed that Chappan Oglou has a large military force at his disposal, and administers justice with a rod of iron. His vengeance pursues, on eagle-wing, the slightest transgression against his authority. Our precautions at night were redoubled ; and I divided the time into two watches, which I ordered my servant to share with me ; but the disposition to sleep having speedily got the better of his vigilance, a pipe, although carefully placed under the carpet on which I myself slept, was stolen unperceived before morning.

‘ The dress of the Turkmen consists of a large striped and fringed turban, fastened in a manner peculiar to themselves ; or

sometimes of a simple high-crowned cap of white felt. A vest, usually white, is thrown over the shirt; the Agas superadd one of cloth; and in general, and in proportion to their rank and wealth, they approximate to the dress of the capital. But the common people wear a short jacket of various colours. A cincture is indispensably required, in which are fixed an enormous yatagan *, and a pistol. Many of them wear half boots, red or yellow, laced to the leg: the dress of the women is a coloured vest, and a piece of white cotton cloth on the head, covering part of the face. They are masculine and active, performing all the harder kinds of labor required by the family. Their features are good, but not pleasing. The men are generally muscular, and well proportioned; tall, straight, and active. Their teeth are white and regular; their eyes are often extremely piercing; and there is an air of uncommon boldness in their countenances and mode of address. Their complexions are clear, but sun-burnt. In a word, they have every thing that denotes exhaustless health and vigour of body. A general resemblance is visible between them and the populace of Constantinople; but the latter appear effeminate by the comparison. Every action and every motion of the Turkmans is marked by dignity and grace. Their language is clear and sonorous, but less soft than that of the capital; expressing, as may be conceived, not abstract ideas, for which the Turkish is indebted to the Arabic alone; but fitted to paint the stronger passions, and to express, in the most forcible and laconic terms, the mandates of authority. Their riches consist of cattle, horses, arms, and various habiliments. How lamentable to think, that with persons so interesting and a character so energetic, they unite such confirmed habits of idleness, violence, fraud, and treachery! From the rising of the sun till his disappearance, the males are employed only in smoking, conversing, inspecting their cattle, or visiting their acquaintance. They watch at night for the purpose of plunder, which among them is honourable, in proportion to the ingenuity of the contrivance, or the audacity of the execution. Their families are generally small, and there seems reason to believe that their numbers are not increasing. My experience among them was too short to enable me to point out the checks which operate to counteract the natural tendency to multiply.

The subsequent anecdote is characteristic of Mr. Browne's promptitude and expertness in oriental customs:

'I embarked in a small boat with several passengers for Larneka in Cyprus, which in Turkish is called Tûsla from the adjacent salt-works. None of the company departed from the rules of civility and mutual forbearance, with the exception of a Derwish. The monastic order called Nakshebendi, to which he belonged, was one of the strictest; yet many individuals who are members of it

* A sword with a broad painted blade, concave, and cutting with one edge, which is nearly straight, or rather inclining inwards, in a contrary direction to the sabre.'

may be said to unite great profligacy, vulgarity, and ignorance, with pretensions to superior sanctity; and gross worldiness and servility, with extraordinary professions of devotion and self-denial. This man talked incessantly in a very forward and irrational manner; and occasionally threw out hints that he suspected me to be a Christian; declaring at the same time how much he despised and hated infidels. His pointless satire I bore for some time very patiently, reserving my reply for a proper occasion. Being one day together at the table of the Custom-house officer, the Derwish suddenly left off eating, and looking directly at me, said, "*La illah ila ullah* *;" to which I instantly replied in a cheerful tone, "*We Mohammed abduhu we rasoulouhu*†;" and I immediately added, "I congratulate myself, father Derwish, on hearing the sacred profession of Islam drop from your tongue; but I should be still better pleased at learning that the faith had place in your heart. God built the Islam on five things; but of the five you possess not one. You receive alms and never give: your knees are bent at table, but never on the carpet of prayer: you abstain from food only when no one will give it to you: your ablutions are performed with dust, when they ought to be performed with water: and your pilgrimage has only been from the Tekié to the brothel: you drink no wine, but you are drunk with opium: and your embroidered cap, instead of being a crown of sanctity, is a mark of folly. With such morals, any marriage that you could contract would not be a marriage, but a repetition of the sensuality to which you are accustomed; and if any one of the true believers in this place should consent to give you his daughter in marriage, I am content to bear all the obloquy that you can utter for a week to come." It may be supposed that I did not venture to talk in this strain without having previously ascertained in what degree of estimation the Derwish was held by the rest of the company; and far from taking his part, they acknowledged by their loud laughter the justice of my reproof.

Though we are by no means disposed to derogate from Mr. Browne's qualifications as an observant traveller and acute geographer, and are willing to allow that Major Rennell's testimony to the merit of his travels in Africa with respect to geographical discovery ought to outweigh the minor exceptions that may be made to the stiffness, and, we may say, heaviness of that production, we must acknowledge our disappointment in the notes of his journey through Asia Minor, inserted in the volume which we are now examining. Colonel Leake's communication, however, of his tour through some of those provinces, amply compensates for the deficiency of Mr. Browne; and as the scientific world is already under no trivial obligations to the enlightened researches and persevering industry of this enterprising officer, the papers inserted

* *There is no other God but God.* † *And Mohammed is his servant.*

by Mr. Walpole have by no means diminished the debt. Asia Minor, with the exception of one or two routes, is still a *terra incognita* to the modern race of travellers. As the ignorance and suspicious nature of the Turks allow them to entertain no idea of scientific travelling, they can scarcely imagine that any other motives would attract a person to so remote a country and so toilsome an expedition, than a preparation for hostile invasion, or a search after hidden treasures. The deserted state of the country, also, which not unfrequently occasions a total want of the common necessities and conveniences of life;—and the enfeebled authority of the government of Constantinople, which often renders its protection ineffectual in its distant dependencies;—are impediments, to which others might be added, that are peculiarly felt in Asia Minor. A disguised dress, the assumption of a medical character, great patience and perseverance, and the sacrifice of all comforts, afford the only chance of investigating the country and even these will be insufficient without an intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the people. Had Burckhardt been spared to science, these interesting provinces, the most highly favoured by nature, though wasted and desolated by the Turk, would have presented a still wider field for those eminent talents, and that unsubdued courage, which enabled him to elucidate the obscure tracts of Egypt and Nubia.

Of modern tourists, two only have traversed this beautiful region for scientific purposes; Paul Lucas in 1705 and 1706, and Captain Kinneir in 1813 and 1814: but their peregrinations consisted merely of three or four routes instead of one; the state of the provinces and various incidental difficulties having rendered every deviation from the main road wholly impracticable. The fact is that the most successful traveller can scarcely hope to effect more than a rapid passage along the principal roads, to obtain a transient glance of some of the remains of antiquity, or to note the distances of places, their relative bearings, and the situations of remarkable towns or mountains. It is therefore obvious that the geography of Asia Minor can be elucidated only by combining the journals of different individuals, and from the information thus collected making a gradual approximation to a detailed map of the country. To this object Mr. Walpole has greatly contributed, by the publication of Colonel Leake's valuable journal of his route through the centre of Asia Minor, from Constantinople to the coast of Cilicia: but we should have been better pleased if the dingy map, in which the respective routes of Koehler, Browne, and Leake are traced, had been omitted altogether. The reader is only encumbered with its assistance.

Scientific geography is apparently a rugged and uninviting pursuit: but it ministers to a nobler and more expanded science, and is a requisite step for him who would acquire by actual survey, or by reading, a minute and accurate view of the world which he inhabits; of man, modified by climate, religion, and polity; and of governments, influenced reciprocally by the characters and dispositions of the different races who are subject to their controul: — the painful but necessary ascent to a vast eminence, whence the mind may expatiate over a large and comprehensive field of contemplation. For this reason, we have no hesitation in recommending to our readers Colonel Leake's concise but masterly review of the present state of the geography of Asia Minor.

Very reluctantly we must pass by several important papers in this valuable miscellany. We have already adverted to the discovery of an antient temple on Mount Ocha in Eubœa, a most important addition to the fortunate results of similar researches in other parts of Greece; — particularly to the excavations in Ægina and Phigaleia, conducted by Mr. Cockerell and Baron Haller. Mr. Hawkins's paper, communicating this discovery, opens with a picturesque and striking description of the dangerous and inhospitable coast of Eubœa, the scene of so many disasters in former times. It is regarded, he tells us, by the Levant sailors as the most dangerous part of their navigation; no bay or harbour being at hand, and the horrors of shipwreck being heightened by the savage character of the inhabitants, who are perpetually watching for these disasters with the rapacity of vultures. The coast rises boldly in a high dorsal ridge, and the summit of Mount Ocha is covered with the dark shadow of the clouds which brood over its awful precipices. We shall give the account of this most interesting discovery in Mr. Hawkins's own words:

‘ I now gradually approached the summit, which was composed of several distinct crags, or rather ledges of rocks; one of which I soon made choice of as a station for my drawings and trigonometrical operations. In the narrow interval between this and the next ledge, I saw, what at the first view might be mistaken for a ruined Greek chapel; no unusual object of occurrence in similar situations. But what was my astonishment, when, on a nearer approach, I discovered, in this ruin, the remains of a Greek temple, of a most ancient and peculiar construction! I must refer the reader to the annexed engraving for a view of this building, and the character of the wild scenery which accompanied it. It is certainly the very last situation where the ruins of a temple might have been expected.

‘ Pausanias speaks of the altars of Jupiter, which were on the summits of several mountains; but mentions no instance of a temple

a temple in such a situation, the dilapidated remains of a temple dedicated to the Cyllenian Mercury: nor can it be said that the temple of Apollo Epicurius was so situated; although its site is unquestionably a very elevated one. I had visited the summits of so many of the highest mountains of Greece, without meeting with any vestiges of antiquity, and was so little prepared to expect a discovery of this kind in a spot so difficult of access, that for some time I could hardly believe the reality of the venerable object of antiquity which presented itself to my view; the total absence of columns, and the usual decorations of temples, having occasioned some degree of ambiguity. My doubts, however, vanished by degrees, the more I examined the plan of the ruin and the various details of its construction. These the reader will find very accurately exhibited in the annexed engravings; and the information which they convey will probably suggest to him the following reflections.

‘ The roof is simply a covering of stone which is made to support itself, and of which no example is known.

‘ That part of the roof, which lies upon the walls counterbalances the weight of that which is between them; or in other words, is sufficient to counterbalance that part which projects inwards and forms the ceiling.

‘ The eastern wall was probably built a little thicker, in order to counterbalance the slabs, that on this side were not bevelled away and notched, as those were on the west.

‘ The inclination of the slabs answered two purposes; first, to throw off the rain; secondly, to throw the weight more upon the wall.

‘ The opening between the opposite projecting stone must have been about two feet, which was probably covered with a ridge stone; the whole being covered with slab stones, of which there are plain indications in the view.

‘ In short, the whole roof appears to have been an affair of calculation; and plainly denotes a considerable progress having been made in the art of building.

‘ Had Pausanias extended his Itinerary to Eubœa, he would have completed the plan of his invaluable work on the Antiquities of Greece; and we should not now be at a loss for the history of this temple. In the absence of any direct information concerning it, we must content ourselves with conjectures. According to Stephanus Byzantinus, Mount Ocha was the scene of an event in the mythological history of the gods, the memory of which might have been consecrated by a dedication of a joint temple to Jupiter and Juno. It is however more probable, that the temple here existing has been dedicated to Neptune; for Strabo, speaking of Geræstus, which was almost at the foot of the mountain, says, “It has likewise a temple of Neptune, which is the most distinguished of all those which are here,” meaning, I suppose, “in this part of the island:” and I cannot help suspecting, when I consider *that the disasters which befell the Grecian fleet on the Capharean promontory were ascribed to the anger of Nauplius, the son of Neptune;*

Neptune; that the whole of this mountainous promontory was in a peculiar manner consecrated to the same divinity. These, I believe, are all the facts or notices which can throw any light upon the history of this temple; and it must be confessed that they lead to no very satisfactory conclusions.'

Mr. Wilkins has communicated to Mr. Walpole's collection an ingenious Dissertation on the Sculptures of the Parthenon. The Elgin Marbles, as they are called, constitute a school of sculpture, of which the models, though they appear little better than mutilated and shapeless fragments, are the most exquisite that have at any period adorned this department of art. It was under the creative hands of Phidias, and the protection of Pericles, that sculpture started at once to life and maturity. Of that great artist, the reputation had hitherto rested on the slender notices of historians; and it was reserved for our own time and country to have his genius, as it were, embodied in actual specimens before our eyes, to confirm the truth of history, and to prove that the revolution of twenty centuries has not only added nothing to this beautiful art, but that even its most triumphant efforts in later times have been vain aspirations after an excellence which has perpetually eluded pursuit, and which is the exclusive boast and glory of that splendid æra.

Such being our impressions, we cannot conceal our regret at observing that Mr. Wilkins begins his disquisition with a remark which considerably derogates from the transcendent merit of these beautiful remains. We were aware, indeed, that this gentleman, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, had unluckily adopted an hypothesis of which we could have hoped that Mr. Payne Knight, who first started it, would have remained the exclusive proprietor; viz. that Phidias never worked in stone, and consequently that the sculptures lately in the Parthenon, and now transferred to England, were executed by inferior artists and assistants. This extraordinary notion has been so triumphantly refuted by M. Visconti*, that we can scarcely persuade ourselves that Mr. Wilkins still adheres to it. Yet what conclusion are we to draw from the position with which he begins his paper, — that the slight notice taken by Pausanias of the sculptures of the two pediments of the Parthenon justifies the inference 'that, however estimable they appear in the eyes of modern criticism, they excited no strong sensation in the mind

* *Lettre au Chev. Canova, et deux Mémoires lus à l'Institut Royal de France, sur les Ouvrages de Sculpture, &c. &c. Par le Chev. VISCONTI. Londres. 1816.*

of the writer accustomed to the contemplation of works of higher pretensions? — We concede, however, to Mr. Wilkins, that it is somewhat singular that so minute a chronicler as Pausanias generally was of these matters has made so light a mention of the great ornaments of the Parthenon: yet we think that various reasons for this circumstance might be assigned. The very celebrity of the great works of the Parthenon, which all successive travellers had described, which all persons who had sojourned in Athens had seen, and of which delineations even to satiety no doubt existed when Pausanias travelled, might in all probability have induced that laborious geographer to satisfy himself with an abbreviated account of the temple. It is common with writers to forget that it is a part of their duty to supply posterity with materials for history, and that matters of vulgar notoriety in their own age become in the progression of time dark and obscure: but, if the scholars and assistants of Callicrates and Ictinus, to whom Mr. Payne Knight attributes these miracles of art, were the sculptors of the Parthenon, that circumstance, on account of its minuteness and particularity, is not likely to have been passed unnoticed by Pausanias; whereas the well-known fact that they were the *chefs d'œuvre* of Phidias and his most distinguished disciples is precisely that which, from its generality, such a writer would deem it superfluous to record. We are, indeed, by no means prepared to assert that these stupendous works were all executed by the hand of that great master: for, considering their number and magnitude, it is perhaps not possible that a single artist could have had a greater share in the ornamental parts of the temple than that of designing them and superintending their execution. With these admissions, ample reason remains to infer that they are as much the productions of Phidias as any great mass of sculpture could be said to be the work of any one artist. It is well known that Alcamenes, the ablest scholar of Phidias, executed the pediments of the temple of Jupiter at Elis, and that they were touched by the Promethean hands of his master: a similar conclusion, therefore, with regard to the Parthenon, is by no means irrational.

We have, however, better testimony; — the applause of the senses echoed by the heart. Who that has seen those exquisite forms of ideal beauty, constituting as it were a mystic chain that unites the external world to the world of imagination and intellect, can contemplate the life, the activity, and the grace expanded over the matchless representation of the Panathenaic procession, and breathing in every figure of its diversified groupes, without the highest species of intellectual gratifi-

gratification, the noblest elevation of the mind, and the proudest expansion of its faculties? Even the mutilated and imperfect figures of the Theseus and Ilissus, destitute as they are of that personal character which delights and interests us in the Apollo or the Laocoon, and therefore less calculated to awaken moral associations than those statues in which the design of the artist is so visibly displayed; — even these models bespeak the divinity of the genius by which they were imagined, and attest the sovereignty of the hand by which they were fashioned, in a language sufficiently intelligible to all who pretend to purity of taste, or accuracy of judgment.

On the remaining parts of Mr. Wilkins's Dissertation, we unhesitatingly pronounce a less qualified panegyric. Pausanias says that "the pediment of the front of the edifice represented the birth of Minerva; and that of the back, the contest of Minerva and Neptune for Attica." The Acropolis being entered from the west, and the east end of the temple having been from a comparatively early modern period built round with Turkish houses, it happened that travellers mistook the west for the front, and the east for the back (*οπισθεν*); and therefore they applied what Pausanias had said of the one to the other. Having once fallen into this error, they persevered in adapting to it the groupes of the several pediments; in short, torturing the birth of Minerva into the contest for Attica. Mr. Wilkins has ably exposed the absurdities of Wheler and Spon, which have been too implicitly followed by Chandler and Stuart on this subject. For ourselves, we had already received our impressions relative to this singular question from the able work of Visconti: — but the reasonings of Mr. Wilkins are learned and ingenious; and we refer the general reader or the virtuoso to his paper, which well deserves the place assigned to it in Mr. Walpole's valuable miscellany.

As this article has already reached so great a length, we can only permit ourselves to speak in terms of general eulogium concerning the learned editor's own contributions; and were we disposed to extract his remarks on the inscriptions discovered in Asia Minor by Colonel Leake and Mr. Cockerell, we should want the requisite types for the purpose. We must conclude, therefore, by observing that a collection more valuable than this for its profound erudition, scientific dissertation, and general information, has rarely issued either from the British or the Continental press.

ART. V. *Saxifragearum Enumeratio. Autore A. H. Haworth, L.S.S., &c. Accedunt Revisiones Plantarum Succulentarum.* 8vo. Harding. 1821.

THE author of this work is considered, both here and on the Continent, to be in all probability better acquainted with succulent plants than any other botanist; and, among various proofs of this just tribute to his merits, we may refer not only to the last edition of *Hortus Kewensis*, where Mr. Aiton (who is called in the *Jardin Royal* at Paris *le petit fils de Philip Miller*) has implicitly followed him, but also to the Prince of Salm Dyck's catalogue, where his authority is not less unequivocally appreciated and maintained. The only point, relative to which we have ever found any deficiency in Mr. Haworth's various publications, is an omission of references to those writers whose books are very scarce or expensive.

In the first part of the present volume, Mr. Haworth's attention is exclusively devoted to the *Saxifragææ*, which are nearly related to many succulent plants, and are regarded by him as a separate natural order. His remarks on this head in his preface will probably induce many botanists to study the book itself, and we shall therefore quote a great part of them. He informs us that

'The old genus *Saxifraga* is here revised, broken down, and remodelled, with a view to lessen its intricacy, which every botanist complains of, by decomposing its incongruous combinations; and from the examination of many newly discovered species, a more commodious and natural distribution of the whole has been attempted; thus dividing the old genus into such new generical groupes as palpably appear to include plants constructed on one model; and resembling each other in habit so closely, that a geologist might say they are evidently all of the same formation. Such the author believes all true genera really to be, while their species and varieties depend on characters of less importance. Such groupes usually themselves point out a common name, which again reciprocally points out the groupe; they are also usually accompanied by corresponding agreements in the parts which compose their fructifications, and from which botanists are enabled to construct technical generic characters; nevertheless this (as is best known to those who have longest laboured at it) is a much less easy business than is generally imagined, and liable, as the canon of Linné asserts, to a multitude of unexpected aberrations. These it is the province of the botanist to overcome; and where the knot is too intricate to be unravelled, he who cuts it in the most ingenious manner still renders a valuable service to the science. It will probably be thought that too many new genera are here made, and from discrepancies too often resulting from habit, and too seldom

seldom from character.* The author begs leave here to refer to what he has said in another place; viz. that it is not a botanist who actually makes genera. He merely attempts by his art to discriminate those which the mighty hands of his own Maker have already made, and sealed, each as it were with some particular mark by which we may know them. If we take character alone, however regardless of habit, as a clue to guide us in the construction of genera, we shall frequently form erroneous conclusions; while, on the contrary, the natural habit, duly appreciated, will serve like beacons and the lights of a lighthouse to direct us to the truth. It may still be said, that so many genera burden the memory, that it is impossible to recollect them, and that sections might answer as well. It is answered, new sections must have new names, and these will equally add to the burden of the mind. It may be replied, it is unnecessary to remember so minutely in any tribe whatever; but those who so think will seldom learn to discriminate either closely or extensively. In some tribes this is absolutely requisite, and if they suppose that half the genera at present on record can be distinctly retained by human memory, they are as much mistaken as one who should say he knew off hand and thoroughly all the words of the English Dictionary. Happily it is quite unnecessary to recollect extemporaneously either all the genera or half the words of the Dictionary, so long as the former are systematically distributed, and the latter submit to the dominion of the alphabet. The author is far from flattering himself that the arrangement of the genera is the best that can be offered; perhaps none upon paper that is continuous or in a straight line can ever be entirely unexceptionable. Every good botanist perceives that a perfectly natural distribution of either genera or species should be made not continuously but circuitously, somewhat resembling a map. As well might geographers endeavour to link kingdoms and counties longitudinally, as a botanist to place genera and species naturally in the continuous way of a straight line. For, the kingdoms and the counties in one case, like the genera and species in the other, mutually approximate, not merely at one point, but almost invariably at many. Thus *Spatularia Stellaris* would be a *Robertsonia* but for its discordant filaments, a *Miscopetalum* but for its reflected calyx, or a *Saxifraga* but for both these characters conjoined. Hence it seems that nothing short of a botanical map can shew fairly to the eye the real but gradual approximation of genera and species towards each other. Closely analogous to this doctrine of the conformity of plants of the same natural genus is the science which displays the geographical stations of genera, or, as we should say in other words, the primæval dispersion of the vegetable kingdom over the face of the earth. And this is both a novel and important study. For the primitive distributions have been by no means vague or indeterminate, but

* In the natural order of *Proteææ*, Salisbury first, and after him Brown, have both proposed genera characterized solely by differences in their habit.

almost always geographically regular, though various natural and even artificial operations have at various epochs very far disturbed the primitive distributions. Such, more especially, as rivers, seas, and floods, and the dreadful concussions of the globe itself; as well as the extensive migrations of birds, quadrupeds, and, lastly, of the human race; each operating more or less in the wide spread of vegetable seeds, which, if the climate be congenial, are thus naturalized in a foreign soil. Hence a geographic botanist can frequently trace the sites of ancient or obliterated towns and cottages, by the exotics remaining long after the desolation of the ruins they inhabit. Through such means, the time may perhaps arrive, when some of the early migrations of the human race may be faintly found, through the vegetables they have left. Thus botany may help to corroborate the sagacity of the antiquarian and of the historian, proving how important the sciences may become to each other through the medium of deductions at first imperceptible.'

Before we proceed to give any farther information respecting this work, we must state our objections to the doctrine above mentioned; namely, that a continuous or longitudinal arrangement of genera and species can never be a natural method. This idea was first obscurely promulgated by Adanson, in vol. i. of his *Familles des Plantes*, where he keeps back the converse of the axiom as a grand secret to be told hereafter; and it is supported by Mr. Robert Brown, and the still higher authority of De Candolle: but we are inclined wholly to deny this doctrine; and we do not see any analogy between the affinities of genera and the juxta-position of different kingdoms on the globe. How widely Linné's ideas on the subject have been misunderstood we long since learnt from Dryander; and those who object to a continuous line of genera can never stand firmly on the high ground which they have climbed in such haste, till they prove that the multifarious resemblances in all created beings are of equal validity, or that characters of primary importance ought to give place to such as are trivial. That the greatest possible discordance in the organs of vegetation must occasionally bow to concordance in the organs of reproduction is proved by *Cassytha* in the order of *Laurææ*; and if any botanist were now to place *Polypodææ* and *Drosirææ* side by side in a natural series, on account of the singular resemblance in their circinated young foliage, he would scarcely be considered as sane. In truth, those physical principles, at which Linné has hinted in his *Amœnitates Academicæ*, and by which we suspect that the vegetables at present existing have been originally created, (that is, the mixture for a certain period of very different genera,) must necessarily leave the new productions at various distances

distances between their common parents. Even at the present day, among seedlings of one and the same individual oak or beech, remarkable differences of habit spring up; some of the young plants aspiring to be tall and slender, and others growing dwarfish and bushy; some have broad and almost entire leaves, others small dentated leaves: but surely no sound philosopher will assert that, in a natural series of these trifling varieties, they can be mixed together at random as in their native seed-bed. Moreover, in a continuous series, whether of tribes, classes, orders, genera, species, or varieties, every collateral resemblance may be demonstrated to the eye by lines carried from one to the other, or to the mind by Arabic numerals; and to these latter four easy different powers, expressing so many different shades of affinity, may be given by placing a comma, semicolon, colon, or period, after each.

Mr. Haworth commences with a more complete character of the order than any before published, and then divides it into three sections, of *Decandrous*, *Octandrous*, and *Pentandrous* genera. The first decandrous section, being very numerous, is subdivided into two parts by its univalvular and bivalvular fruits; the former of these again into two more parts by its straight or reflexed calyces; and both these latter parts are still farther subdivided by characters taken from their habit. The genera are *Megasea*, *Dermasea*, *Chondrosea*, *Miscopetalum*, *Lobaria*, *Tridactylites*, *Saxifraga*, *Muscaria*, *Leptasca*, *Hirculus*, *Ciliuria*, *Antiphylla*, *Micranthes*, *Aulaxis*, *Spatularia*, *Ligularia*, *Robertsonia*, *Mitella*, *Tiarella*, *Chrysosplenium*, *Adoxa*, and *Henchera*. The first of these, *Megasea*, has long been separated and called *Bergenia* by Moench. To what character Mr. H. alludes in his name of *Dermasea*, we do not know or even guess. *Chondrosea* is no doubt applied from the cartilaginous particles and granular spots of its leaves and flowers. *Miscopetalum* would perhaps have been more correctly designated by the term *Mischalla*, $\mu\iota\sigma\chi\omicron\varsigma$, *pedicellus*, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ *alius*, *partibus aliter quam in affinibus stipitatis*. The name of *Lobaria* must be changed, being previously occupied by *Acharius*; and *Antiphylla* would have sounded more like a noun-substantive that can stand by itself in the neuter gender *Antiphyllon*, as *Rhododendron*, *Leucadendron*, *Polycarpon*, *Memecylon*, *Lycoperdon*, *Tragopogon*, *Dodecatheon*, *Codon*. Mr. Haworth prefixes to this part (written at his estate near Hull as far back as 1817) the following modest quotation from Saussure: "The more I observe, the more I find the necessity of observation: and the less I rely upon what I have observed;" and this remark is now become still more appropriate

by an essay which we are informed will soon appear on *Saxifragæ* from the pen of Mr. Don.

Part II. is a revision of and additions to Mr. H.'s former publications on succulent plants; of which, having devoted so much space to the first part, our report must be short. Here he separates those highly ornamental plants common in our glass-houses, *Crassula Jasminea*, *Odoratissima*, *Bicolor*, *Vericolor*, *Media*, and *Coccinea*, from *Larochea* of De Candolle, by the name of *Kalosanthes*, and we think on sound principles; because, though the essential differences in their flowers are few, those few are very striking. *Turgosea* and *Holulea*, for two other genera, are less tenable words, especially the former. After *Oerea*, (for which he prefers Adanson's abominable Chinese name of *Kalanchoe*,) *Anacampseros* of Ray and Tournefort is restored. Then *Bulbine* of Willdenow is justly adopted. Several of the *Aloes*, confounded in our stores under the names of *Africana* and *Ferox*, are next defined, and separated as a genus, with the name of *Pachydendron*, rightly terminating in *on*. *Aloe Plicatilis* of Linné is here named *Rhipidodendrum*. *Cactus* is subdivided as by the old botanists. Two new species are added to the anomalous *Rhipsalis*, and many more to the vast genus of *Mesembryanthemum*. This last, for the present, Mr. H. divides into 69 sections, which we have no doubt are strictly natural. Relative to these he says,

'It is to be believed that the above groupes comprise several true genera. Nevertheless, their actual limits and characteristics (except in *M. Glabrum* hereunder detached) lie veiled in difficulties, which thus far at least escape development and defy research. And yet the author once had vainly hoped, that the *Minima*, from their tubular corolla, the *Linguiformia* from their multilocular capsules, the *Articulata* from their singular calyx, the *Bracteata* from their small number of true filaments and continually open flowers, the *Megacephala*, and *Perfoliata*, &c. &c. might have constituted distinct genera, and they possibly are such. But he has been hitherto effectually foiled by such insensible shades and gradations of character, among species of the same section, that he has not yet been able to reconcile their discrepancies. He does not however completely despair, and with some hopes of ulterior success has again taken all the species into cultivation.'

In so desirable a pursuit, we are confident that the author has the warm wishes and will obtain the assistance of every botanist at home and abroad: and, as far as our own experience warrants us in the remark, we conclude by saying to him, *Divide et impera*.

ART. VI. *The Dublin Hospital-Reports, and Communications in Medicine and Surgery.* Vols. I. and II. 8vo. pp. 366. and pp. 396. Dublin, Hodges and M'Arthur; London, Longman and Co.

IT gives us very sincere pleasure to introduce to the notice of our readers this additional result of the awakened exertions of our medical brethren of the sister-island. That they have remained so long comparatively silent, amid the literary bustle which agitated the profession in other parts of the empire, has arisen neither from deficiency of talent nor from want of means of medical observation; and the opportunities which the metropolis of Ireland affords for the study of disease, and the prosecution of anatomical research of every description, point it out as the seat of a school destined at no remote day to occupy a very high place among the scientific establishments of Europe. The causes of such distinction, however, are calculated to awaken feelings of a painful character; since the richest field for the physician, the anatomist, the pathologist, and the surgeon, is that which most abounds in human wretchedness, destitution, and profligacy. The existence of those evils, so excessive in the capital of Ireland, has led to the institution of the numerous and princely charities with which it abounds, for the reception of the insane, the foundling, the syphilitic, the pregnant, and the diseased of every kind and description. To recite their names would be a needless task: but we believe that they are more numerous in proportion to the population, than the corresponding receptacles and hospitals in London. That the medical officers of these noble establishments should be enabled to produce annually such reports of the general occurrences in their several institutions, and of individual cases, as may prove highly interesting and instructive to the members of the profession, every person must be prepared to expect: but to render the publication still more valuable, its pages are liberally opened to the meritorious communications of medical practitioners in every part of the island. Each volume consists of two parts; — the first containing medical and surgical reports; — the second, miscellaneous communications of the same nature.

Both the first and the second volumes commence with a *Report from Dr. Cheyne of the Hardwicke Fever-hospital.* — In the first of his papers, he has presented us with an excellent account of the fever which prevailed in Dublin, immediately before the appearance in that city of the epidemic fever which spread such alarm throughout the United Kingdoms.

doms. Like that great observer Sydenham, Dr. Cheyne is a believer in the general similarity of character which diseases assume in individual periods, and in the necessity therefore of studying the epidemic constitution of the time, to enable us to treat its diseases with success; while in his manner, also, we think that we can trace evident marks of a careful and intelligent perusal of the writings of the greatest of English physicians. The first of the reports before us embraces a period from April, 1816, to March of the succeeding year, inclusive; during which 780 patients were admitted into Dr. C.'s wards in the Hardwicke Fever-hospital. Of these, 53 died, but 13 of that number from disease different from fever, giving as the proportion of deaths from fever one in $19\frac{1}{2}$. The general character of the malady was that of inflammatory affection of the mucous membrane of the stomach and intestines: epigastric tenderness was very common; and in one or two cases, the appearances after death seemed distinctly to denote the previous existence of peritoneal inflammation. During the severe weather of December and January, the fever was accompanied by well marked bronchial and thoracic inflammation. That the febrile cases under Dr. C.'s care were not by any means of a highly contagious nature is sufficiently apparent from the circumstance, that, out of 23 hospital-attendants, not one was affected with fever during the year 1816. Considering the disease as at least of a sub-inflammatory character, Dr. Cheyne was induced to employ the lancet: but he appears to have used this remedy with much caution and reserve. Of the extent to which depletion was carried in particular cases, we cannot form any notion, as he has merely stated generally the number of ounces of blood drawn, with the number of leechings, and of cuppings, in the several wards during the twelve months specified: whence it appears that, in the treatment of 780 patients, 587 ounces of blood were taken by venesection, and 171 leechings and 35 cuppings had been ordered. Of the 40 fatal cases, 21 were blooded; and 10 ounces formed the average quantity taken at one operation. In the use of the lancet, he was rarely guided by the state of the pulse, which he considers as a most fallacious aid: but tumour, tenderness of the belly, pain, and anxiety, are regarded by him as affording distinct indications for blood-letting.

In the latter stage of the disease, and under symptoms of debility, Dr. C. is by no means averse to the use of stimulants and cordials. In the 780 cases already mentioned, he states that he prescribed during the year not less than 8287 ounces of port wine, $29\frac{1}{2}$ pints of punch, and 1011 pints of porter.

porter. To shew the very judicious discrimination which marks his practice, we quote the following passage :

‘ During the course of my practice, I have had several opportunities of seeing patients in fevers, more especially those advanced in life, fall into a state of helpless debility, unable to move to either side, with a hot and harsh skin, a quick and weak pulse, a faded, muddy, chlorotic complexion, without any affection of the lungs or brain, or complaint of any thing. They withered, as it were, and one knew not why. I used to imagine that this state of adynamia arose from want of re-action, or from exhaustion of the vital principle after excessive re-action ; in truth I knew not how to explain the matter. Such cases occurred during the present species of fever, in which it was proved by dissection, that the mucous membrane of the stomach and intestines was the seat of the disease. Instead of giving cordials in such cases, on which I thought our hopes solely depended, I would now apply leeches and large blisters to the abdomen. I would give a mild emetic in some cases, camphor and nitre in most, and glysters ; as by such means, with fomentations to the legs and a very cautious use of cordials, I, in several very unpromising cases, succeeded in restoring the patient to health.’ (Vol. i. p. 37.)

This truly valuable paper is prefaced by a statement of the situation, arrangement, and interior economy of the Hardwicke Fever-hospital ; and by an account of the peculiarly wretched objects who form the principal part of its inmates.

In the second report, Dr. C. refers chiefly to the epidemic which was diffused so extensively over Ireland ; and its commencement in the metropolis is thus noted :

‘ On the 1st of September (1817) fifteen patients applied for admission, a circumstance which, as accounts had been received from all parts of Ireland of the prevalence of fever, the governors of the House of Industry thought it their duty to report without delay to the Lord Lieutenant. This precaution was not an unnecessary one, for, in the course of a week, 100 patients were admitted, the usual weekly average being 27.’ (Vol. ii. p. 39.)

He goes on to state the measures adopted for the suppression of the fever, and concludes by remarking ; ‘ Such was the provident care of government, that with the exception of one day, every person in fever, who applied to be taken into an hospital, was received during the autumn, winter, spring, and summer of 1817 and 1818.’ (Vol. ii. p. 43.) On this point, however, he is completely at issue with Dr. Harty* ; who asserts that in 1818 “ there were, between the 1st of Janu-

* See our account of Dr. Harty’s publication, Rev. for September last.

ary and the 22d of March, 1871 applicants for admission into Cork-street Hospital, of whom only 1345 could be received there; of the remainder, a large proportion may have been removed to other hospitals, yet not without delay and consequent mischief. In some cases it has been well ascertained, that so many of a family have been lying under fever at the same time, as to be unprovided with a single attendant, or with a messenger to deliver their application for relief at any of the hospitals." (Harty, p. 49., note.) On the subject of the measures recommended by the physicians of the House of Industry, and adopted by government, we have already expressed our opinion, when noticing the work of Dr. Harty.

The general character of the epidemic fever was, according to Dr. Cheyne, synochus; although the majority of writers have been inclined to rank the disease under typhus. In some, the accession of the fever was preceded by great dejection of spirits for several days; others continued at their work after their illness had commenced under the form of head-ache, frequently intermitting; and, in a few, the disease began with intense head-ache, laying the patient at once prostrate under its attack. Generally speaking, however, the commencement of the complaint presented nothing unusual. Symptoms of pulmonic irritation usually prevailed early. Of 175 patients admitted into two wards during the months of April, May, and June, at least three-fourths had cough, with pains or stitch, oppression in the chest, or quickened respiration; and, in the two succeeding months, nearly one half were similarly affected. To these symptoms, in the severe cases, about eight or ten days from the commencement of the disease, unsteadiness of the mind succeeded, with suffused eyes and nocturnal delirium. The restless delirium, of which Dr. C. gives a very excellent description, sooner or later degenerated into sopor, with the accompaniment of mild typhoid symptoms. The appearance of delirium was often followed by abatement of the pulmonic irritation, and of the head-ache. Petechiæ were of very common occurrence; and, from the observation of the author, they seemed to have no connection with the temperature of the patient's body, but to depend on the severity of the disease and the disturbed state of the sensorium. Yellowness of the skin was very frequent, and sometimes took place very suddenly. It is remarkable that, in this disease, a high temperature of the body seemed to afford rather a favourable prognosis; for it was observed that the greater number of deaths occurred in cases in which the temperature was low.

Dr. C. states that he always obtained more information of his

his patient's condition from his respiration than from his pulse, and more from his pulse than from his temperature. The disease in many cases gradually abated: but crisis was not unfrequent; sometimes by diarrhoea, at others by rigor and perspiration. Relapses appear to have occurred in the proportion of 1 in 30. The abstraction of blood was practised rather generally in this disease, and with apparent benefit: but the free use of the lancet appears seldom to have been adopted by Dr. C.: — 12 ounces were rarely exceeded at one venesection, and 10 ounces are stated as the average quantity. Wine was now administered in a larger proportion than in the fever of the preceding year; 701 patients being allowed 8860 ounces: but, to balance this increase, they had in addition only $7\frac{1}{2}$ pints of punch, and 86 pints of porter; so that the treatment on the whole was less stimulant in the epidemic of 1817. The proportion of deaths was 1 in $16\frac{1}{3}$: but so great was the number of moribund cases admitted, that Dr. C. gives the real proportion, when these are deducted, as under 1 in 30. 'Nay,' he observes, 'from December to the end of June, in our whole hospital-establishment, it would not have been 1 in 40.' The most common sequelæ of this fever were phthisis pulmonalis, dysentery, and dropsical affections. Some instances occurred of loss of voice and hearing, paralysis, icterus, melaena, and hæmatemesis. The contagious nature of the epidemic is sufficiently established. Eight or nine medical gentlemen were affected with fever: all the servants, whose business it was to remove the clothes of the patients on their admission, were severely afflicted with it; and also most of the unseasoned nurses. Contagion alone, however, without other auxiliary influences, was not always sufficient to produce the disease; of which a very remarkable proof is furnished by the comparative infrequency of fever among the troops both in Dublin and other parts of Ireland, although their intercourse with the infected was notorious, and could not have been prevented. We have learned that the same fact was strikingly exemplified with regard to the military, both in barracks and billets, in a large and populous city of our own island, where fever was excessively prevalent.

A very instructive table of the fatal cases is given by Dr. C., exhibiting a view of the most important symptoms, and of the appearances discovered after death. It would seem that, in almost all, were detected more or less distinct traces of an inflammatory state in the brain or its membranes; in no case did he discover pus; and in one, only, coagulable lymph in this organ. In a case in which distinct typhoid symptoms had existed.

existed, no disease could be detected, except adhesion of the pleura; and in another, where coma had apparently succeeded to high delirium, the encephalon was healthy, but the mesentery and membranes within the chest shewed numerous spots of extravasated blood, with traces of inflammation. Epigastric tenderness seemed uniformly to arise from an inflammatory affection of the mucous membrane of the stomach, and yellowness of the skin to depend almost always on obstruction of the gall-ducts by calculi, or on changes in the organic structure of the liver.

The space which we have allotted to the consideration of these two papers sufficiently indicates our opinion of their merits.

To return to the first volume of this work; in the second paper, Dr. Edward Percival has forcibly called our attention to the *Influence of the Organs of Digestion and Assimilation on the deranged State of the Mental Faculties*. His statements, however, tend to shew rather that the morbid condition of the stomach and intestinal canal accompanies and aggravates the mental alienation, than that it gives rise to that melancholy disease. The subject is discussed under the heads of *Intestinal Torpor with increased Secretion from the Mucous Membrane, Diarrhoea, voracious and depraved Appetite, and Aversion to Food*. The paper is closed by remarks on maniacal epilepsy, with cases illustrative of the utility of the spirit of turpentine as an aperient and restorative in this usually hopeless malady.

Dr. Colles has described a light *Apparatus for the Treatment of Club-foot*, which he has found effectual when applied within the first six months after birth. A similar instrument, of much stronger materials, was tried by him in cases from 3 to 12 years of age, but without success; and he candidly admits that his apparatus is much less efficient in affections of long standing than that of Scarpa. In a dissection of club-foot, of which Dr. C. has given an account, the most striking peculiarity of form was the curvature and elongated tarsal head of the astragalus. — Two plates are appended, one representing the skeleton of the foot just mentioned, and the other shewing the apparatus recommended.

The fourth paper contains *Observations on the Remittent Fever, and on the Plague which prevailed in the Island of Corfu during 1815 and 1816*, by Dr. Goodison; and the fifth presents *An Account of the Removal of a Tumour situated beneath the Angle of the Jaw*, by Dr. Cusack of Dublin. It was of a large size, extending from the lobe of the ear to the lower border of the thyroid cartilage, pushing into the mouth, and im-
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peding deglutition and respiration. In the progress of the dissection, the external carotid was found lying on its outer edge, and was secured by a ligature. The tumour was so strongly attached to the corner of the os hyoides, that a quarter of an inch of that bone came away along with its root, and an equal portion was removed by the scissors in consequence of its diseased state.

In the sixth article we have an interesting *Account* by Dr. Edward Percival of an *Epidemic Petechial Febricula*. The treatment consisted only in gentle purgatives: but Dr. P. states that he would have resorted to more active remedies, (emetics and cold affusion,) had he seen the disease in its commencement.

The same gentleman next presents us with some *Brief Notices of the Deleterious and Medicinal Effects of Green Tea*. — Two cases are given of the powerful effects of a strong infusion of this herb on the action of the heart and arteries; and we can vouch for the accuracy of the detail of symptoms, from the effects which we have ourselves experienced from the same beverage. The remedies for the poison of green tea are brandy, ether, and opium; and, on the other hand, Dr. P. has very judiciously added some reflections on the use of the infusion of green tea, as an antidote against excessive doses of the substances just mentioned. He recommends it also in suppurative fever, such as accompanies pulmonary phthisis; and in dropsical affections, in which last it proves an useful auxiliary to other diuretics.

Observations on Hernia, by Mr. C. H. Todd, of the Richmond Surgical Hospital. — This paper is opened by some diffuse critical remarks on the anatomy of hernia, in which we have not been able to observe any thing peculiarly novel or interesting. Several excellent cases are briefly detailed by Mr. T., which evince his superior surgical talents.

Dr. Cheyne has presented an interesting illustration of the *alternating diseased Action of the Mucous Membrane of the Stomach and Intestines, and of the Peritoneum*. A case of *melæna* and a case of dysentery are given in farther corroboration of his opinion: both of which alternated with peritonæal dropsy.

The same able physician next supplies a case of fever, accompanied by yellowness of the skin, which terminated fatally. The dissection did not detect any redundant secretion of bile, nor any disease or obstruction of the biliary organs. Dr. C. very judiciously questions the propriety of treating this case with wine and mercurials, as he did; and the latter part of the paper contains some very pertinent remarks

on the doubtful use of mercury in all cases of jaundice from diseased liver; and on the occurrence of that affection during a mercurial course. That jaundice often arises during the use of mercury, and apparently from its action, is a curious fact; which, however, was long ago pointed out by Mr. John Pearson.

Dr. Colles furnishes the next paper, on the subject of *Trismus Nascentium*. — He has made numerous dissections of infants who fell victims to this affection; and he states that he has discovered traces of inflammation in the extremities of the umbilical arteries, and neighbouring parts, to which he would ascribe the occurrence of these fatal spasms. We believe that a very irritated state of the umbilicus may produce the disease, but we have no doubt that it proceeds also from other causes; as confinement in impure air, deranged state of the bowels, and a morbid condition of the nurse's milk. In one case, which occurred to our observation, we felt inclined to ascribe the attack of trismus to a too early vaccination within the month. It has been stated to Dr. C. that the disease has been avoided among the infant-slaves in Jamaica by cold bathing, and dressing the umbilicus with spirit of turpentine; but we have little confidence in this preventive treatment. He asks whether the cord can be tied close to the abdomen, at a part covered with skin, and hints that this might prove useful as a security against umbilical hernia, as well as trismus. We have seen the cord inadvertently tied in the manner proposed by Dr. C., with the effect of producing alarming irritation.

Dr. Percival relates a case of *Dropsy by Conversion of the Disease from the Skin to Serous and Cellular Membrane*. — It is an instance of inflammatory ascites and anasarca, contemporaneous with the fading of a severe cutaneous eruption.

In the next paper, we have the *History of a Wound of the Neck, in which the common Carotid was tied successfully*, by Dr. John Browne. — The treatment is highly creditable to the operator; but it is singular that, after he had tightened the ligature, in removing the finger from the wound in the artery, and sponging the orifice, the bleeding recurred even more profusely than before; and that it was stopped by re-applying the finger, and did not return. If the hemorrhage arose, as the author thinks, from anastomosing vessels, it is very remarkable that it did not recur when the pressure was removed; and it is worthy of notice that, after the profuse bleedings which took place previous to and during the operation, it was found necessary the day afterward to take from the arm not less than 35 ounces of blood.

Mr. Todd

Mr. Todd gives an interesting though brief account of *Ruptured Intestine*; which occurred in consequence of a fall when the stomach and duodenum were distended with food. 'The upper part of the jejunum was found completely torn off from the duodenum; the ends of the ruptured intestine were found separated from each other for nearly an inch; and the mucous membrane everted for some space on both parts.'

In an excellent paper by Dr. Cheyne on the *Efficacy of James's Powder in the Apoplectic Diathesis*, several interesting cases are related in proof of the virtues of this medicine. The powder is at first given in the dose of two grains, and afterward increased by the addition of half a grain or a grain every night, till in this way 18 or 20 grains are taken without inconvenience, or even any remarkable sensible effect.

Mr. Todd, who has contributed largely to these volumes, next gives the *History of a remarkable Enlargement of the Biliary Duct*. — In this very singular case, a fluctuation was felt in the epigastric region, and supposed to arise from hepatic abscess: but, when it was punctured, above two quarts of bilious fluid escaped. On examination after death, the hepatic and common ducts were found enormously enlarged, forming a sac stretching from the porta of the liver to the os sacrum, and covering the anterior surface of the right kidney with the greater part of the left. The cyst contained a quart of bile, and its interior was lined with a gritty deposit. The liver was not enlarged, but of a healthy structure: the gall-bladder was empty, and contracted. The *ductus communis* was obliterated at its extremity, in consequence of an indurated state of the pancreas, which had involved all the neighbouring parts in inflammation.

The first volume is closed by an *Essay on Periostitis*, by Dr. Crampton, which we have perused with much gratification. He has here satisfactorily established the existence of this painful affection, independent altogether of any specific diseases. Dr. C. very properly recommends the early division of the thickened membrane; and in chronic cases, he lays down a very excellent plan of constitutional treatment by country-air, sea-bathing, and sarsaparilla. Several highly interesting and instructive cases are detailed.

Vol. II. commences with Dr. Cheyne's report on fever, already considered; after which Mr. Todd supplies an extended *Report of certain Affections of the Penis, with the Modes of Treatment adopted in the Richmond Surgical Hospital*. — He confesses that he is still unacquainted with the pathognomonic symptom of true venereal sore, and declares that he has seen ulcers accurately presenting the Hunterian characters.

characters, where no syphilitic taint could be suspected. The subject is involved in much obscurity, which is no doubt increased by the invincible tendency of patients to falsify the histories of their disease. We have, however, made one very important step in the knowledge of syphilis, by ascertaining that it is curable without mercury, and that its true character is no longer to be decided by the influence which mercury or other remedies may exert over it. Mr. Todd does not seem to consider the experiments and inquiries of others, on this subject, as intitled to the praise which we feel that they merit; and, to prove their want of originality, he details the judicious limitations of Mr. Henthorn in the use of mercury for syphilis. We believe, however, that Mr. H., whatever he might think of the impropriety of administering this mineral in particular circumstances of the disease, did not question the absolute necessity of its use for the complete eradication of true syphilis.

Several very interesting cases are given of persons infected with symptoms resembling syphilis, by the contact of diseased infants. We have often thought that a careful review of all such cases, and a comparison of them with the other forms of syphilis communicable by drinking from the same vessel, &c., would probably throw much light on the true nature of the complaint, and on the peculiarities of its early history when it prevailed as an epidemic. We are happy to observe that this report, of which we must express our high approbation, is to be continued.

An account of the *Obliteration of the Abdominal Aorta*, by Dr. Goodison; with *Remarks*, by Dr. Ph. Crampton. — This great arterial trunk was found obliterated by a deposition of lymph within its cavity, from the origin of the inferior mesenteric artery, as far as and even into the commencement of the iliacs. It appears that this change had been the result of disease and dilatation of the coats of the vessel.

Of the three following papers we can afford space only for the titles: *Case of Femoral Aneurism cured by tying the External Iliac Artery*, by S. Wilmot, M.D., &c. *Case of Apoplexy, in which the fleshy Part of the Heart was converted into Fat*, by J. Cheyne, M.D., &c. *Case of Suffocation produced by a Portion of solid Food in the Œsophagus*, by J. Kirby, A.B. &c.

Account of a Disease named Berri Berri, by J. Ridley, Surg. R. Art. — This affection is endemic in Ceylon, where the author had an opportunity of seeing it, and the misfortune of suffering under its effects. In his case, which is detailed, the attack of berri berri seems to have originated from the excessive

excessive fatigues of his professional duties. It appears to commence in an inflammatory anasarca, and terminate in general dropsy. The treatment consisted in the employment of stimulants, purgatives, and diuretics. Might not blood-letting in the early stage prove highly beneficial?

Mr. Proudfoot, surgeon of the 27th Regiment, gives an *Account of the Endemic Fever of Carthagera, as it appeared in 1812*; — and Dr. Colles then favours us with an *Account of a Disease of the Lymphatic Glands of the Groin*. — We cannot agree with Dr. C. in his opinion that the frequency of pulse and the head-ache, which he has observed in this affection, intitle it to be considered as a distinct disease; nor do we concur with him in thinking that it is not of a strumous character.

We are again indebted to Mr. Todd for an account of what he names *Paronychia Gangrenosa*, which consists merely in vesications, and superficial gangrenous spots, on the extremities of the fingers. This affection occurs in elderly persons who are too lowly fed, and is connected with a deranged state of the digestive functions. A stimulant treatment, with purgatives and mercurials, proved successful.

Dr. J. Crampton gives a report of a *diseased Appearance in the Intestines of Children*; which was an affection of the mucous membrane, chiefly of the large intestines, occurring sometimes in the form of small tubercles, and at others in that of ulcers: — the latter being perhaps merely the advanced stage of the disease. It accompanied the epidemic fever during the spring of 1818; and the facts detailed by Dr. Crampton serve well to illustrate the views of Dr. Cheyne in his first report. The treatment consisted principally in the use of leeches, warm bathing, and mild purgatives, followed by Dover's powders, with the blue pill, and hydragyrus cum creta, with rhubarb.

In a *Case of Gun-shot Wound*, related by Mr. Kirby, the patient is stated to have lived for more than seven months after the accident. On dissection, an abscess was found in the left hemisphere of the cerebrum, containing something more than an ounce of pus, and a large ragged portion of a bullet. 'There were several pieces of bone within the substance of the brain at different distances from its surface, and some had passed altogether through it, and lay below the hemisphere.—The ventricles contained upwards of a pint of fluid. The remainder of the brain was remarkably firm, and free from all appearance of inflammation.'

Dr. Pitcairn has detailed a case of *Disease of the Gums, which occurred during Pregnancy*. Although not important, it is curiously illustrative of the wide extent of uterine influence.

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The succeeding paper, by Dr. Cusack, reports *Two Cases of ruptured Bladder, from Accident*. — In one, an attempt was made to relieve the sufferer by puncturing the abdomen, and drawing off the effused urine; and a large quantity was in this manner evacuated, but only with temporary benefit.

Mr. Mac Dowel gives a *Case of Acute Rheumatism terminating in Peritonitis*. — The inflammation of the peritonæum succeeded to abatement of rheumatic affection of the knee-joint: but, after death, the traces of inflammation were still very distinct in both of these cavities. We have met with a case somewhat similar, in which a copious effusion of lymph and serum into the bag of the pleura destroyed a patient who was affected with rheumatism of the knee-joint; and, in this instance also, the cavity of the joint was filled with inflammatory effusion.

In a case of *Sudden Death from Oxalic Acid*, related by Dr. John Mollan, the right cavities of the heart were found distended with air, which had not the slightest offensive odour; and bubbles of air floated on the liquid blood which they contained. The stomach appeared at its great extremity as if it had been corroded by a strong caustic.

Dr. Colles next supplies an *Account of the Dissection of Eleven Cases of Fracture of the Neck of the Thigh-bone*. — In none of them was the union complete by callus, but it was more or less perfectly accomplished by the interposition of ligamentous or cartilaginous substance. In every instance, the capsular ligament was much thickened, but in one only did it appear to have been lacerated. Dr. C. states that in three of the cases the fracture was incomplete.

In the concluding paper, Dr. Ryan has detailed five successful *Cases of the Operation for Artificial Pupil*; in some of which he performed the simple incision of the iris by the knife of Adams, and in the others removed a portion of it by prolapsus and excision. He has shewn that the interposition of any portion of the lens between the lips of the divided iris is not necessary to success, as Adams has asserted. In one case of blindness of both eyes from partial opacity of the cornea, Dr. R. succeeded in greatly extending the sphere of vision, by forming the artificial pupil in a different situation in each eye. The last cure is an instance of successful restoration of distorted pupil from adhesion of the iris, by introducing a small round-pointed iris-knife, and dividing the unnatural attachment to the cornea. — This modest and sensible paper, which calls for our unqualified approbation, is illustrated by three plates.

The volume is closed by an address to the medical practitioners of Ireland, requesting answers to numerous queries respecting

respecting the late epidemic fever ; and the editors state that replies have been received from many individuals, but that from others no communication has reached them. It is intimated that an ample report of the epidemic is now preparing, and will appear in the third volume.

ART. VII. *The Favourite of Nature ; a Tale.* 12mo. 3 Vols. 1l. 1s. sewed. Whittakers. 1821.

THE labours of those idle or curious people, who take the trouble of turning over the pages of the thousand works of fiction with which our modern press is continually teeming, may perhaps be compared to the task to which the inhabitants of Africa sometimes submit, when they wash the sand of an unproductive river for the small but rich portion of golden grains which it affords. Having ourselves had some experience in the former occupation, we can imagine the delight of the swarthy labourer when he discovers the glittering treasure which is to reward his exertions, by the sentiment of satisfaction which we have felt when, perchance, a good novel has fallen unexpectedly into our hands ; — a novel fit to be *swallowed*, according to Lord Bacon's second definition of books : for, though such a work can scarcely be classed among those which are to be *chewed and digested*, yet it is certainly above those which, according to the same authority, are only to be *tasted*.

We have been induced, then, to notice the volumes which form the subject of the present article by a sense of justice ; — this being the only return which it is in our power to make for the pleasure that we have experienced in the perusal of them. Indeed, this branch of our literature is by no means so unimportant as not to claim the attention of those who watch over the progress of letters ; for the influence of works of fiction over the morals and manners of the people is perhaps greater than that of any other class of writings : but the great quantity of useless or pernicious novels which daily issue from the press renders it impossible to keep an account of their demerits ; and therefore all that remains in our power is to point out such as appear to us most deserving of attention and encouragement. Among these, 'The Favourite of Nature' is certainly intitled to be ranked ; and we shall now endeavour to give some idea of this tale, as well as of the moral which it is written to inculcate.

The fortunes and fate of Eliza Rivers, a beautiful, accomplished, and high-minded creature, form the subject of these volumes. At the age of nineteen she entered into the world
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with all the endowments that nature can bestow, and all the advantages which art can furnish. With talents of the most brilliant order, and with a kind and warm heart, nothing appeared to be wanting to render her that "faultless monster," a perfect character, but a well-regulated mind. Possessing, however, an ardent imagination, and the quickest and most sensitive feelings, she had never been accustomed to the exertion of self-control; and the very fascination, which the power of her loveliness and wit threw around her, only rendered her prospects of happiness more insecure. Painfully alive to every impression of outward circumstances, all the gifts of nature and fortune often failed to insure her tranquillity and contentment. In a mind like hers, however, the arts and elegant literature found a powerful interest, and repaid her devotion by the additional charms with which they invested her character. She was in short an English *Corinna*; no servile copy of the brilliant Italian model, but possessing the same dignity of intellect, the same splendor of talents, and the same energy of feeling, all mellowed down into that more reserved and engaging form which distinguishes the character of English women. At the period when the tale commences, Miss Rivers had just lost the last survivor of all her near relations, and was compelled to leave the scenes in which she had passed her happy childhood for the hospitable roof of her guardian, Mr. Henley, the rector of Fairfield:—between whose daughter Louisa, and his new ward, very few points of resemblance could be found. The mind of Louisa was gentle, tranquil, and composed: her happiness consisted in the quiet and unostentatious performance of the few humble duties which were imposed on her; and she found the richest recompence in her own cheerful reflections, and her father's approving smile.

A short time after the arrival of Eliza at Fairfield, a visitor made his appearance in the village, in the person of Sir George Melmoth, a frank and good-humoured man, but with few pretensions to mental superiority. He could not, therefore, be supposed likely to captivate the heart of Eliza: but, soon after his arrival, he was joined by his friend Waldegrave, who was fitted in every way to attract her admiration and love. To the perfect finish of a gentleman, he united the dignity of a man of sense and reflection, and the accomplishments of a scholar. Despising a passing warning which she had received, of the fickleness of Waldegrave's attachments, Eliza became quickly interested in his favour; and the loss of all her near and early friends, perhaps, rendered the respectful kindness and admiration of a stranger more than usually soothing

soothing and delightful. At length, the period of Waldegrave's stay expired, and her talents and affections were again left without an object. Her temperament was not that of happiness ; and, even in the presence of those who were dearest to her, an undefined sensation of future evil would flit across her mind.

‘ Near to the spot they were then passing stood Fairfield church. A stream of pensive chastened light rested upon the humble house of prayer. She could distinguish the pale marble monument, beneath which her unremembered parents — and her poor grandmother — all the ties — all the connections that had ever loved her — slept in death. She dwelt on all she had lost — she turned with trembling anticipation to all that remained ; — strange associations of ideas and ill-defined forebodings flitted before her mind. Through all of them prevailed that vague but strong presentiment of evil, which in sending fancy to expatiate upon futurity makes us shrink and shudder and recoil at the shapeless mysterious images she conjures up to harass and perplex us, and amid which, horrid as they are, the mind appears to be fascinated and spell-bound — and almost to love to linger. No effort could shake from her these emotions. “ I shall never be happy — I shall never be happy,” she mentally repeated, till tears, visible tears, fast falling down her cheeks, gave some relief to the fulness of her oppressive feelings.’ (Vol. i. p. 230.)

Time and absence, however, served to weaken and almost to deaden the emotions which Waldegrave had excited in her bosom ; — and now a second hero arrived. Mortimer Durand, a young clergyman, and the nephew of Mr. Henley, came to reside a short time in his uncle's family, to perform the pastoral duties during Mr. Henley's illness. Both his character and conduct were irreproachable ; and in short he was a kind of clerical Grandison. It required little penetration to foretell his attachment to Eliza ; and his humility was surprised into a declaration of passion, which the generosity of the lady's heart induced her to favour. He was in fact accepted : but their dissimilarity of character augured no happy termination of their engagement. — Waldegrave now again appeared, and all her former predilections were revived. She endeavoured to resist the impression, but her nature was little fitted for a struggle between duty and inclination : her health and spirits were wasted with the trial ; and Mortimer perceived the change. To escape from the misery of witnessing the pain which she inflicted, Eliza was induced to visit London in company with Lady Delville and her niece Miss Brooke, the latter of whom she had injudiciously made her confidante. Hither Waldegrave pursued her ; and here, forgetful of her vows to Mortimer, she suffered another to
address

address to her the language of love. The dissolution of her engagement with Mortimer of course followed ; and his health, which had never been strong, sank under this severe affliction. He died ; and in the regard which he expressed for her in his last moments, Eliza saw how much she had lost : a loss, indeed, for which she did not find a recompence in her engagement with Waldegrave. He was a mere man of accomplishments and talents ; and the native beauty and restlessness of Eliza's character, which sometimes caused her to offend against the established rules of fashion, became a source of chagrin to him : while the impetuosity of her temper, and the very extent of her attachment, increased the little differences which occasionally occurred between them.

Waldegrave's affairs becoming embarrassed with losses at play, his attentions grew less constant, and the sensitive heart of Eliza immediately perceived that she had placed her trust with erroneous judgment : but her affections were so irrevocably given, that even a conviction of the worthlessness of their object failed to make them again her own. Her friend Miss Brooke, however, having lately succeeded to a large fortune, and thus attracted the cupidity of Waldegrave, she indignantly terminated the engagement, and retired with a broken heart to the protection of her only true friends, Mr. Henley and his daughter. The close of her brief and passionate existence was calm and beautiful, and is described by Louisa with much pathos.

‘ She continued during the night gradually sinking, but as gently as an infant falls asleep. The sun began to rise, and was already glancing its beams upon the windows. I looked from it upon the glorious object. Never was seen a more enchanting morning ! The early birds were flying about, and singing upon every bush and tree as if they did not know how to contain themselves for joy.

‘ I sighed as I remembered my poor Eliza's desire to depart under the cheering influence of daylight — alas ! her wishes were upon the eve of accomplishment.

‘ I returned to my station by her bedside ; my father sat on the other side — watching her with anxious solicitude.

‘ She appeared to have fallen into a slumber — but suddenly she pronounced my name.

‘ I bent my head close to hers, the better to distinguish her accents, now but faint and low.

‘ “ See how bright a day ! ” said she : “ let me look at it. ” I undrew the curtains of her bed and of the window, and raised her in my arms.

‘ She turned her dying eyes upon the light of heaven, — and then on me. I pressed her hand to my lips ; it was wet with my tears.

“ Oh,

“ Oh, Louisa !” said she, “ my guide — my tender friend — God for ever bless you ! — and you, good Sir ;” and she clasped with fervour my poor father’s hand, who was affected to a degree I had never seen in him before.

“ God bless you both,” she again repeated — and sinking on my bosom, she heaved a deep sigh — another — and she was gone !

The reader will perceive from this slight outline of the present tale, that it possesses very little artifice or intricacy of plot. Its great interest, indeed, consists in the skill and beauty with which the character of Eliza is drawn ; while that of Louisa, who was secretly attached to Mortimer, displays not less ability. Some well-managed humorous descriptions are also mixed with the narrative. One of the most pleasing qualifications of the novel is that it contains nothing to offend good taste or pure morality : but perhaps some persons may object to the very highly-wrought sentiments on religious subjects, which are occasionally interspersed. Even from the short extracts which we have been able to give, it will be seen that the writer’s style is clear and impressive. Of the interest which the character of Eliza Rivers is calculated to inspire, it is difficult for us to give any idea : — but we shall deserve the thanks of our readers, if we have said enough to induce them to peruse the volumes themselves.

ART. VIII. *Lemira of Lorraine ; a Romance*, 12mo. 3 Vols. 18s. sewed. Whittakers. 1822.

PERITURÆ parcere chartæ is by no means the maxim of the numerous and, we fear, increasing host of novel and romance writers. Nor is there any rational hope that their numbers will be diminished : for, if the high price of printing and paper be no discouragement to those who publish, it would be absurd to expect that vanity, want, and all the other motives which tempt or urge ladies and gentlemen to become authors, will cease to influence those who write. Indeed the ordinary recipe for such compositions is so simple, and they require so small an expenditure of talent or ingenuity in the construction of their fables, or the combination of their events, that every boarding-school miss, who has read half-a-dozen novels, fancies herself immediately qualified to invent them. We may use the nervous language of Dr. Johnson, in which he animadverts on the meagre and impoverished materials that constitute a modern drama ; “ to bring a lover, a lady, and a rival into the fable ; to entangle them in contradictory obligations, perplex them with oppositions of interest, and harass them with the violence of desires inconsistent
with

with each other; to make them meet in rapture and part in agony; to fill their mouths with hyperbolical joy and outrageous sorrow; to distress them as nothing human ever was distressed; to deliver them as nothing human ever was delivered; is the business of a modern *novelist*. For this, probability is violated, life is misrepresented, and language is depraved."

Again, therefore, we may remark, as we have intimated in the preceding article, that it is very pleasing to us, in the exercise of our unenviable vocation, to meet with a work of fiction which neither outrages common sense, nor shocks our feelings of delicacy and virtue. The romance now before us is amply intitled to this praise, but it is also intitled to something more: for it is obviously the production of an amiable, an accomplished, and, we may add, a pious mind. Parents and tutors, therefore, may place it without trembling in the hands of the young and inexperienced, to amuse and recreate their lighter hours. It does not, indeed, exhibit any deep intricacy or involution of plot; nor does it abound in those *speciosa miracula*, those appalling terrors, which characterize the school of Mrs. Radcliffe: but it is a pleasing narrative of incidents, well calculated to awaken and reward attention; and that narrative is clothed in correct and often forcible and elegant language. The conduct of the heroine Lemira, in a series of adversities and exigencies, is well sustained; and, in all her trials, she seeks for refuge and consolation where only they are to be found, in confidence in the Supreme Being, and the consciousness of integrity and virtue.

Refraining from any attempt to give an abstract of the eventful story, we shall, however, present our readers with a short specimen of the author's powers in the delineation of character:

' Diminutive in stature almost to dwarfishness, D'Amarie's body seemed to have been worn to its present narrow dimensions by its unceasing restlessness, which was not merely indulged by the continual motion of the whole machine, but was partially extended to his hands, feet, tongue, and eyes, which were never conscious of a moment's repose. Nature, as if willing to proportion the mind to the mansion which it was to inhabit, made it so very little, that it ~~was~~ utterly incapable of admitting one great idea, or of enjoying any thing unconnected with active employment. In short, it was impossible to regard him without being forcibly reminded of that eight-legged animal, whose small body appears to be endued with as large a portion of life as would animate a being of twenty times its size, and which, moving with a velocity that defies the power that would arrest it, creeps uninvited into every aperture, and only ceases to torment when it ceases to exist.

‘ The early part of D’Amarie’s life was devoted to trade ; but, having had a competent fortune left to him by a distant relation, his friends counselled him to give up business ; and never from that hour did they cease to repent their ill-starred advice ; for, finding it impossible to live without employment, and having none of his own to pursue, he made his friends the objects of his attention. Among his acquaintance were there any between whom a difference of opinion generated a coolness ? His ill-conducted measures, to effect a reconciliation, made the breach irreparable. Were there any whose temporal affairs were deranged ? If D’Amarie’s services were accepted to settle them, they were frequently involved in ruin. Sometimes, indeed, he was more fortunate ; but as he must be always busy, he often undertook what he did not understand ; and, though it is to be hoped that he preferred good to evil, he would rather be engaged in a bad cause than be destitute of employment. His own spare person was not the only evidence of the perturbation of his spirit ; for his wife, his children, nay, his dog and cat, were all equally lean : and that unhappy piece of horse-flesh which was obliged, like the famous Rosinante of the no less famous Spanish knight, to carry his master whither the “foul fiend” directed him, was a proper subject for the lecturers on natural history ; his skeleton being sufficiently conspicuous without the aid of dissection, or of any further reduction made by the hand of death.’

The hero of the piece is threatened with a prosecution for having killed, as it was supposed, his antagonist in a duel ; a practice at that time (the age of Louis XIV.) severely prohibited by the laws of France, where the scene is laid. The brief extract which we subjoin will shew that the writer is by no means deficient in pathos :

‘ Time, which stays not its rapid wing to prolong the pleasures or to retard the miseries of the greatest or wisest among mankind, too soon brought round the day which was to decide the fate of the young and unfortunate Mellidor. The sun, as if in mockery of the woes it viewed, shone forth with peculiar splendor ; the little birds carolled their songs of gladness ; the flowers, wet with the morning dew, perfumed the air with their delicious fragrance : all irrational nature seemed to revel in the enjoyment of happiness, while the hearts of some of the noblest works of Heaven were wrung by anguish and harassed with anxiety.

‘ Melanie was still enjoying the cessation of all her griefs in a profound slumber, when Lemira arose ; and, opening the window of her dressing-room, she beheld the smiling face of nature, and shuddered at a sight so little in unison with the present state of her mind. She had been informed by Fleurville that the trial was to take place on that day ; and, when she gazed on the bright luminary which was suspended above her head, and thought that Mellidor’s sun might set in darkness before she could again behold this glorious orb rise above the horizon, she clasped her hands

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together, and raised her streaming eyes to Heaven in silent supplication. She wept for the uncertain fate of a young and generous fellow-creature, to whom she felt grateful for the preservation of her father's life; and to whose timely assistance she was also indebted for her own. Her tears flowed from the sources of gratitude and humanity; for, by a long and arduous struggle, she had conquered her new-born attachment to Mellidor, and had ceased to think of him except as the husband of Melanie. Accustomed, she had always been, to trace her feelings to their actuating principle, she now probed the inmost recesses of her soul, and found that no feeling of selfish regret, no sentiment which she should blush to avow, mingled with her sacred grief for the miseries of her friend and benefactor.'

We must remark, however, that the hero needlessly torments himself and the reader with his remorse for having killed, in pure self-defence, a ruffian who attempted to murder him in the dark; and that we cannot see the propriety of calling such a rencontre *a duel*, nor of making so many of the main incidents of the piece hinge on such a circumstance.

In p. 186., vol. i., the following sentence appears to trespass on the peculiar privileges of language which belong to the natives of our sister-island: 'Though the senses of the wretched girl were restored, her reason remained absent;' and in p. 208. the expression 'her *flamy* eyes' does not strike us as very eligible.

ART. IX. *Thoughts on the present System of Academic Education in the University of Cambridge.* By Eubulus. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Longman and Co. 1822.

IF those of our readers, who are interested in a discussion most important to the welfare of one of our Universities, will have the goodness to refer to our Number for March, 1816, p. 285., they will there find that preliminary information which is necessary to enable them rightly to appreciate the merits of the present pamphlet. In that article on Mr. Wainewright's treatise on the "Literary and Scientific Pursuits at Cambridge," we exhibited as complete a picture as we could give of the studies there "encouraged and enforced." Perhaps the words "encouraged and enforced" (which are of Mr. W.'s selection) will furnish a sufficient clue to the truth in the inquiry here instituted; for we may ask, *in limine*, whether the most determined advocate of the "*existing circumstances*" at Cambridge will not be ready to allow, that a clear distinction prevails between the general *encouragement* of literature, and the partial *enforcement* of science, in the regulations of his favourite *Alma Mater*? If it can be proved, as we

most

most decidedly think it can *, that a *general encouragement* of literature is a phrase inapplicable to that University, which allows its members to take degrees without *any* public senate-house examination into their classical attainments, all that remains to be discussed is the result of the *partial enforcement* of science; or, of what nature *that enforcement itself* may actually prove to be.

Without farther preface, then, we shall enter on this question; a question which involves the intellectual and moral interests of a large portion of the future hopes of England, — of the most promising and ardent of her educated youth. To suffer any antiquated prejudices, or any unfounded modern alarm at the very name of innovation, to stand in the way of a fair discussion of those interests, and (if plainly shewn to be expedient) of a change in the system of academic education; to suffer, we say, such feelings to impede such objects would seem to deserve, perhaps, a severe condemnation, were we not well aware of what amiable stuff prejudice and alarm are often made, and how wrong it is to quicken and aggravate them by contempt.

Those who may not know or remember that, for some years past, much variety of opinion has existed in the eminently mathematical University respecting the propriety of its *exclusively scientific* † examinations for the first degree, ought to be apprized of what has very lately taken place on the subject. This frequently agitated question has at length again assumed a public shape, and has been brought forwards under the auspices of a distinguished member of the University. It has even been openly attempted to introduce classics into the senate-house!!! Visions of the ghost of Sextus Empiricus *adversus Mathematicos*, and efforts of defensive wit, levelled at the imputed *empiricism* of the measure, have haunted and employed the light corps of the exclusive mathematicians; while their weightier reasoners have brought all their *private* artillery ‡ to bear on the frivolity of the proposed reform, and on the danger of risking the enjoyment of a positive good for contingent advantages.

With the aid of this introduction, and of our remarks on Mr. Wainewright's book, (including a detailed account of its contents,) our academical readers, who are not resident in the

* Both from the pamphlet before us and from the article in the *Monthly Review* above mentioned.

† It is hardly necessary to warn our readers that we use these terms in a limited sense.

‡ None, we believe, has yet been *publicly* discharged; but the present pamphlet will probably call it forth.

University, will have an opportunity of entering on the question before us properly prepared, and will rightly estimate the statements and arguments of the unknown but meritorious author of the present pamphlet.

We set out then again from the point at which we left Mr. Wainewright; and we state, with *Eubulus*, that the inquiry which we wish to make and to see pursued * is this, ‘Why is the examination for degrees, why are the honours, and, *generally speaking*, the rewards and patronage of the University, confined so *exclusively* to mathematical pursuits?’

‘Mathematics are, no doubt, a high and important *branch* of study. They are a science closely concerned in the investigation of abstract truth, requiring intensity of attention, accuracy of research, acuteness of application, and severity of judgment; they are intimately connected with the most useful arts, and with the sublimest speculations; with those inventions which give man power over the world in which he is placed, and with those discoveries which elevate him to the knowledge and contemplation of the worlds beyond and around him. With this admission, cordially and willingly made, no man can fairly accuse me of depreciating or undervaluing the importance of mathematical studies, although I may still make it a question why they should be so exclusively pursued. Let us come at once from speculations to facts.

‘On an average for the last three years, 146 men enter the senate-house annually, at the usual degree time. †

‘Of these, 52 obtain honours: of whom 19 are wranglers, or proficient in mathematics; 19 are senior optimés, or second-rate ‡ mathematicians; 14 are junior optimés, or smatterers. ‡

‘What are the remaining 94? What have they to shew for an education of three years and a quarter, at an expence which cannot be short of 700l.? What have they got in religion, ethics, metaphysics, history, classics, jurisprudence? Who can tell? for, except the short examination of one day in Locke, Paley, and Butler, in the senate-house, the University must be supposed to know nothing of their progress in these things. Their University

* We do indeed hope that the classical advocates will not be silent on this occasion, but that they will follow the path, here chalked out for them, in the prosecution of this important inquiry, with as much originality as they can. Still we trust that it will continue to be the path of moderation, good sense, and mutual allowance.

‘† It is evident, that if I had taken into account either the year 1818, or the present enormously large year, the result of these calculations would have been far more striking in my favour: but I seek truth, and do not wish merely to make out a case.’

‘‡ I use plain terms, without intending to convey any reproach. In an inquiry of this sort, we must look to *facts*, not *compliments*.’

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examination for their degree is in mathematics, and if they have got four books of Euclid (or even less), can answer a sum in arithmetic, and solve a simple equation, they are deemed qualified for their degree, that is, the University pronounces this a sufficient progress, after three years and a quarter of study.

‘ So much for the πολλοί, the *vulgus ignobile* of the mathematical students, among whom I include what are commonly called gulph men — that is, men who can answer and will not, and who are therefore entitled to no distinction in the view now taken of an University examination.

‘ Let us look back to those distinguished with academic honours.

‘ Of the junior optimés, do any bring their reading in mathematics to after use?

‘ Of the senior optimés, do any two in each year keep up or pursue their mathematical learning, so as to make farther proficiency in it after they have taken their degree?

‘ Of the wranglers, do many of the lower wranglers, and all or nearly all the higher, pursue their mathematical studies farther than to qualify for fellowship-examination, which at some colleges, as at Trinity for instance, are partly mathematical? In fact, do more than two-thirds of the wranglers pursue their mathematical studies after they have taken their degrees?

‘ If they do not, then all the fruits of three years and a quarter’s study, and all the expences of 146 men, amounting to above 100,000*l.*, are concentrated, as far as any literary benefit results from them, in about a dozen or fifteen individuals.*

‘ Of these individuals I cannot be supposed to speak or think disrespectfully, when I ask, Of what use to them are their mathematics, without the walls of the University, in common life?

‘ How many Cambridge mathematicians distinguish themselves by bringing their mathematics to bear upon the useful arts?

‘ Is it true that they, generally speaking, turn their mathematics to any account, except that of speculative amusement, or academic contention?

‘ They may be, and no doubt they often are, very ingenious and acute men, but does that ingenuity and acuteness, for the most part, *tell*, to any great moral, or political, or social purpose?

‘ Are not, in fact, the greater number of calculations and combinations by which mathematics are brought to bear upon the arts, made by men who have not received an academic education?

‘ * It is evident that this calculation is greatly under-rated. 700*l.* is, I fear, considerably under the average-amount of the total expences of an University education, and there are a considerable number of men who take their degrees at bye-terms, very few indeed of whom ever think of reading more than is absolutely necessary for their degree, which is, I will not say how much. A nearer calculation would be, to allow at least 800*l.* for the expences of education, and to add 24 men to the average above mentioned, making the whole number 170, the sum total of whose expences therefore is 136,000*l.*’

‘ Are not practical mathematics the great source of useful inventions ; and are not the Cambridge mathematics almost exclusively speculative ?

‘ Take a junior or senior optimé, or even a wrangler, into an irregular field with a common land-surveyor, and ask them severally to measure it ; which will do it soonest and best ?

‘ Let one of each of these academic graduates and a practical sailor be sailing towards an unknown coast ; which will soonest make a correct observation ?

‘ Build a bridge across the Thames ; who will do it best, Mr. Rennie (supposing him still alive), or a committee of senior wranglers ?

‘ If it should happen that in these cases the practical mathematicians would have the advantage, may it not be said, that our mathematics are more for shew than use ?

‘ It may be urged, that we point out the principle, and leave to others the practice. This may be very true ; but I believe the laugh would be a good deal against the speculative academic, who was beaten by the practical clown ; and though I admit that ridicule is no test of truth, there would, in this case, be a good deal of reason on its side. I can see no grounds for neglecting practice, because we understand theory ; and if we profess to make mathematics our prime pursuit, surely we ought to comprehend not only their principles but also their application.’

‘ So much’ for the *direct and positive* use of mathematical attainments ; and, consequently, so much for the *immediate* effect produced by the vast and expensive machinery established and constantly at work in Cambridge. That the present author is not disposed to under-rate mathematical knowledge, as an engine of general education, not only his introductory paragraph (which we have quoted) but also his avowed wish of preserving the *first* honours to mathematics, in *any* change, amply evince. It is against the *exclusive* preference of mathematics that he directs his arguments ; — and, doubtless, if the limits within which he has confined himself would have allowed any farther discussion, he would not have left the more curious and generally interesting question unexamined, whether mathematical studies *are the best universal instrument of cultivation* for the powers of reasoning which might be adopted in colleges ? Whether, in other words, the peculiar abilities and *taste* of the individual (if such an idea may be suggested, as we firmly think it may, even by the *intellectual powers*) ought not to form the ground of decision between a mathematical and a *metaphysical** course of instruction ? The habit of distinguishing between such different

* We scarcely need guard against the silly charge of encouraging any metaphysics but such as grow out of true philosophy

turns of mind, and of fairly and honestly apportioning a proper degree and kind of attention to each, would surely produce most excellent results in the University. To say nothing of the numerous advantages which the instructors themselves would derive from such a practice, we are persuaded that the instructed (from the mere variety of human genius) would every year become more disposed to profit by the discriminating care under which they were so kindly placed, and guided to their own peculiar mental destination. Now, if to this sketch of varied culture for the *understanding*, we add the ampler provision for the imagination and the taste, properly so called, which our anonymous disputant's liberal plan would introduce into Cambridge, we must surely catch something like a glimpse of future improvement, and anxiously hope for the dawn of so enlightened a day.

So far from indulging in any thing which may by the fondest alarmist be designated *visionary*, or any thing like *speculation*, in encouragement even of the inductive philosophy of mind and its numerous branches, *Eubulus* rigidly adheres to his text; or to the encouragement, though not *exclusively*, of mathematics; and to the *advancement*, though not to the *preference*, of classics, in senate-house examinations and general honours. In the most modest and persuasive manner, he proposes his own plan; and, whatever alterations or amendments a fuller discussion on the spot may produce, it must be allowed by all candid inquirers to be an intelligent and generous outline of academic study and honour.

‘What then do I advise? The relinquishment of mathematical pursuits? By no means. I would give equal honour, nay, concede all that can fairly be conceded to long established habits and prejudices; I would give precedence to mathematical studies, but not exclusive privileges and rewards.

“*Nec nihil neque omnia.*”

I would give a large and liberal share of honours and rewards to classical studies, not only in the distribution of classical prizes at present existing by the benefactions of various founders, but in the senate-house examination, and in the classification of academic degrees.’

The writer then proceeds to enforce the necessity of an examination in those studies, which peculiarly belong to the profession adopted by the greater number of studious or professedly studious men at the University; studies to which it is shameful indeed to think that any Englishman, liberally educated, should be wholly a stranger. We scarcely need add that we allude to a sufficient and clear introduction to the knowledge of divinity; to all that can reasonably establish a

layman's faith, and lead a theologian on to a fuller and deeper acquaintance with the facts and arguments in defence of his religion. The author's remarks on this point are too judicious to be wholly omitted:—but we must curtail them, although in themselves brief. After having noticed the probable objection that a public examination into the religious knowledge of academics, at the end of the second year, would interrupt *the higher reading men* in their mathematical pursuits, and having made the obvious answers to such a cavil, he thus continues:

‘ But granting that such an examination would cause a short interruption to mathematical pursuits, which is granting more than is necessarily due, what injury would it be to any, since the interruption would be alike to all? It would give no undue advantage to one above another, since all must submit to it; and supposing it occasioned all to know a problem or two less, would any real evil result from this defect, or any inconvenience, which would not be counterbalanced by great and substantial good? Admit, which is a great deal more than is ever likely to happen or be proved, that it prevents A. from being senior wrangler, then B. will be senior wrangler instead; and the course of mathematical examination will be just the same, whatever may be the result of it to this or that individual.

‘ So far, therefore, the effect of this minor examination, on that at present in usage for the degree, must be absolutely harmless; but beyond this, the result to every one of the examinants must be productive of great and substantial good, by bringing them acquainted with the grounds and principles of their faith, by leading them to that knowledge, in comparison with which all other knowledge is idle and unprofitable, and guiding them to the search after those truths, in comparison with which all mathematical truth is vanity itself.

‘ I may add, that the beneficial consequences of such an examination are incalculable. When the impression is made in early life, and the minds of young men are directed towards the consideration of those great and important truths, which are inseparably connected with the eternal interests of themselves and of all mankind, the impression will never be wholly worn out; there will always be a tendency of thoughts and inclinations to this great object; and the germ of Christianity may be preserved, even amidst the temporary allurements of the gayest scenes of pleasure and dissipation. If it springs not immediately, it may in later life; it may at least prove a preservative against the blasphemies of infidelity; and it may guard men from being led, by late repentance, to the extravagancies of fanaticism and wild enthusiasm.’

The whole of this quotation we consider as highly important; and we really cannot anticipate any sound objection to a proposal, which, on the contrary, seems to reflect discredit on any academic body by yet remaining to be adopted. Assuredly

surely it is the first duty of "all places set apart for sound learning and religious education" to give their pupils more than a vulgar knowledge of the records and evidences of Christianity; and how this can be better effected than by the proposed examination, we are unable to devise. Moreover, the concluding passage of the preceding extract is peculiarly adapted to the use of that academic institution to which it is addressed. If there be a tendency in any portion of that body (and who will deny it?) towards the very extreme of enthusiasm against which the present rational author would provide, does it not become doubly binding on the instructors of youth at Cambridge to promote, with all their interest, any plan which may furnish the future candidate for orders with such a store of useful and rational theology, as will be an effectual bar to his adoption of the false glosses and fanatical interpretations of "unstable and unlearned men?" Such a plan is here submitted to the calm consideration of that University; and we shall now permit *Eubulus* to proceed with its outline.

' On all these grounds, and on many others which might be urged, I see strong and even irresistible arguments in favour of a general preparatory examination. That examination should confer no honours, and concede no exemption. It should be plain, perspicuous, and intelligible. No puzzling questions should be asked because, as no distinctions of honour are granted, no trial of genius is necessary. The majority of young men educated at this University are designed for holy orders; but even were it not so, every layman who calls himself a Christian, certainly every layman who has received a liberal education in a Christian University, ought to know something of the proofs, history, and doctrines of the Christian religion. The very least that can be required is a knowledge of the Gospels in their original tongue, the proofs of natural and revealed religion, and a general acquaintance with Scripture history to the time of the apostles. I do not pretend to dictate to the good sense of the University, but as a member of it I may be allowed, without presumption, to state that I think the Greek Gospels, Grotius de Veritate, and the first volume of Bishop Tomline's Theology, are sufficient for the proposed examination. No burden is laid on any man by requiring an acquaintance with these. It is his duty to know these, and if he does not know them by the time he has been two years at the University, there is infinite blame imputable either to his instructors or to himself.

' I know very well what may be alleged about the procrastination of these studies till after the degree of A. B. has been taken, but I do not stop to combat arguments of this sort; they bear their own refutation in themselves, like many of those which may be urged by my adversaries on minor topics. If any of these gentlemen will tell me, that it is of no consequence if a young man of twenty dies ignorant of the truths of Christianity, because the

is a chance of his living to know them at the age of twenty-two, I will then say that his tutors may have some excuse for withdrawing his attention to them till he has no farther occasion for their services.

‘ So much for this subject. I am content merely to throw out hints on it, because I have little time for more, and trust these will be sufficient for future exertions. Will it be allowed me to state my own view of the improved system, in the most general terms, leaving the detail and modification of them to the sense of the University?

‘ I would oblige every man, at the expiration of his two first years, to undergo the above-mentioned preparatory examination; and he should then be called upon to declare whether he intended to graduate in mathematics, or classics, which should not preclude him from offering himself for examination in the senate-house in both. In the senate-house examination, the week for mathematics should proceed as usual. That for classics should follow, in which there should be a first, second, and third class, as in mathematics. Let the senior wrangler preserve his pre-eminence, and next to him the first of the first class classics; then the other wranglers, who, in most cases, should not exceed 15, and then the other first class classics, who should not exceed the like number. Next to these, mathematical senior optimés, not exceeding 14; and then second class classics, to the same number. Then the mathematical junior optimés, and the third class classics, whose number should not exceed ten respectively. This would give, supposing each class full, 40 mathematical, and as many classical honours; but it is to be presumed that several men would be ranked in both classes. If the fellowships of the University are distributed with due regard to these honours, no doubt a greater emulation will be excited to excel in both departments.’

Such is the proposal of this writer. It would be easy, no doubt, in the great variety of theological preparations, to mention other works instead of those which are here suggested: but we see no reasonable objection to them in an English University. It will rest with that University to decide on this point, and on numerous other matters of detail. One remaining item, however, in the suggestions before us *, strikes us as too just and proper to be omitted. We mean the notion that, in the classical examinations, care should be taken not to suffer the prevailing taste for metrical and philological criticism to engross an undue share of attention. Far from undervaluing these studies, the author is only anxious that *still better things* should maintain their just preponderance; and with manly sense he adds:

‘ We must not forsake the critics, philosophers, orators, and historians of Greece, for a mere branch of her poets; and I fear-

* We pass over what *Eubulus* says of the modern refinements in mathematics, as too little popular for general appreciation.

lessly say, without risk of contradiction from the most competent and able judges, that Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Thucydides, Polybius, and Demosthenes, afford more improvement to the taste, and purification to the morals, more exercise for thought and reflection, more dignity to the conceptions, and enlargement to the understanding of the student, than all the Greek tragedies that were ever penned. Not that I affect to slight or despise those noble monuments of the Grecian Muse, which are yet left to us in the works of her dramatic writers; but I underprize them in comparison of the mighty names I have enumerated, and think that too much is sacrificed to them, if these are neglected in consequence. This remark, and all those which have preceded it, will, I hope, be taken in good part by all considerate and thinking men. I wish to offend none; but I am sufficiently aware, that the subject I have handled is of a nature liable to excite the jealousy of some, and awake the fears of others. The attack or defence, however, of these remarks I shall leave to other hands.'

We would add Plutarch to the above list of prose-authors. In prosecution of this anonymous writer's most praiseworthy design, we have endeavoured to give a greater degree of publicity to his very important arguments; and to add the corroboration of our own judgment and feeling to the truth of the opinions here so ably advocated. To see the University of Cambridge emancipated from the unphilosophical because narrow system of an exclusively mathematical examination for degrees, in which every variety of the human intellect is, as at present, adapted to a scale of merit formed only out of one species of human knowledge, is certainly an object very near our hearts. Who can doubt either the advantage to the cause of sound religion in the *first* examination here proposed, or the effects of the *final* examination on the national mind, if classical honours were judiciously associated with mathematical, and such an added stimulus thus administered to ambition?

ART. X. *A Letter to the Right Reverend John, Lord Bishop of Bristol*, respecting an additional Examination of Students in the University of Cambridge, and the different Plans proposed for that Purpose. By Philoquantus. 8vo. 2s. 6d. Murray. 1822.

WE had completed our preceding examination of the "Thoughts on the present System of Academic Education in the University of Cambridge," and dismissed it for publication, when we received the present rival pamphlet. On perusing the attack on the former author with which the writer before us concludes his Letter, we were surprized indeed to find that

so many objections had escaped us as are here made, and that *Eubulus* was liable to so much censure, instead of that praise which we had felt ourselves bound to bestow on him. The surprise thus excited, however, died in its birth; and we were immediately enabled to discover, by certain prominent signs in the pamphlet of *Philograntus*, that he is not only on the best terms with himself, but decidedly disposed to yield to the weakness of other great men, and

“ Bear, like the Turk, no brother near his throne.”

In a note to our last article on this subject, we expressed a ‘hope that the classical advocates would not be silent on this occasion, but that they would follow the path here chalked out for them (by *Eubulus*) in this important inquiry, and with as much originality as they could. Still we trusted that it would continue to be the path of moderation, good sense, and mutual allowance.’ The ink on our pages was barely dry, when we were obliged to witness a signal deviation from that conduct of this controversy which we recommended, in the work of *Philograntus*. * With an air of superiority and of triumph by no means warranted either by his matter or his style, he seems disposed to arrogate to himself the right of excluding from the arena of disputation an advocate whose conciseness of argument, and vivacity of manner, are very happily contrasted (in our judgment) with the more ponderous and pompous statement of his antagonist. Sad indeed is the omen for the future management of this debate, if it is not only to be carried on with vehemence between opposing parties, but with acrimony between the defenders of the same cause; and we cannot well imagine any thing more likely to frustrate the professed wishes of *Philograntus*, than the contemptuous manner in which he has chosen to talk of such a fellow-labourer in the same vineyard, as our extracts from the pamphlet of *Eubulus* fully prove him to be.

Eubulus comes forwards as a mere member of the University, and seems to trust solely (as our readers have had ample opportunity of judging) to the weight of reason, plainly and forcibly brought to bear on the point; without a word of unnecessary display, or any assumption of authority. *Philograntus*, on the contrary, not contented with his dedication to the Bishop of Bristol, (whose excellent character is adequate to introduce any author under favourable auspices,) deems it necessary to inform us that he has long been engaged as a tutor

* Is not *Philograntus* rather an awkward compound? What should we think of *Philoromus*? but perhaps the author shelters himself under *Philomusus*, *Philobiblus*, &c.

and an examiner at Cambridge; and thus, *ex cathedrâ* as it were, he issues his anathemas, his *ἐκας, ἐκας, ὅστις ἀλιτρος*, against every humbler defender of the same great cause of classical education.

It is time, however, to prove the charges which we have reluctantly been forced to bring against any promoter of so worthy an object; for we breathe a very different spirit (and earnestly hope that we ever shall do) from that which is betrayed in the following sentence: ‘*It gives me some concern to find desirable measures recommended by a writer who reasons like Eubulus!*’ (P. 59.)

We are really quite ashamed to read such a sentiment in the writings of a distinguished academic, as *Philograntus* must be, if we take his own account of himself. Does this look like the plain, strait-forward, unbiassed love of truth, for its own sake? — and alas! this is a question which we shall be forced to ask again before we have done with this work. Will it easily be believed by any candid reader, that the present pamphlet has been made the vehicle of the most digressive attack on the character and conduct of one of our ablest and most incorrupt patriots, whose efforts to amend the morals by improving the knowledge of our fellow-subjects deserved a different treatment from any man of learning? — Because the “*Education-Committee*” alarmed certain interests, and aroused peculiar prejudices, and was (confessedly) wrong in some of its objects, must the abuse of it be mixed up with every subject in any degree connected with improvements in education? See pages 51, 52, 53., where *Philograntus* says, his ‘*only* object in mentioning these matters is, to suggest that while we repel the false and slanderous charges which our enemies bring against us, we must be careful not to give ground for others which may have a better foundation,’ &c. We must, indeed; and we wish that this reflection had operated with due effect on the writer, before he inserted such an attack on the Chairman of the Education-Committee; as well as that equally undeserved assault and battery, which he has committed on the invisible person of *Eubulus*.

This last assault, indeed, vies with the other in grossness. Our readers are in possession of the merits of *Eubulus*; they have seen his brief but clear elucidation of his own plan; and they have been assisted (as far as we could assist them) in forming a judgment of its character. When they have made this estimate, what will they think of the farther fruits of the same spirit which dictated the passage at page 59., in which the author avows his ‘*concern* that desirable measures are

recom-

recommended by *Eubulus* !!! Those 'fruits' we now present for their dessert.

Beginning with a flourish about the 'incredible ignorance' of *Eubulus*, (an ignorance not attempted to be proved in any instance but one by *Philograntus*, and in that we think he entirely fails,) the author proceeds to state his rival's calculations, and to ridicule them: *but without a word offered in disproof*. Were we not afraid of abounding too much in parliamentary comparisons, we should say that the sort of answers made by ministers, in the last and present sessions, to the calculations of their persevering northern opponent, are very much in the style of those here offered by *Philograntus* to the striking, and we firmly believe the incontrovertible statements of his rival. Finding it convenient *to deal in generals*, he thus proceeds:

'But the most remarkable feature of *Eubulus*'s pamphlet is, his complete misapprehension of the real object which the University has in view, when it encourages the study of philosophy among its youth. He does not appear to have the slightest suspicion, that it is intended by this course of reading to strengthen the reasoning faculties, to produce habits of close attention, accuracy, and discrimination, to exercise acuteness, and to improve the memory.'

Having perused this charge, will our readers take the trouble to refer to the introductory paragraph of our first extract from *Eubulus*; in which, in a style apparently unattainable by his rival, (we mean a natural, glowing, forcible cast of language,) he eulogizes the various objects of mathematical instruction? When *Philograntus* states, 'It is intended by this course of reading,' &c., (as above,) *Eubulus* had before stated the same thing, in better words. What, then, can we think of such captious opposition? *Eubulus* does not say that 'the *only* use of the study is to promote new discoveries, or practical mathematics,' (as his opponent accuses him of saying,) but the whole course of his argument goes to prove that it is inexpedient to pay such *exclusive honours* to a science which, among its higher proficient, is rarely made applicable (*directly* applicable) to public improvements; and which, with the great multitude* of students, produces no fruits, but causes the waste of three precious years.

* We do not hesitate to assert that in works professedly intended for academical readers, it is a very poor affectation to condemn terms (such as Πόλλοι) universally known and used by those readers. Such a criticism, and another on the title of *Eubulus*'s pamphlet, and a third on the word *Examinant*, all come from the same little mint.

That *Eubulus* is not insensible of the value of mathematical studies as a preparatory instrument of reasoning, the paragraph already mentioned, and the general good sense of his pamphlet, must clearly evince: but, if any proof were wanting, his declared wish that mathematical honours should still take precedence of all others, *in any change*, must furnish it. — After this avowed wish, (which we have quoted,) what will *Philograntus* plead as his excuse for asserting, at page 59., that ‘the inevitable tendency of the doctrine of *Eubulus* is to show that mathematics ought no longer to be encouraged as a branch of our University studies?’ We are convinced that, to clear the way for future calmness and at the same time energy of discussion, on this interesting question, it is quite necessary to expose *all* undue pretensions on both sides; and to suffer the voice of simple and unbiassed truth to be heard, without opposition, in the groves of Academus. If this cannot entirely be effected, something at least may be done by unveiling such mis-statements and misapprehensions as the above; and caution and forbearance may be taught to every future disputant on this occasion, by observing that his pretensions will run the risk of impartial and public examination, without delay, though we trust with no undue haste or severity. We shall proceed therefore with a task which, otherwise, might be considered as unnecessarily incurred, even on a classical and academical question.

Philograntus comes at last to an examination of the plan of *Eubulus*; and, introducing his remarks with the notable and liberal sentence which we have already quoted, he goes on to observe:

‘*Eubulus* has a scheme for this purpose, some parts of which are original: first, he would institute an examination in divinity of all students at the end of their second year, which “should confer no honours, and concede no exemption.” Each of the Examinants (such is the name by which he designates the young men under examinations!) is then “to declare whether he intends to graduate in mathematics or classics, which should not preclude him from offering himself for examination in the senate-house in both.” At the degree-time, he means to have one tripos, or list of honours, in each department, which is on no account to exceed forty. Whenever this plan is proposed, there will, I fear, be two fundamental objections to it: first, that it leads to, and sanctions an entire neglect of one or other branch of knowledge, which it should be the object of our regulations to prevent; and, secondly, that it subverts the very principles of our University system, in limiting the honours, not by the merits of the students, (whose number and whose proficiency will vary,) but by a sort of Procrustean rule, to which all cases must be adapted.’

Our readers may refer to the plan of *Eubulus*, conveyed in his own words. *Philograntus* has not attempted to shew *how* the plan leads to the evils which he has suggested: but this would be difficult: — for, in the first place, if forty mathematical and forty classical honours be distributed in each year, and an opportunity be given for aspiring candidates to gain a place in both classes, we cannot conceive how either branch of education can be neglected at Cambridge, considering the number of students and the varieties of human taste and intellect. Be it remembered, also, that the multitude, on this plan, are no longer left *at their own disposal* as at present, and have no longer a choice of their own *whether* they will be entirely ignorant of every thing but a small portion of mathematical knowledge, and a scrap or two of ethics and metaphysics. The second objection, therefore, of the letter-writer, and his Procrustean imaginations, fall also to the ground; while he leaves wholly without inquiry, or just appreciation, the excellent proposal of ‘*an examination in divinity of all students at the end of their second year:*’ a proposal which, at the same time, he allows to be original; and which most clearly provides against that greatest of all evils in a Cambridge education, viz. *delay*, which is obviated at Oxford by similar but by no means equally judicious arrangements. A student who knows that he shall not be publicly examined till the end of three years will be strongly tempted, if idleness be (as it most usually is) the groundwork of his constitution, at whatever risk, to *delay* the miseries of study till the last possible moment: — but, if he knows that a preliminary examination, unavoidable, and really exacted to a certain degree, awaits him at the end of *two* years; and that he must then fix on his line of mathematics or classics *for his degree**, which also threatens him in another year; surely, if he is aware of all this, he cannot be so dead to virtuous shame, and to all intellectual exertion, as an unfortunately large proportion of young men are found to be at present.

The only plan, among several, proposed in the pamphlet of *Philograntus*, which requires any considerable examination, as we conceive, from the unprejudiced reasoner, is that which he advocates himself; and which was proposed to the senate in the last year, under the auspices of the highly respectable master of Trinity-college. This plan we shall subjoin, to

* Our readers will recollect that this *choice* of the student does not (according to *Eubulus's* proposition) preclude his being examined in *both kinds*, if he pleases.

enable our readers to compare it with that of *Eubulus*; and we shall leave the task in their hands, with only two remarks.

‘ The plan which was last year proposed to the senate enacts a full and ample examination in classical subjects, to be followed by an arrangement of honours in three divisions, exactly similar to those of wranglers, senior optimes, and junior optimes. By providing that no person shall have a place among the classical honours, who has not already obtained one in the mathematical tripos, it secures the University against a neglect of philosophical pursuits; and by combining an examination in the Greek Testament, in the history, antiquities, and allusions of the Scriptures, and in the evidences of our religion, and by making a competent acquaintance with these subjects the indispensable requisite for a degree, it ensures that attention to them which ought to be encouraged by a seminary for Christian education. That the establishment of this scheme will prodigiously increase the amount of study and of intellectual acquirement, can hardly be doubted by any person acquainted with the temper of our academical youth, or, I may say, with the principles of human nature itself. By holding out the certainty of appropriate reward to every description of exertion, in an almost exact proportion to the merit displayed, we shall henceforth supply an unceasing motive to the industry of all our students, whatever be the diversity of their tastes and their capacities; and shall take away those excuses for the neglect of college-studies, which too many are in the habit of alleging to their friends and to themselves.’

The two remarks that we shall make on this well-intended measure, which reflects credit on all who supported it, and especially on the liberal and excellent proposer, are the following. First, it offers no remedy for the evil of *delay*, already noticed; and, secondly, by still suffering classical honours not only to be secondary to but dependent on mathematical honours, it makes *no* provision for that numerous class of students, whose abilities would lead them to excellence in the former department, but who have no chance of distinction in the latter. — We have thrown out a suggestion, in our preceding article, to obviate the remark that the cultivation of the reasoning powers might thus be neglected; and we may safely commit the question to our readers, whether there be no scope in the inductive logic, applied to the philosophy of the mind, properly so called, for such a cultivation.

Two of the other plans noticed by *Philograntus*, that of a classical examination for degrees merely as a *sine quâ non*, excluding all honour and distinction of the meritorious; and that (if it can be called a *plan*!) of making no change whatever; are, as he himself seems to think, wholly undeserving of any extended public notice.

Four points remain to be briefly discussed. The first is the extraordinary imputation laid by *Philograntus* on his rival, of ‘appearing ignorant that there exists such a thing as education in the respective colleges.’—To imply, even, that such a writer as *Eubulus* would have taken up his pen on an University question, without knowing the private as well as the public means of instruction at Cambridge, is a shallow effort of disputation. The “University Calendar,” or Mr. Wainewright’s “Pursuits,” or half a hundred other works, would supply a non-resident member with such information: but *Eubulus* seems to have other and better sources of knowledge. Here we may cursorily observe that the very fallacy which we exposed at length in our review of Mr. Wainewright, — namely, the deception of putting forwards the *private* studies of the several colleges, in answer to the accusation brought against the *public* examinations of the whole University, — lies at the bottom of this imputation of *Philograntus*. With larger and more comprehensive views than his opponent has given himself time properly to examine, *Eubulus* passed by the *private* studies of the colleges on the present occasion, which called only for an inquiry into the *public* examinations of the University.

Secondly, *Philograntus* contends in a very high tone of contempt for the supposed ignorance of *Eubulus*, and indeed asserts, in positive denial of the truth of his assertion, that too much attention is *not* paid, in the private classical studies of the colleges, to the departments of philological and metrical criticism on the Greek tragedians. If *Eubulus* be wrong here, we can affirm that he errs with the great majority of University men whom we have heard mention the subject: — that he errs in perfect concordance with all our own means of knowledge, and with the just and legitimate inferences to be drawn from the publications of the Porsonian school in classical literature, and from the bias to *an extreme* cultivation of that great scholar’s favourite pursuits, likely to be impressed on his followers by his unexampled celebrity. Let it not be forgotten that the question is a question of *degree*, and not of *kind*, and can only be decided by a fuller induction of particulars than we have room to make.

The same remark may be applied to the third point of our inquiry. When *Philograntus* condemns *Eubulus* for asserting that, at Cambridge, they “have deserted the track of geometry, and forsaken the path their mighty master trod,” he adds:

‘Now that this is inconsistent with fact, every body, at all acquainted with the place, will testify. It may be true, that within the last six or seven years, too much stress has been sometimes

laid upon the French analytics ; but not in any degree which can justify the statements of *Eubulus*.

‘ In the senate-house examination which has just taken place, I have reason to believe that as much inquiry has been made respecting all parts of the *Principia*, as the most zealous Newtonian could wish. And the late appointment of Professor Turton, to fill the chair of our immortal philosopher, while it affords the utmost satisfaction to all friends of the University, gives us a security, that the philosophical studies of our youth will receive the most judicious and most useful direction.

‘ Let us, however, admit, that for his last complaints, however over-stated, he may have had some sort of foundation : for another of his reflections upon our system, *Eubulus* has not a pretence or shadow of justification.’

We conceive that the foregoing passage will amply elucidate and overturn itself as a matter of charge against *Eubulus*, without any remarks from us in addition to those already made. — The last sentence alludes to what has been discussed ; the preference of a particular class of poets (in *College-lectures*, be it observed, as well as in *College-examinations*,) to the prose-writers of Greece.

Our last point of animadversion is a matter of comparison rather than of argument ; and such a matter as we do, for the credit of Cambridge, most unfeignedly regret that the present letter-writer has forced on us. Previously to the suggestion of his own plan of a general divinity-examination, at the end of the second year’s residence at the University, *Eubulus* was compelled by his subject to make some allusion to a complaint which has been heard from certain examining chaplains. This he does in the most distant and delicate manner ; and evidently with a wish to speak, as much as possible, to the University alone. We felt ourselves bound to follow such an example, and only to insist generally on so invidious a topic. — We think that we need not say any thing farther to lower the haughty tone which the present writer has assumed ; and we hope, for his own sake, that we have stepped between this *Dares* and such an *Entellus* as, judging from the pamphlet which he derides, he seems likely to encounter. Which of the two has best consulted the credit of his University by the accuracy of his statements, the openness of his manner, and the force of his arguments, we shall now leave our readers to decide : but not before we have added to their means of forming a comparison (obtruded on his critics by *Philograntus* himself) between these academics, by furnishing a specimen of considerate regard to the honour of Cambridge from page 12., on the topic above mentioned :

‘ It has been remarked, I understand, by some of your Lordship’s right reverend brethren, that at their examinations, the majority

majority of Cambridge candidates appear worse prepared than the majority of those from Oxford. Of the general truth of this fact, so mortifying to all our best feelings, I fear there can be no doubt; it has been my lot to hear the same thing asserted by several Bishops' chaplains, and those, too, persons whose academical predilections might lead them rather to disguise than exaggerate any thing discreditable to Cambridge.—While we are ready strenuously to uphold the true and substantial glories of our University, and to repel unmerited and envious reflections, we must not shut our eyes to a real defect in our system, and one which it is completely in our own power to remedy. Nobody can pretend to doubt the real cause of the mortifying distinction which has been mentioned. At Oxford there does exist an examination in the elements of theology, at which every student must display a competent acquaintance with that essential branch of knowledge, or be precluded from all chance of obtaining his degree. In this one particular, our sister University has an undoubted advantage: she has the merit of making her system of education more directly conducive to the greatest of all objects, an acquaintance with Christian learning. And so long as we neglect such measures as may make this knowledge universal among our students, it will be in vain for us to boast of our unrivalled character both for science and for literature. No reputation of such a description, however well merited, will serve as an apology for the want of 'that one good thing,' which, as it is the ultimate object of all human pursuits, ought surely to be considered with its due importance in the direction given to them at their outset.'

According to the shewing, then, of *Philograntus* himself, he ought to advocate the plan of *Eubulus*; or some plan, at least, which shall prevent the evils of delay.

* * * Since the foregoing article was written, we have received a letter to *Philograntus* by *Eubulus*, in reply to the observations of the former: but we have neither time nor space to make any report of it at present.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

FOR MARCH, 1822.

POETRY.

Art. 11. *Æsop in Rhyme*, with some Originals. By Jefferys Taylor, Author of "Harry's Holiday." With an Engraving to each Fable. 12mo. Baldwin and Co.

An intelligent child must be truly happy when he, or she, first opens this engaging little volume; and all our mental and moral philosophers will join in assuring Mr. Jefferys Taylor that, if his *Æsop in Rhyme* has the above effect, he has contributed *his share to the stock of human wisdom and happiness.*

The

The charm of Æsop is his pointed meaning, conveyed under pleasing allegory; so that the intellect of the young expands, while their imagination is delighted. What share of these qualities the present imitator in rhyme has preserved, our readers shall now be enabled to judge.

‘ FABLE XIX. — *The Boys and the Frogs.*

‘ Some boys, beside a pond or lake,
Were playing once at *duck and drake* ;
When, doubtless, to their hearts’ content,
Vollies of stones were quickly sent.

‘ But there were some (there will be such)
Who did not seem amused so much ;
These were the frogs, to whom the game,
In point of sport, was not the same.

‘ For scarce a stone arrived, ’tis said,
But gave some frog a broken head ;
And scores, in less than half an hour,
Perish’d beneath the dreadful shower.

‘ At last, said one, “ Young folks, I say,
Do fling your stones another way ;
Tho’ *sport* to *you*, to throw them thus,
Remember, pray, ’tis *death* to us !”

‘ From hence this moral may be learn’d ; —
Let play *be play* to *all concern’d*.’

This is “ pat to the purpose,” and calculated to extend and strengthen good feeling.

Far from being so good is ‘ The Toad and the Fly,’ in our opinion : — but again our readers shall be the umpires :

‘ FABLE XXXV. — *The Toad and the Fly.*

‘ When Cadmus lived, in days of yore,
Three thousand years ago or more : —
Retired within a shady grot,
Their lived a toad — deny it not,
Who, thoughtful, sleepy, or sedate,
Pass’d years away in lonely state.

‘ At last he slept, as it should seem,
Beside a petrifying stream,
Which ere he woke to find it out,
With stone enclosed him, round about ;
So tightly fitted to his shape,
He could not stretch, nor even gape.
— O ! had he known, ere his repose,
How many years he had to doze,
No doubt he would have settled all
His worldly matters, great and small ;
Nor left his children fighting battles
About his sundry goods and chattels ;

Who knew not (pardon this digression)
Whether they ought to take possession.

‘ Three thousand years had he to pass,
Imbedded in the solid mass :
(I hope this message of stone,
Was *rent-free* all this time, I own.)
However, not a year ago,
It seems this block was sawn in two ;
When, to the workman’s great surprise,
The drowsy reptile met their eyes,
Who issued, from his durance freed,
A venerable toad indeed.
Then crowds drew near from far to see
This remnant of antiquity,
Who, fully conscious of the fact,
Their utmost homage did exact.

‘ It happen’d then, there came that way,
A fly that only lives a day ;
Who thinking it was rather odd,
Such rev’rence should be paid a toad,
First ask’d the reason of the fuss,
And then address’d the reptile thus :

‘ “ And so,” said he, “ I find it’s true,
This *world’s* but twice as old as you ;
A poor ephemeron am I,
This day was born, this day must die ;
Yet I maintain, say what you will,
My life has been the longest still.”

‘ “ What !” said the toad, with angry hiss,
“ D’ye mean by such a speech as this ?”

‘ “ Sir,” said the fly with ready breath,
“ Sleep is another kind of death ;
Your days, though more than I can number,
You’ve spent in one continued slumber ;
My life, though short it is, I own,
Has never once a slumber known : —
I do not reckon in the term
While I remain’d a torpid worm ;
Nor you the time you must have dozed
Ere stone around you could have closed ;
Nor when one’s *half asleep* you see,
Which you *at present* seem to be ;
But when one’s broad awake, you know,
And doing what one has to do,
As has this very day been done
By me, a poor ephemeron ;
Which *single day*, it hence appears,
Exceeds your long *three thousand years*.”

‘ I’d further add, the sense to fix,
Lie not till *nine*, but rise at *six* ;
The longer you can keep awake,
The longer you your life will make.’

This, surely, is somewhat feeble and diffuse ; and yet we question whether children would be much displeased with its *particularity*, or even its *prolixity* ; so similar are the tastes of chattering childhood and of narrative old age.

‘ The Fox and the Crow’ is another instance (in our judgment) of excessive garrulity ; and of what is worse, an alteration in the turn of the old story, far from being an improvement. It was *flattery* by which the original Fox extracted the envied morsel from the mouth of the Crow ; in the present fable, it is *insult*. The Crow is told that her voice is execrable ; and, to prove the contrary, she pipes, and drops her dinner. Now, although we are far from feeling any antipathy to reform in the trifles of “ Church and State,” yet in such a serious matter as Æsop’s Fables we really cannot tolerate any audacity of innovation.

The engravings affixed to each fable are sufficiently ill-drawn, but may answer the purpose intended.

Art. 12. *Eighteen Hundred and Twenty.* A Poem. Part First.
8vo. pp. 38. Miller. 1821.

The sentiments of this little production are of a higher stamp than the poetry in which they are expressed : but some passages are written with considerable spirit ; as, for instance, when, after having commented on the persecution of Arguelles, the author thus proceeds :

‘ Oh noble comrades ! can it be
That Spanish men shall bear such infamy ?
Whose cause demands it ? mark ye not
The swarm of butterflies that float
With painted coats of gaily glancing hue,
In the warm noon-tide of the sovereign’s view ?
Do ye not mark with subtle hearts of pride,
And humble mien, the churchmen at his side ;
Who buy with promises of future bliss,
In other worlds, the usufruct of this ?
These are the foes that have your weal withstood,
And marr’d the glorious boon you bought for Spain with blood.

‘ But wake ye gallant sons of Spain,
And these shall vanish like the morning dew.
How should the liveried petticoated train
Of priests and lords contend with such as you ?
Awake ! and let the glorious cry,
“ Freedom and Spain,” resound from Leon’s isle,
And over hill and valley fly,
Where’er Iberia’s blessed regions smile.
Heroes in hosts shall rise on ev’ry side,
As when the invading Frenchmen touched the plain ;
And right shall be to victory your guide,
And liberty and joy shall beam anew on Spain.’

The writer promises a sequel, containing a sketch of the political events of subsequent years; and he therefore takes care to announce that the title which he has affixed is rather a title of the present part than of the whole poem.

Art. 13. *Select Works of the British Poets*, with Biographical and Critical Prefaces. By Dr. Aikin. Royal 8vo. 18s. Boards. Longman and Co.

We know not whether our readers have ever experienced the same feeling, but to us it is a very great relief, after having "taken our fulness" of the modern poets, to recur to the old standard-writers who were the favourites of our youthful days. We are contented with a perusal or two of Childe Harold, and with again glancing over Moore's beautiful songs: but to Spenser, and Milton, and Dryden, and Pope, we perpetually turn as to the high models of our poetic taste. It has been too much the fashion of late years to study the great art of poetry only in the productions of modern bards; and, while their names are mentioned with all reverence, to neglect the cultivation of our older writers. We have therefore noticed with pleasure the appearance of a compilation, which places before us the best portions of our best poets in a very accessible form; and in the selection of which we have the benefit of the sound taste, and critical abilities, of a gentleman so long and so usefully known to the world of letters as Dr. Aikin. The plan of the present volume is both comprehensive and judicious; containing, as it does, a chronological series of our classical poets from Ben Jonson to Beattie, without mutilation or abridgement, enriched with biographical and critical notices of the authors. It is certainly a great improvement not to subject the poems to the caprice of the compiler, but to give them in an entire state; and the biographical prefaces are executed in a very neat and perspicuous manner.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, &c.

Art. 14. *Lives of Eminent Scotsmen*. Parts IV. and V. 18mo. 2s. 6d. sewed. Boys.

We are sorry that this publication seems to decrease in interest as it proceeds; and we regret that 'the Secretary of the ancient Scots Society,' as the editor styles himself, has resolved to occupy six parts with the lives of poets, when memoirs of all the Scotch poets deserving to be recorded might well have been comprized in three parts. A more discriminating selection of the subjects of biography, though it would have diminished the extent, would have much enhanced the value of the work. Number IV. contains the lives of Alexander Hume, John Bellenden, Mark Alexander Boyd, William Wilkie, Robert Fergusson, William Julius Mickle, Alexander Geddes, and James Grahame. The lives of the unfortunate Fergusson and of the amiable Grahame are written with much feeling: but perhaps the most interesting sketch is that of Dr. Geddes; who (though the sooner his *poetry* is forgotten the better) will ever be remembered and revered, notwithstanding

standing his singularities, as a man of extraordinary learning, and of genius and sincerity still more uncommon. The account of Wilkie is given with fairness; and the author justly observes of the *Epigoniad*, — in which Hume, by the aid of national partiality, could discover “sublime beauties,” and which he unfortunately pronounced to be “one of the ornaments of our language,” — that it is ‘not altogether such a poem as persons will read who read with any other purpose than that of reading themselves asleep.’

In the life of Mickle, mention is made rather too contemptuously of ‘a Dr. Harwood,’ and the author betrays his own ignorance by his comments on the controversy which passed between Mickle and that scholar. His eulogy both on Camoens and on his translator appears to us extravagant.

We remarked, in our comments on the former parts, some errors in the Latin quotations, which we were willing to attribute to the inadvertence of the printer: but similar mistakes occur in this part so often, and so closely, (see pages 32, 33, 34. 36.) that we seem impelled and authorized to doubt the learning of the worthy ‘Secretary.’

The fifth number, besides the lives of Henryson, Alexander Scot, Ogilby, Lord Glencairn, Mallet, Falconer, Blair, Granger, and Macneill, is occupied with memorials of Walter Kennedy, Alexander Pennycuik, Lord Gardenstone, Dr. Moore, James Græme, Caleb Whitefoord, and John Wilson. Among these last worthies, it is very true that Lord Gardenstone was a man of good shrewd sense, that Dr. Moore was an excellent Greek scholar, and filled the Professor’s chair at Glasgow with great credit, and that Caleb Whitefoord was in his day the very model of humour and good nature: but, as to their poetry, it is as little worth preserving as that of the Wilsons or the Kennedies whose very names are now forgotten. Personal character may be of great service to a writer in his life-time, and national partiality may even do somewhat more: but the art of man must fail in attempting to embalm for ever the memory of mere versifiers. We presume that the following remark, in the life of Lord Gardenstone, was not very recently written: ‘The Scotch have not for a long time past been able to boast of many satirists of note. *The want of Scottish writers in this class is, I am willing to believe, owing to the want in Scotland of occasion for them.*’

With regard to the other minor poets whose poems still survive, the demerits of Ogilby are criticized with justice: but Mallet’s talents are much over-rated by his biographer, though his conduct as a man is very properly condemned. We were sorry to observe some comments introduced in his life on the trial of Admiral Byng, and a palliation attempted of that judicial murder from which humanity recoils. The eulogy of Blair’s “Grave” is in our opinion much too great: though the sombre cast of that poem, and the prejudices of early education, have produced for it in the north a degree of admiration in which southern readers can but little participate. The ground-work of the author’s own plain thoughts and vulgar diction is so strangely intermixed with splen-

did patches, caught up in his perusal of better writings, that we do not recollect a single paragraph in the whole in which some odd and repulsive discordance does not occur. Several passages, it is true, have pith and nerve; and many exhibit that pregnant abruptness which was at once the forte and the failing of our English moaner, Young.

E D U C A T I O N.

Art. 15. *The Young Ladies' and Gentlemen's Arithmetic*; containing a clear Demonstration of the Fundamental Rules; shewing the Nature and Properties of Simple and Compound Numbers; illustrated by upwards of Four Hundred original Examples, &c. By W. H. White, Head Master of the Foundation-Schools, Bedford. 12mo. 1s. 3d. bound. Longman and Co. 1821.

This little work differs essentially from most other treatises on the same subject: its object being to combine the theory and practice of arithmetic in the first fundamental rules, and to lead the student into a habit of reasoning as well as working. We think that the plan is judicious: but the author has perhaps, in some instances, attempted too much. We would have omitted several of his definitions, which meet with no application in simple arithmetic; and his demonstration of the equality of the products $A \times B$, and $B \times A$, is an unnecessary and useless attempt, because it is impossible that it should be comprehended by a student just entering on the first operations in arithmetic.

B O T A N Y.

Art. 16. *A Grammar of Botany*, illustrative of Artificial as well as Natural Classification, with an Explanation of Jussieu's System. By Sir James Edward Smith, M. D. F. R. S. &c. &c. President of the Linnæan Society. 8vo. pp. 262., and Plates. 12s. Boards, plain; and 1l. 11s. 6d. coloured. Longman and Co. 1821.

It is singularly fortunate when the great adepts in any science condescend to teach and illustrate its elementary principles; for none can be better qualified to appreciate and to generalize its essential doctrines, or to exhibit them with perspicuity and correctness to others. Among the benefits, therefore, which the learned and zealous President of the Linnæan Society has conferred on botany, is his Introduction to its Physiology and Arrangement, which has already reached a fourth impression. With the view, however, of rendering it still more completely serviceable, and enabling the purchasers of the early editions to have the supplementary information in a separate form, he has been induced to publish the present compendious volume, the contents of which are neatly illustrated by many well-executed plates. In the first five chapters, which exhibit precise and methodical definitions of the parts of a plant, and their uses, no technical language is employed but such as was unavoidable; and the materials are so succinctly and consecutively arranged, that they may, without
any

any very arduous effort, be impressed on the memory, and thus lay an accurate and stable ground-work of botanical education. The theory of systematical arrangement, which is treated in the same abbreviated form in the sixth chapter, will also require to be well fixed in the mind, as it directly leads to the apprehension and practical application of the Linnéan artificial distribution; which, with a few modifications, is unfolded in the seventh chapter. The sequel of the work is occupied with a masterly and dispassionate exposition of De Jussieu's and Linné's natural orders, including various corrections and apposite remarks, with repeated references to the improvements of Brown, Gærtner, and others. Throughout, Sir James Smith keeps steadily in view the appropriate uses and respective value of the two descriptions of method; and he justly assigns to Linné the priority of having suggested and attempted a mode of classifying plants according to their natural affinities. It is erroneous, therefore, and even detrimental to the interests of science, to talk of the artificial and natural arrangements as *rival* systems, since each has its own particular object; and the one may be compared to an encyclopædia, in which the subjects are disposed alphabetically, and the other to a general or philosophical chart of the various departments of knowledge and art, laid down in the order of their relations and dependencies. From the preface, we are led to anticipate a more ample elucidation of the natural orders in the Flora, 'which has so long been promised to the British reader in his own language;' and the fulfilment of which will complete an excellent vernacular passport to the varied botany of our island.

P O L I T I C S.

Art. 17. *Considerations on Political Economy.* By Edward Solly, Esq. Translated from the German by Thomas Wilkinson. 8vo. pp. 102. 3s. 6d. Richardson.

Mr. Solly's original 'Considerations,' or aphorisms on political economy, occupy only 24 out of the 102 pages of which this pamphlet consists. Then we have the author's 'Explanations occasioned by a Friend's Objections;' and these are followed by two critiques on the 'Considerations,' one from the *Jena Literary Gazette*, and the other from the *Halle Literary Gazette*. A criticism on these critiques forms a third division of the pamphlet; and the fourth and last is devoted to some observations 'On the Trade with England, reprinted from the Rhenish Newspaper, and published at Berlin in 1816.' The author advocates freedom of trade, and with great force and spirit displays the impolicy and absurdity of what was called the continental system of exclusion. His remarks seem calculated to have made a considerable impression at the time when they were written.

R E L I G I O U S.

Art. 18. *Suggestions on Clerical Elocution:* by John Lettice, D.D. Prebendary of Chichester, &c. 12mo. pp. 96. Rivingtons. 1822.

This

This veteran writer, who published a prize-poem fifty-seven years ago, and has since been the author (*inter alia*) of a Village-Catechist, of a work on the threatened invasion, and of Fables for the Fireside, is very anxious to stop the growth of particular sectaries, who quarrel more with the discipline than with the doctrines of the Church of England. He thinks, as so many others have been persuaded, that the progress of such sects is owing, in a great measure, to the defective oratory and the languid indifferent manner of the clergymen of the Establishment: he therefore submits to their consideration this little volume of hints; and he informs them that, besides his age and experience, he has credentials for the task which he undertakes, in his relationship on the father's side to the Markhams, and on the mother's to the Newcomes; in some courtesies which his elocution acquired for him in his own University of Oxford; and in 'the sanction of his venerable diocesan's approval, which,' he says, 'may be safely relied on to protect him from censure or reproach in any quarter whatever.' As nothing new is either promised or pretended, the students who are preparing themselves for holy orders, and the young deacons, for whose use this little work is intended, will have only themselves to blame if they are disappointed in the perusal of the suggestions of their venerable monitor.

M E C H A N I C S.

Art. 19. *An Essay on the Construction of Wheel-Carriages; as they affect both the Roads and the Horses; with Suggestions relating to the Principles on which Tolls ought to be imposed, and a few Remarks on the Formation of Roads.* By Joseph Storre Fry. 8vo. pp. 137. 6s. Boards. Arch, &c.

The little science that is employed in the construction of carts and waggons, as we commonly see them, seems to have led to a belief that science is not necessary for that purpose: though there are, perhaps, very few mechanical applications of animal power more important, in a national point of view, than that which relates to internal communications, and the transfer of goods, merchandise, &c. from one part of the country to another. We have probably in no other case so completely persevered in the line chalked out to us by our forefathers; and, though we have improved our roads, our carriages retain the form which they bore a century ago.

In the year 1808, a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the state of the roads and the construction of wheels, carriages, &c., made three distinct reports, which were ordered to be printed, and from which much interesting information may be obtained on these subjects. It appears, however, from the preface to the work before us, that Mr. Fry had composed this treatise in 1798; viz. at least ten years before the Committee delivered the reports just mentioned; and we must therefore consider the hints which it contains as independent of the evidence procured during the parliamentary inquiry, though they advert to the same subjects, and in most instances coincide very closely with the statements there made.

Mr. Fry

Mr. Fry shews that the common conically formed wheel is injurious both to the roads and to the horses, and wears out faster than cylindrical wheels. This is precisely the opinion of Mr. Jessop; who, in his examination before the parliamentary Committee, says, "I may venture to assert that, by the exclusive adoption of cylindrical broad wheels, and flat roads, there would be a saving of one horse in four, of 75 per cent. in the repair of roads, 50 per cent. in the wear of tire, and that the wheels with spokes alternately inclined would be equally strong with conical ones, and wear twice as long as wheels do now on the common roads." — Mr. Fry, however, instead of broad wheels, recommends the number of them to be increased; so that each wheel, bearing a less part of the weight, would be more easily drawn over any interposing obstacle. — The chapters relating to the imposition of tolls, the construction of roads, the improper loading of stage coaches, &c. contain also some judicious remarks, to which we would refer those of our readers who take an interest in these matters.

M A T H E M A T I C S.

Art. 20. *Address of M. Hoene Wronski to the British Board of Longitude*, upon the actual State of the Mathematics, their Reform, and upon the new Celestial Mechanics, giving the definite Solution of the Problem of the Longitude. 8vo. 5s. Egerton.

For our opinion of M. Wronski's mathematical quackeries, we must refer to M.R. vol. lxxxii. p. 543., where we had occasion to speak of his "*Philosophie de la Technie Algorithmique*;" and for some other facts connected with his philosophical career, we would recommend the perusal of a work published by a certain banker or merchant of Paris, to whom we have alluded in the article above quoted. This unfortunate gentleman (the banker) appears to have spent a very ample fortune in search of what M. Wronski calls the *Absolute*, but which at last turned out to be nothing but absolute poverty and vexation.

We still, however, find M. Wronski endeavouring to palm the same unintelligible jargon on the British Board of Longitude. For example, he says in his present address:

' Happily, about this time, an unexpected reform in philosophy herself began, at length, to be realized among men. Germany astonished Europe by the certainty which, all of a sudden, she knew to attach to sublime truths, which, until this epocha, had remained but simple conjectures with man. The character pronounced by this grand revolution in the human reason was an open tendency towards the Absolute itself. All the sciences, all the superior arts, in a word, all the dominion of man's knowledge was clearly confessed to be but the provisional state, which expected from this Absolute in question the peremptory base of its establishment.

' As for us, pursuing these grand objects, we had, anew, the happiness to go far enough to arrive at the desired point, where we found, at length, this peremptory base of the mathematics, of which we had just felt the necessity.

‘Established upon a like base, it was now easy for us to discover, all at once, those various principles of the mathematics, after which we had been seeking, and also that final term of the science where its absolute principle is found, and towards which geometers, during many years, had openly inclined. This discovery was even so easy under the point of absolute view, wherein we had placed ourselves, that we claim no merit from it, and consequently can announce it ourselves without trespassing on the barriers of modesty.

‘The results of these researches were then, at first, not a new philosophy, for there existed none, but the prime and necessarily the true Philosophy of the Mathematics; afterwards, the complete system of the universal generation of quantities, which we name the Techny of the Mathematics; and, at last, the final term of this science, beyond which there remains nothing further to discover, that is to say, the absolute principle of the science, constituting the Supreme Law of the Mathematics.’

That any person should imagine the possibility of imposing on the understanding of a body of scientific men, by such unintelligible *verbiage*, must seem very extraordinary: yet it does appear that the only motive, which brought M. Wronski to London, was the hope of gaining the reward offered by the English government for the completion of the longitude-problem.

We must, however, admit that, in the midst of all the author's extravagance we find undoubted proofs of a certain portion of mathematical knowlege, both theoretical and historical; which, were it kept distinct from the unmeaning phraseology with which the volume abounds, would be reputable to the writer, although we do not conceive that it would give him any legal claim to parliamentary reward.

There is reason to fear, we believe, that some of the accusations made against the administration of the longitude-act are too well founded. The number of *attending* members, who are competent to judge of the accuracy or inaccuracy of refined mathematical theories, is very limited; and among those few, perhaps that liberal and conciliatory disposition is not manifested which we could wish to see displayed in executing the important duties imposed on the commissioners by that statute. In the present instance, however, we cannot but think that the decision has been perfectly just, and that M. Wronski has no real cause of complaint.

M I S C E L L A N E O U S.

Art. 21. *Letters of Junius*; with Preliminary Dissertations and Copious Notes. By Atticus Secundus. 24mo. 6s. Boards. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Whittakers, London. 1822.

This edition may be recommended to all those persons whose eyes are microscopes, but it will be of little use to others. He who can write the “Belief” and the “Lord’s Prayer” on one of his little finger-nails may perhaps read Junius’s Letters printed on half-a-dozen watch-papers. The notes appended to the text are very

very numerous, and leave unexplained no allusion of the author to persons or events.

The first of the preliminary dissertations gives a general view of the political history of Great Britain, from the accession of George III. to the time when Junius wrote. A reader of these Letters who is unprepared with a competent knowledge of the state of parties in the nation, of the character and views of those around the court, and of the figurantes in the several administrations which "kibed each others' heels" at this period, loses half the delight which another enjoys who comes to the perusal of them better informed. A dissertation, therefore, furnishing the requisite information, is very desirable for young persons.

In a 'General Review' of the Letters, forming the second dissertation, the editor has laboured to discover the *plan* which Junius sketched out for himself and pursued. In most other compositions, he observes, 'the perception of a plan is of essential use in facilitating their comprehension; and although in a series of letters the same methodical arrangement is not required, because each letter is supposed to be complete within itself, yet in a series written for the purpose of enforcing certain political maxims some such design ought to prevail; and in the Letters of Junius there is most assuredly a very distinct and ably-sketched plan, for not only are there some which are principal and others which are subordinate, but even in the leading letters there is a regular order, and traces of a system previously formed.' Commentators often detect meanings which were never intended, or beauties in their authors of which the authors themselves were perfectly unconscious*; and we cannot think that, when Junius first started as a political writer, he chalked out for himself any plan, that is to say, any connected course and series of topics for discussion. The attack of persons was quite as much his object as the defence of principles. Spreading his ample pinions, the insatiate eagle sailed with supreme dominion through the air in search of prey; wherever the tainted gale gave scent, thither he directed his flight; and the hapless victim, on which his keen eye glanced, was instantly torn in pieces by his remorseless beak and irresistible talons. †

Dissertation iii. embraces some critical remarks on the style of Junius; on the temper displayed in his letters; on his political principles; and on the controversy respecting his real name. The arguments adduced in a pamphlet and its supplement, published four or five years ago, intitled "The Identity of Junius with a distinguished living Character established," to prove that Sir Philip

* "So learned commentators view

In Homer more than Homer knew." HUDIBRAS.

† A note by Junius himself, on one of Sir William Draper's Letters, may explain what were the notions which he entertained as to personalities in controversy: "Measures, not men," &c. The reader may consult p. 273.

Francis

Francis was the author, made a strong impression on some minds, though not any upon us, and is resolutely maintained by the present editor. Sir Philip is since dead, and an expectation was formed that curiosity as to this literary question with respect to him would, on that event, have been satisfied: but we are not aware that any papers or documents left behind have either confirmed the suspicion or disavowed the charge.

In comparing this with the common editions of Junius in circulation, we observe several omissions; *generally* speaking, not of any great importance indeed, but we cannot imagine the reason for them. "A Vindication of the Duke of Grafton by a Volunteer" (Let. ix., old edit.) is omitted in this, although Junius's Reply is given; and so is the "Volunteer's" rejoinder. The "Tears of Sedition by Poetasticos;" "Junius to Poetasticos;" "Poetasticos to Junius;" "Hector (evidently Junius) to Poetasticos;" and "Poetasticos's Resolve," are all left out: together with "Old Noll's Reply to the Charges against the Duke of Grafton;" although Philo Junius's "Reply to Old Noll" is inserted. Again, "Junius to Junia" (Let. xxxv., old edit.) is omitted; and, though Junius's *Answer* to "Modestus" is inserted, the two letters from "Modestus" which provoked the reluctant answer (Letters xlv. and xlvii., old edit.) are discarded: yet these letters of Modestus are somewhat elaborate, excellently written, vigorous, and spirited. The omission of most consequence, however, is discoverable in the last two letters: where "The Resolves of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights" are altogether missing: as also two-thirds of Junius's "Letter to John Wilkes," dated September 7. 1771, and laid before the Society of "Supporters."

CORRESPONDENCE.

Philo is very welcome to amuse himself, but he has not much edified us. Indeed, we think that his criticism is "*lifeless*," and therefore we shall be "*speechless*" with regard to it.

Mr. Davis's book is not forgotten, but is in the hands of one of our *tardy* friends.

Mr. Fearn's very polite communication is received; and we are particularly happy, unknown as he is to us, to have been able to excite his acknowledgements by bestowing that notice and approbation on his work, to which we deemed it in every respect so well intitled.

We are obliged to postpone the notice of several other communications.



THE MONTHLY REVIEW,

For APRIL, 1822.

ART. I. *The Martyr of Antioch*: a Dramatic Poem. By the Rev. H. H. Milman, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. 8vo. 8s. 6d. Boards. Murray. 1822.

THE genius of Milman rises on us in the strongest and the clearest light. He has burst through the clouds that obscured his early course, and has become (we do not hesitate to say) the sun of our poetical hemisphere. Such praise as this will not, by any of our friends, be ascribed to indiscriminate admiration: but, as it can be defended only by ample proof of its correctness, so we are convinced that we shall at once gratify our readers and vindicate ourselves by extended quotations from the work now before us. It is, indeed, a work which exhibits an extraordinary variety of talent, of good feeling, and of good taste; and though of the two former properties this author's compositions have invariably appeared to be fully indicative, of the third we certainly did not, in his first effort, deem him a distinguished possessor. The drama of *Fazio*, with all its freshness and vigour of design, was (as we shewed at length *,) so decidedly imitative of the language of our elder dramatists, so laboriously and obtrusively "AN OLD PLAY," in all its accessories of manner and phraseology, that we could not but lament the load of impediments to the natural effect of his genius which the author had wantonly laid on it. There was a bribe, indeed, offered by the public at that period for the revival of any thing Shakspearian, or *Ben-Jonsonian*; and in the blind and silly admiration of antiquity, resulting from the successful and liberal prosecution of antiquarian studies, a close mimicry of the dramatic style of Elizabeth and James seemed necessary to the popularity of any modern play-writer. Our countrymen have now shaken off, in some degree, this imbecile old folly; and the natural and forcible manner which we have so long and so earnestly recommended, the expression of our

* See Monthly Review, vol. lxxxiv. N. S. p. 199.

thoughts in the poetic language of our own æra, is resuming those honours which it gathered from the stage in the days of Southern and of Otway.

On this subject, however, we shall not farther expatiate here. Pleased, nay sincerely delighted, to see the manifest and undeniable improvement of one of our most gifted poets; to mark his gradual disentanglement from his antiquarian imitations; and to receive, after the excellent "*Fall of Jerusalem*," such a present as '*The Martyr of Antioch*;' we sit down with more unmixed ardor than we often feel to the task of criticism, and to communicate to our readers the principal beauties of this interesting, pathetic, and sublime dramatic poem.

The '*Introduction*' of the author is singularly meagre: but, indeed, he seems to wish Mr. Gibbon to introduce him, and refers to the twenty-third chapter of the "*Decline and Fall*." All that he tells us himself, in elucidation of his story, is conveyed in the ensuing sentences:

'This poem is founded on the following part of the History of Saint Margaret. She was the daughter of a heathen priest, and beloved by Olybius, the Prefect of the East, who wished to marry her. The rest of the legend I have thought myself at liberty to discard, and to fill up the outline as my own imagination suggested.'

When the author proceeds to talk of Mr. Gibbon's '*florid and too glowing description*' of the sacred grove of Daphne and Temple of Apollo at Antioch, may we not suggest that he has himself made his Heathen worshippers, and their poetical ceremonies, highly attractive? Not that we blame him for having so done, because the greater is the triumph of the true Faith; and, certainly, Mr. Milman's present poem would have been deprived of one of its greatest charms, if it had been robbed of any portion of the happy and striking contrast which it draws between Heathenism and Christianity. To have intitled him to the credit of candor in history, (without saying any thing of comprehensiveness in philosophy,) Mr. Gibbon should have presented a contrast similar in outline at least to his expecting readers.

With regard to the love of Olybius for Margarita, we cannot object on the score of probability, because it is an historic fact: but the author has not managed this part of his subject with sufficient care:—he has not adequately apprized us, by casual hints and poetic retrospections, however brief, of the origin and growth of this passion, on which so large a part of the interest of the drama depends. Having said this much in justice to ourselves, we must now give our
readers

readers the high gratification of hearing the sound of a truly classical harp; true in its tone, and classical in the subjects of its music.

The poem commences with a hymn to Apollo; which, although very good, is so decidedly inferior in our judgment to some of the other lyrical effusions, that we pass it by, and take our first passage from the dialogue:—but even this shall not be from the first scene. In that scene, Margarita, the priestess of the Sun, having been long expected, at last makes her appearance, and utters only a few mysterious sentences; which the reader understands, but which the characters of the scene know not how to apply to her conversion to Christianity. Vopiscus, an envoy from the Emperor to the Præfect of the East, then arrives, and bears the orders of Probus to the reluctant Olybius, who is throughout an amiable and good character, (according to his principles and means of knowledge,) for instituting a new persecution of the Christians. This is a judicious opening.

The next scene begins thus :

‘ THE GROVE OF DAPHNE. — EVENING.

‘ *Margarita.* My way is through the dim licentious Daphne,
And evening darkens round my stealthful steps;
Yet I must pause to rest my weary limbs.

‘ Oh, thou polluted, yet most lovely grove!
Hath the Almighty breathed o’er all thy bowers
An everlasting spring, and paved thy walks
With amaranthine flowers — are but the winds,
Whose breath is gentle, suffer’d to entangle
Their light wings, not unwilling prisoners,
In thy thick branches, there to make sweet murmurs
With the bees’ hum, and melodies of birds,
And all the voices of the hundred fountains,
That drop translucent from the mountain’s side,
And lull themselves along their level course
To slumber with their own soft-sliding sounds;
And all for foul idolatry, or worse,
To make itself an home and sanctuary?

‘ Oh, second Eden, like the first, defiled
With sin! even like thy human habitants,
Thy winds and flowers and waters have forgot
The gracious hand that made them, ministers
Voluptuous to man’s transgressions — all,
Save thou, sweet nightingale! that, like myself,
Pourest alone thy melancholy song
To silence and to God — not undisturb’d —
The velvet-turf gives up a quickening sound
Of coming steps: — Oh, thou that lov’st the holy,
Protect me from the sinful — from myself!
’Twas what I fear’d — Olybius!’

We cannot afford the love-scene; and the song of the Christians at their burial-place must also be omitted. So must the dialogue that succeeds, in which the different characters of the Christians are well *implied*; and the hot enthusiasm of the young Charinus, eager for martyrdom, is admirably relieved by the steadier and milder piety of the more experienced and aged Fabius. The conference is broken off by lights gleaming through the shades, and betokening the swift advance of the heathen persecutors.

That the scene between Callias, the priest of the Sun, and his affectionate daughter, which next follows, is most animated, the subjoined extract witnesses; in which the old man, now first apprized of any thing like apostacy in his daughter, endeavours to rouse her Pagan piety. He is pointing to Apollo's statue in his temple.

‘ *Callias*. Dost not behold him,
Thy God ! thy father’s God ! the God of Antioch !
And feel’st thou not the cold and silent awe,
That emanates from his immortal presence
O’er all the breathless temple ? Dar’st thou see
The terrible brightness of the wrath that burns
On his arch’d brow ? Lo, how the indignation
Swells in each strong dilated limb ! his stature
Grows loftier ; and the roof, the quaking pavement,
The shadowy pillars, all the temple feels
The offended God ! — I dare not look again,
Dar’st thou ?

‘ *Margarita*. I see a silent shape of stone,
In which the majesty of human passion
Is to the life express’d. A noble image,
But wrought by mortal hands, upon a model
As mortal as themselves.

' Callias.

Ha! look again, then,
There in the East. Mark how the purple clouds
Throng to pavilion him : the officious winds
Pant forth to purify his azure path
From night's dun vapours and fast-scattering mists.
The glad earth wakes in adoration : all
The voices of all animate things lift up
Tumultuous orisons ; the spacious world
Lives but in him, that is its life. But he,
Disdainful of the universal homage,
Holds his calm way, and vindicates for his own
Th' illimitable heavens, in solitude
Of peerless glory unapproachable.
What means thy proud undazzled look, to adore,
Or mock, ungracious ?

‘ *Margarita.* On yon burning orb
I gaze, and say, — Thou mightiest work of him

That

That launch'd thee forth, a golden-crowned bridegroom,
 To hang thy everlasting nuptial lamp
 In the exulting heavens. In thee the light,
 Creation's eldest born, was tabernacled.
 To thee was given to quicken slumbering nature,
 And lead the seasons' slow vicissitude
 Over the fertile breast of mother-earth ;
 Till men began to stoop their groveling prayers,
 From the Almighty Sire of all to thee.
 And I will add, — Thou universal emblem,
 Hung in the forehead of the all-seen heavens,
 Of him, that with the light of righteousness
 Dawn'd on our latter days ; the visitant dayspring
 Of the benighted world. Enduring splendour !
 Giant refresh'd ! that evermore renew'st
 Thy flaming strength ; nor ever shalt thou cease,
 With time coeval, even till Time itself
 Hath perish'd in eternity. Then thou
 Shalt own, from thy apparent deity
 Debased, thy mortal nature, from the sky
 Withering before the all-enlightening Lamb,
 Whose radiant throne shall quench all other fires.
 ' *Callias.* And yet she stands unblasted !'

Glowing as the above is, some of it is a little loaded. — The soliloquy of Margarita, and a few stanzas of the 'Hymn' that follows, *will* not be left out :

' *Margarita.* 'Tis over now — and oh, I bless thee, Lord,
 For making me thus desolate below ;
 For severing one by one the ties that bind me
 To this cold world, for whither can earth's outcasts
 Fly but to heaven ?

Yet is no way but this,
 None but to steep my father's lingering days
 In bitterness ? Thou knowest, gracious Lord
 Of mercy, how he loves me, how he loved me
 From the first moment that my eyes were open'd
 Upon the light of day and him. At least,
 If thou must smite him, smite him in thy mercy.
 He loves me as the life-blood of his heart,
 His love surpasses every love but thine.

' HYMN.

For thou didst die for me, oh, Son of God !
 By thee the throbbing flesh of man was worn ;
 Thy naked feet the thorns of sorrow trod,
 And tempests beat thy houseless head forlorn.
 Thou, that wert wont to stand
 Alone, on God's right hand,
 Before the Ages were, the Eternal, eldest born.

From the blank silence of the void abyss ;
 At whose command at once the unpeopled world
 Brake out in life, and man, the lord of all,
 Walk'd that pure Paradise, from which his sin
 Expell'd him — God, that to the elder world
 Spake with the avenging voice of rolling waters,
 When the wide deluge swept from all the earth
 The giant-born — He that in thunder-peals
 Held dreadful converse with his chosen people ;
 And made the portent-teeming elements,
 And the rapt souls of Prophets, to proclaim
 His will almighty — in our latter days
 'That God hath spoken by his Son. He came,
 From the dark ages of the infant world
 Foretold, — the Prophets' everlasting burthen.
 The Virgin bare the Son, the angelic hosts
 Burst out in song — the father from his clouds
 Declared him. To his miracles of might
 Consenting, Nature own'd her Lord. His power,
 His sorrows, all his glory, all his shame,
 His cross, his death, his broken tomb bare witness,
 And the bright clouds that wrapt him to the Sire
 Ascending. And again he comes, again ;
 But not as then, not clad in mortal flesh,
 To live the life, or die the death of man :
 Girt with his own omnipotence ; his throne
 The wreck of worlds ; the glory of his presence
 Lighting infinity : He comes to assume
 Th' eternal judgment-seat. Then thou and I,
 Olybius, and thy armed satellites,
 And these my meek and lowly followers ;
 Thou, that art there enthroned in purple robes,
 The thrice-triumphant Lord of all our Asia,
 And I, a nameless, weak, unknown old man,
 That stand an helpless criminal before thee,
 Shall meet once more. 'The earth shall cast us up,
 The winds shall waft our thin and scatter'd ashes,
 The ocean yield us up our drowned bones ;
 There shall we meet before the cloudy throne —
 Before the face of him, whose awful brightness
 Shall be the sun of that dread day, in which
 The thousand thousands of the angelic hosts,
 And all the souls of all mankind shall bask,
 Waiting their doom eternal. Thou and I
 Shall there give in the accompt of this day's process,
 And Christ shall render each his due reward.
 Now, sir, your sentence'

We find our space for selections almost exhausted before we have gone half through the work, or redeemed half of those *pledges of quotation* which we had inserted in the pages of this poem.

The hymn of the Christians as they leave the scene, expecting martyrdom, is but a minor effort, and perhaps *ought* to be so. The interview, however, between Callias and his daughter in the prison, is most tender; in parts very like Otway; and confirming all our previous sentiments, on the subject of the true language of tragedy for the present century. The old man has been exasperating his misery, by a fruitless comparison of the transcendant admiration which Margarita once raised in Antioch, with the disgrace and horror of her present condition; and Margarita says:

‘ My father,

I could have better borne thy wrath, thy curse.

‘ *Callias*. Alas! I am too wretched to feel wrath:

There is no violence in a broken spirit.

Well, I’ve not long to live: it matters not

Whether the old man go henceforth alone.

And if his limbs should fail him, he may seize

On some cold pillar, or some lintel post,

For that support which human hands refuse him;

Or he must hire some slave, with face and voice

Dissonant and strange; or —

‘ *Margarita*.

Gracious Lord, have mercy!

For what to this to-morrow’s scourge or stake?

‘ *Callias*. And he must sit the livelong day alone

In silence, in the Temple porch. No lyre,

Or one by harsh and jarring fingers touch’d,

For that which all around distill’d a calm

More sweet than slumber. Unfamiliar hands

Must strew his pillow, and his weary eyes

By unfamiliar hands be closed at length

For their long sleep.

‘ *Margarita*. Alas! alas! my father,

Why do they rend me from thee, for what crime?

I am a Christian: will a Christian’s hands

With tardier zeal perform a daughter’s duty?

A Christian’s heart with colder fondness tend

An aged father? What forbids me still

To lead thy feeble steps, where the warm sun

Quickens thy chill and languid blood; or where

Some shadow soothes the noontide’s burning heat;

To watch thy wants, to steal about thy chamber

With foot so light, as to invite the sleep

To shed its balm upon thy lids? Dear sir,

Our faith commands us even to love our foes —

Can it forbid to love a father?’

We must omit all that remains (except one lyric composition) either of analysis or of citation, that we had marked and prepared in our first reading of this attractive work, for our limits will really allow no more: but we can assure our readers

readers that, ample as our quotations have been, we have left them baskets full of flowers to gather for themselves; unhurt either in brilliancy or fragrance by the robberies which we have already committed on their odorous and beauteous sisterhood.

The rival songs of the Heathen and Christian priests are very fine; and some of the single sacred melodies, in their exclusive and devoted resignation, are as worthy of the subject *as any thing can be*. Our favourite, however, (we grieve to confess it,) is the last evening-melody of the youths and maids in the grove of Daphne; and surely the lighter airs of our noblest poetry breathe in this happy effusion.

‘ EVENING SONGS OF THE MAIDENS.

‘ (*Heard at a distance*).

‘ Come away, with willing feet
Quit the close and breathless street :
Sultry court and chamber leave,
Come and taste the balmy eve,
Where the grass is cool and green,
And the verdant laurels screen
All whose timid footsteps move
With the quickening stealth of love ;
Where Orontes’ waters hold
Mirrors to your locks of gold,
And the sacred Daphne weaves
Canopies of trembling leaves.

‘ Come away, the heavens above
Just have light enough for love ;
And the crystal Hesperus
Lights his dew-fed lamp for us.
Come, the wider shades are falling,
And the amorous birds are calling
Each his wandering mate to rest
In the close and downy nest.
And the snowy orange-flowers,
And the creeping jasmine-bowers,
From their swinging censers cast
Their richest odours, and their last.

‘ Come, the busy day is o’er,
Flying spindle gleams no more ;
Wait not till the twilight-gloom
Darken o’er th’ embroider’d loom.
Leave the toilsome task undone,
Leave the golden web unspun.
Hark, along the humming air
Home the laden bees repair ;
And the bright and dashing rill
From the side of every hill,
With a clearer, deeper sound,
Cools the freshening air around.

‘ Come

‘ Come, for though our God the Sun
 Now his fiery course hath run ;
 There the western waves among
 Lingers not his glory long ;
 There the couch awaits him still,
 Wrought by Jove-born Vulcan’s skill
 Of the thrice-refined gold,
 With its wings that wide unfold,
 O’er the surface of the deep
 To waft the bright-hair’d God asleep
 From the Hesperian islands blest,
 From the rich and purple West,
 To where the swarthy Indians lave
 In the farthest Eastern wave.

‘ There the Morn on tiptoe stands,
 Holding in her rosy hands
 All the amber-studded reins
 Of the steeds with fiery manes,
 For the sky-borne charioteer
 To start upon his new career,
 Come, for when his glories break,
 Every sleeping maid must wake.
 Brief be then our stolen hour
 In the fragrant Daphne’s bower ;
 Brief our twilight dance must be
 Underneath the cypress-tree.
 Come away, and make no stay,
 Youth and maiden, come away.’

The rest of the saintlier, sublimer, and more deeply interesting portions of this poem we now leave to those numerous readers whom it will doubtless attract : — but we cannot conclude without bestowing our highest praise on the patient attention which has pursued the execution of the work to its conclusion ; a quality so rare in all times, and certainly not less than usually uncommon in our own. The author has a due respect for the public, and for his own fame, which he has fixed on the most permanent basis by this drama.

One thing more we must mention, although at the risk of injuring that interest in the details of the catastrophe which, in all our quotations, we have been careful to leave unimpaired. The admirably imagined falling-off of Charinus exhibits a powerful example, and administers a most wholesome warning, to the professing, eager, and fervent Christian. Let him beware of the apostacy of many such would-be martyrs, and let him begin more gently ; or, at all events, let him not despise the spirit of that inimitable, and therefore frequently repeated, Heathen motto,

“ *Suaviter in modo — fortiter in re.*”

We

We know not what to say to Mr. Milman, respecting our wish that he should write again. For our own sake, we should decidedly exclaim, "Yes" — "yes" — "yes" — as often as the hermit does in Lazarillo de Tormes: but for his sake we would have him pause, and recollect that in individuals, as well as in states, there is a point of glory beyond which it requires almost superhuman exertions not to retrograde and descend. *

ART. II. *Private Correspondence of David Hume with several distinguished Persons*, between the Years 1761 and 1776; now first published from the Originals. 4to. pp. 285. 1l. 11s. 6d. Boards. Colburn.

THE title of this volume would have been more definite, if it had been called "Letters of David Hume and J. J. Rousseau to the Countess de Boufflers and some others;" since it consists of forty letters from Hume and twelve from Rousseau to that lady, and one from her in return to each of them; two from the Earl Marshal of Scotland to her; seven from Hume to the Countess de Barbantane, and two from him to an anonymous friend; one from Rousseau to the Earl Marshal; another from him to a person of the name of Meuron; another to General Conway; and another to David Hume. The greater part of this correspondence relates to Rousseau's quarrels on the Continent, his visit to England, his strange misunderstanding with Hume, and his return.

The state of nervous irritability, into which Rousseau had wrought himself by his self-sufficiency and self-importance, may be seen in the very ludicrous account that he gives of an ironical letter which he had received, and the composition of which he attributes to Voltaire.

' I received yesterday a letter, dated from and bearing the post-office mark of Metz, from a pretended Baron de Colval; it is enough to make one die with laughing, and betrays Voltaire in every line. I cannot resist, Madam, the desire I have to transcribe some passages from the self-same letter of the Baron. I hope they will amuse you.

' " I wish I had it in my power to transmit you, free of expence, two of my works. The first is a system of education, such as I have conceived it. It does not approach to the excellence of yours; but, till you appeared, I was the only person who could flatter himself with having attained the nearest to the object in view. The second is your *Héloïse*, of which I have made a comedy, in three acts, in prose, in the month of December last. I have communicated it to persons of talent, more especially to the principal

* Since the above was written, Mr. M. has advertized a new dramatic poem.

actors of, our Metz theatre. They have all pronounced it worthy of that of Paris; it is of the sentimental cast, in the taste of those of the late M. Delachaussee. I have addressed it, three months ago, to M. Du Bois, head secretary of the boards of Ordnance and Engineers, without having received an answer concerning it, the cause of which I cannot conceive. Had I known the interior of your excellent heart, as I now do, and had I been acquainted with your address in Paris, it is to you that I should have forwarded it, praying you to correct it, and to cause it to be brought out at the national theatre for my benefit.

“ I have a proposal to make you. I request the same service from you, which you have received from the vicar in Savoy, that is to say, to receive me in your house, without remuneration, for two years; to furnish me with lodging, board, fire, and candle. You are the only person, who can conduct me, in every respect, to felicity, and teach me to die. The excess of my humanity, with its inseparable compatability, has induced me to become bail for an officer, in the sum of 3200 livres. In settling my children in life, I have reserved for myself no more than a pension of 1500 livres — which you see is absorbed for upwards of two years. It is this circumstance which compels me to share your bread, during the said interval. You will have no cause to complain of me: I am very temperate; I like nothing but vegetables, and am very little fond of meat. I can dispense with almost every thing, except soup, which I am in the habit of taking twice a day. I eat every thing, but never ragouts dressed in copper-vessels, nor those refined ragouts, which poison.

“ I apprise you, that I am become deaf, in consequence of a fall: nevertheless I hear very well with the left ear, without its being necessary to elevate the voice, provided that one speak slowly, and close to this ear. At a distance I maintain a conversation, with the greatest facility, by means of signs, which are very easy to learn, and which I will teach you, as well as your friends. I am not curious; I never ask questions; I expect that people should have the complaisance to communicate to me whatever passes in the course of conversation.”

‘ The whole of the letter is in the same strain. You will tell me, that all this is nothing more than a silly joke. Granted; but I perceive that even in joking this worthy man makes me his continual theme and object, and this, Madam, tends to no good purpose. I am convinced that I never shall be suffered to live in peace on this earth, till this man shall have forgotten me.’

The sentiments which Rousseau and Hume entertained of one another before they met were certainly of a very exalted nature; and the postscript of a letter from Hume to the Countess de Boufflers shews how far he carried his admiration.

‘ P. S. So far I had wrote in answer to your Ladyship's of the 29th of May, when I was again honoured with yours of the 14th of June. Good God! Madam, how much I regret my being absent from London on this occasion, which deprives me of an oppor-

opportunity of shewing in person my regard for your recommendation, and my esteem, I had almost said veneration, for the virtue and genius of M. Rousseau. I assure your Ladyship there is no man in Europe of whom I have entertained a higher idea, and whom I would (*should*) be prouder to serve; and as I find his reputation very high in England, I hope every one will endeavour to make him sensible of it by civilities, and by services, as far as he will accept of them. I revere his greatness of mind, which makes him fly obligations and dependance; and I have the vanity to think, that through the course of my life I have endeavoured to resemble him in those maxims.

‘ But as I have some connexions with men of rank in London, I shall instantly write to them, and endeavour to make them sensible of the honour M. Rousseau has done us in choosing an asylum in England. We are happy at present in a king who has a taste for literature; and I hope M. Rousseau will find the advantage of it, and that he will not disdain to receive benefits from a great monarch, who is sensible of his merit. I am only afraid that your friend will find his abode in England not so agreeable as may be wished, if he does not possess the language, which I am afraid is the case: for I never could observe in his writings any marks of his acquaintance with the English tongue. The French nation will soon regret the loss of so great a man, and will be sensible that it is some dishonour to them to have lost him. We were in hopes that philosophical liberty had made greater advances in that country; and such of us as have indulged the freedom of the pen, had need be careful how they intrust their persons to such as profess these rigorous maxims, and do not think that any indulgence is even due to foreigners. I assure your Ladyship that this reflection gives me some uneasiness; but I will not allow myself to think that I shall always be condemned to admire you at a distance, and that I shall never have an opportunity of enjoying that conversation, of whose charms I have heard such frequent accounts.’

Rousseau, in terms still more ardent, wrote to Hume a letter of which the following is a tolerably literal translation:

‘ *Motiers Travers, February the 19th, 1763.*

‘ It is only very lately, and in this place, that I received the letter with which you honoured me in London on the second of July last, under the supposition that I was in that capital. Undoubtedly it is in the midst of your nation, and as near you as possible, that I should have sought for a retreat, could I have foreseen the reception which awaited me in my own country, the only one which I could prefer to England; and this predilection, for which I have been too severely punished, was certainly very pardonable at that time: but to my great surprise, and even to the surprise of the public, I have met with nothing but insults and outrages where I hoped, if not for gratitude, at least for consolations. How many circumstances have made me regret the asylum and philosophical hospitality that awaited me with you!

My

My misfortunes have, however, brought me nearer to it in some degree. The patronage and kindness of Lord Marechal, your illustrious and worthy countryman, make me, as it were, find Scotland in the midst of Switzerland. He renders you present to our conversations: to the knowledge which I had of your talents, he has added that of your virtues. He inspired me with the tenderest friendship for you, and the most ardent desire to obtain yours, before I knew you were disposed to grant it. Judge what pleasure I feel by indulging this inclination when I find it returned! Indeed, Sir, I rendered you only half of your due when I entertained for you nothing but admiration. Your enlarged views, your astonishing impartiality, your genius, would raise you too high above other men, did not your good heart bring you nearer them. By representing you still more amiable than sublime, Lord Marechal inflames every day the desire I feel for your conversation, and encourages the anxious wish of my heart, which he has excited, of ending my days near you. Would to Heaven that better health and more comfortable circumstances enabled me to undertake this journey as I could wish! Why can I not indulge the hope of seeing us one day united with my Lord in your common country, which thus would become mine! In such an agreeable society I should bless the misfortunes which introduced me to it, and fancy I had only begun to live the day when it commenced. May I behold that happy day, which is more anxiously desired than hoped for! With what extasy I should exclaim, on landing in the fortunate country which gave birth to David Hume and the Marechal d'Ecosse,

————— *Salve fatis mihi debita tellus!*
Hic domus, hæc patria est.

A postscript to a letter from the Lord Marshal to the Countess de Boufflers shews the extravagancies which Rousseau could fasten on his own judgment, and to which his eloquence could reconcile the judgment of his friends:

‘I have made a proposition to him, but telling him at the same time that it was a mere castle in the air, to take up his residence in a well-furnished house, which I have in Scotland, to persuade our good friend, Mr. Hume, to live with us. One of the rooms is to be our common drawing-room, for no one is to enter into the apartment of the other; every one is to adopt his own rules and regulations, as well in spiritual as in temporal concerns. These were the only laws of our republic, with this exception, that with respect to the expences of the state, every one must contribute, according to his means. Our friend is enraptured with this project: he would be eager to carry it into execution, and so would I be too, if I were not so far advanced in years, and if my estate were not entailed. One of the principal reasons, which would induce Jean Jaques to realize this project is, that *he is not conversant in the language of the country*. This, on his part, is a reason perfectly in character; and perhaps, after all, it is a good one.’

This

This passage may be well compared with the sensible remarks of Hume on the same subject :

‘ I am afraid, that the liberty which we enjoy here is counter-balanced by so many inconveniences, as to discourage him from any project of settling among us. The chief inconvenience I can foresee is in our language, with which, I doubt, he is entirely unacquainted, and without which he could scarce find a tolerable society any where but in London ; a place which may probably be too expensive for him. In many respects, this town (Edinburgh) would suit him better : there is here a very good society of men of letters, who would be ambitious of his acquaintance ; and though living is not so cheap as in the provincial places of France, it is more reasonable than at London. But I am sorry to find, that the people, whose company he would like best, have not the familiar use of the French tongue ; and though he is a lover of solitude, it would be agreeable for him, and probably necessary, to have a few, with whom he could unbend his mind, and dissipate his cares and anxieties. Even to be acquainted with the language of the common people is a great relief in every country, and supplies many scenes of observation and amusement to a person of a philosophical turn.’

It is rather amusing, after the comment of the Lord Marshal that “ perhaps Rousseau was in the right ” in this absurdity, to learn (as we do from Hume, p. 126.) that, when Rousseau came over to England, he studied the language with great eagerness, and made surprizing proficiency.

For some time after Rousseau's arrival, all went on tolerably well : but Hume was surprized that Horace Walpole should slight “ the modern Socrates,” as, in equal ignorance of the character of the antient sage and of his own comrade, he then intitled Rousseau. Indeed, the delusion seems to have been as great on his side as it was on that of Rousseau when he termed Hume *sublime*. — The occurrence which, to the disordered intellect of “ the philosopher of Geneva,” eventually gave the occasion of his bitter aversion to Hume, is thus simply stated by the latter to Madame de Boufflers, at the time, and before he had any conception of the strange perversion which was gradually warping his friend's faculties.

‘ I shall tell you a very singular story of him, which proves his extreme sensibility and good heart. Mr. Davenport had thought of a contrivance to save him part of the expences of his journey. He hired a chaise, and told him that it was a retour chaise, which would only cost a trifle. He succeeded at first ; but M. Rousseau, the evening before his departure, began to entertain suspicions from some circumstances which had escaped Mr. Davenport's attention. He complained to me grievously of the trick, and said that, though he was poor, he chose rather to conform himself to his

his circumstances, than live like a beggar upon alms; and such pretended favours were real injuries. I replied, that I was ignorant of the matter, but should inform myself of Mr. Davenport. No, cried he, no; if this be a contrivance, you are not ignorant of it: it has not been executed without your connivance and consent; but nothing could possibly be more disagreeable to me. Upon which he sate down in a very sullen humour; and all attempts which I could make, to revive the conversation and turn it on other subjects, were in vain. After near an hour, he rose up, and walked a little about the room. Judge of my surprize when, all of a sudden, he sat down upon my knee, threw his arms about my neck, kissed me with the greatest ardour, and bedewed all my face with tears! Ah, my dear friend, exclaimed he, is it possible you can ever forgive my folly? This ill humour is the return I make you for all the instances of your kindness towards me. But notwithstanding all my faults and follies, I have a heart worthy of your friendship, because it knows both to love and to esteem you.

‘I hope, dear Madam, that you have not so bad an opinion of me as not to think I was extremely affected with this scene. I confess that my tears flowed as plentifully as his; and that I embraced him with no less cordiality.’

The remainder of the correspondence is principally occupied with comments on the quarrel which ensued: but we think that the interest of this subject has long since passed away. The affair was fully discussed when it occurred; and we believe that the public entirely acquiesced in the conclusion which Hume very naturally formed, that Rousseau had allowed his imagination to gain such an ascendancy as to render him subject to an occasional derangement of his faculties.

Seldom, indeed, has a more complete contrast been seen than in the characters of Hume and Rousseau, both as men and as writers. The Scotch philosopher was a person of placid temper, shrewd, intelligent, well acquainted with the character of men, attending minutely to facts, equable, easy and affable in his manners, but destitute of any sort of enthusiasm: in his closet sceptical about all modes of faith, and perplexed about the real motives of actions, but in life exhibiting good practical sense, and actuated (with some considerable exceptions) by sound moral principle. The Genevese philosopher, on the contrary, was wholly ignorant of human nature, visionary, impassioned, enthusiastic, and devoured by selfishness, though in imagination he seemed to himself devoted to the good of the species. — Hume's style, making allowances for some affected phrases and some Gallicisms, is remarkably simple, nervous, and pure; and several of his essays, as well as many passages in his history, are expressed in a diction truly Attic.

Attic. The style of Rousseau, on the contrary, is oratorical, overwrought with descriptions and sentimentalities, sometimes silencing the judgment by the powerful appeal that is made to the imagination, but in general diffuse, exuberant, and redundant. Hume's critique on one of Rousseau's productions, at the time of their greatest intimacy, though written with some touches of partiality, seems to us on the whole extremely just:

' You deign, Madam, (De Boufflers) to ask my opinion of the new performance of M. Rousseau. I know that it becomes me better to form my judgment upon yours; but in compliance with your commands, I shall not make a secret of my sentiments. All the writings of that author appear to me admirable, particularly on the head of eloquence; and if I be not much mistaken, he gives to the French tongue an energy, which it scarce seems to have reached in any other hands. But as his enemies have objected, that with this domineering force of genius there is always intermingled some degree of extravagance, it is impossible for his friends altogether to deny the charge; and were it not for his frequent and earnest protestations to the contrary, one would be apt to suspect, that he chooses his topics less from persuasion, than from the pleasure of shewing his invention, and surprizing the reader by his paradoxes. The Treatise of Education, as it possesses much of the merit, seems also exposed to the faults of his other performances; and as he indulges his love of the marvellous even in so serious and important a subject, he has given a pledge to the public that he was in earnest in all his other topics. If I dared to object any thing to M. Rousseau's eloquence, which is the shining side of his character, I should say, that it was not wholly free from the defect sometimes found in that of the Roman orator; and that their great talent for expression was apt to produce a prolixity in both. This last performance chiefly is exposed to this objection; and I own, that though it abounds in noble and shining passages, it gave me rather less pleasure than his former writings. However, it carries still the stamp of a great genius; and, what enhances its beauty, the stamp of a very particular genius. The noble pride and spleen and indignation of the author bursts out with freedom in a hundred places, and serves fully to characterize the lofty spirit of the man.

' When I came to peruse that passage of M. Rousseau's Treatise which has occasioned all the persecution against him, I was not in the least surprized that it gave offence. He has not had the precaution to throw any veil over his sentiments; and as he scorns to dissemble his contempt of established opinions, he could not wonder that all the zealots were in arms against him. The liberty of the press is not so secured in any country, scarce even in this, as not to render such an open attack of popular prejudices somewhat dangerous.'

As writers on subjects connected with morals, Hume and Rousseau differed as much in the objects which they had in view as in the plan which they pursued. Hume seems to have had no other fixed aim than to unsettle what was established, and appeared to revel in all the doubt and perplexity which subtilty could produce. His subtilty, however, was acquired, and not original: his theory of the mind was but a *re-coction* of Hobbes; and, in general, the nicest difficulties and most puzzling questions of his sceptical philosophy may be found in the same form in Sextus Empiricus. No sincere inquirer after truth can object to his first publication of the "Treatise on Human Nature," — a serious philosophical discussion in philosophical language: but the reprinting of the same doctrines (doctrines of a tendency, to say the least, extremely questionable even when rightly understood,) in a popular form, for the perusal of the uneducated, the thoughtless, and the giddy, no real friend to the morals and religion of his country can help deploring as indiscreet, and but few can forbear from censuring as an act directly criminal. Rousseau seems to have wished to establish a pure theism. He addressed himself to the imagination and the passions. He pranked out his paradoxes with ingenuity; and though "they were not true," as George Primrose says, "*for they were novel,*" yet the whimsies and the illustrations were all his own. He wrote in language not peculiarly adapted either to the learned or to the vulgar, but calculated for the polite and the refined.

In one department of literature, viz. in history, Hume certainly stands without any counterpart in Rousseau, who never cared much for facts, or mere details of actual existence; and it is on Hume's fame as an historian that the editor of this work seems most inclined to rely for that curiosity, which he trusts the present publication will both excite and indulge. David Hume's name appears exclusively in the title-page, as we before remarked; and the editor tells us in the preface that 'the history of England has been aptly styled the history of English Passions by Human Reason, and that it displays alike the learning, the judgment, and the impartiality of its celebrated author.' We, on the contrary, have always deemed that work one of the most partial and sophistical productions in the English language, and such as deserved only to be termed "An Apology for the Tyranny of the Stuarts, written by a Scotch Tory." The honesty of Clarendon charms us, for he acknowledges his prejudices, and in reading his history we make allowances for them while we honour him for his manly avowal. In Hume, however, all is false

false and treacherous. His attacks on the champions of English liberty, and on the true principles of the constitution, are always covert and insinuated; and he is never so little to be trusted as when he asserts his impartiality, and affects to weigh the minutest scruples of evidence: as, for example, in his justification of James's infamous conduct to Raleigh, and his jesuitical remarks on the character of Hampden. If it be urged that it was as much from ignorance of the subject as from the wish to defend by precedent our Scotch despots, that he every where so entirely misrepresents the old English constitution, it must be answered that in his situation such ignorance was both wilful and criminal. Almost any single pamphlet from the pen of Lord Somers might have proved to him, that his notions of absolute power were never the recognized doctrines of this portion of the United Kingdom.

The strength of Hume's political prejudices, at a late period of his life, may be seen by an extract from one of his letters to Madame de Boufflers in 1767:

' You ask the present state of our politics. Why, in a word, we are all in confusion. This, you'll say, is telling you nothing new; for when were we otherwise? But we are in greater confusion than usual; because of the strange condition of Lord Chatham, who was regarded as our first minister. The public here, as well as with you, believe him wholly mad; but I am assured it is not so. He is only fallen into extreme low spirits and into nervous disorders, which render him totally unfit for business, make him shun all company, and, as I am told, set him weeping like a child, upon the least accident. Is not this a melancholy situation for so lofty and vehement a spirit as his? And is it not even an addition to his unhappiness that he retains his senses? It was a rash experiment; that of repelling the gout, which threw him into this state of mind; and perhaps a hearty fit of it may again prove a cure to him. Meanwhile, the public suffers extremely by his present imbecility: no affairs advance: the ministers fall in variance; and the King entertains thoughts of forming a new administration. The first person, whom he addresses himself to, is your friend the Duke of Bedford, whose consideration is very great, on account of his quality and riches, and friends, and above all, of his personal character. It was very happy for the Duke that, at the time of poor Tavistock's death, there were public transactions of moment before the Parliament, in which his friends urged him to take part. The natural fervour of his character insensibly engaged him in the scene. He was diverted from his own melancholy reflections, and business thus proved to him the best consolation. He has not, however, recovered thoroughly that terrible shock; and the Duchess, to whom the world did not ascribe so great a degree of sensibility, is still more inconsolable. On the whole, you see, that we are at present in a crisis. The Duke of Bedford would be received with open arms; but he has formed some connexions,

particularly with Mr. Grenville, which are not so acceptable; and it is uncertain whether we are to have a change of ministry or not, though the former is much more probable.'

One conclusion, at least, we may safely draw from this letter, that Hume was not *Junius*.

The last letter in this collection, written by Hume a short time before his death, confirms the character of cheerfulness and composure on that occasion, which had before been attributed to him by those who were best acquainted with the facts.

It may appear singular that in a writer of such correctness, as Hume evinced in his studied performances, we have to note the Scottish peculiarity of using *would* instead of *should*, in two different passages, viz. page 53. line 17. and page 57. line last. This also affords another proof how difficult it is to shake off the peculiarities of early habit; and, since so much care is required to enable Scotch writers to express themselves in correct English, it is not surprizing that so few of them compose in an easy natural style. With the exception of Beattie, can we name any whose language is plain idiomatic English?

Translations are given of all the letters written in the French language, but they are executed in a manner not deserving of much compliment. In one place (page 23. line 4.) we find 'inseparable compatability;' in another, (page 28. line 3.) 'postscriptum;' and in a third, (page 217. line 15.) 'double hatred.' In page 13., instead of *to enjoy it*, we have, 'to enjoy the same:' page 21. line 6., instead of *the guidance of destiny*, we have, 'the behests of my fate;' and page 137., instead of *all that is said*, 'all what is said:' with other and innumerable blunders of the same kind.

ART. III. *Letters to Richard Heber, Esq. M.P.*; containing critical Remarks on the Series of Novels beginning with "*Waverley*," and an Attempt to ascertain their Author. Second Edition. 12mo. pp. 317. 8s. 6d. Boards. Rodwell and Martin. 1822.

WHEN Hamlet traces the noble dust of Cæsar till he finds it stopping a hole, "to keep the wind away," his friend attempts to awaken him from his musings by reminding him that he is considering the matter too "curiously." The author of these letters would not, we conceive, be the worse for a similar admonition.

The purpose of his argument is to establish the identity of the poet of *Marmion* and of the *Lady of the Lake*, with the
writer

writer of those beautiful prose-inventions which have diffused more delight, earned more popularity, and obtained richer recompenses, than any other works within the scope of our literature. Of the intrinsic importance of the question, we say nothing: but in the eyes of a critic who has expended such extraordinary pains and exercised such extraordinary diligence in the discussion, it naturally seems to have assumed a shape of the highest moment; and Andrew Stewart did not thread the labyrinths of the Douglas litigation, nor Whittaker pursue the historical problem of the guilt or the innocence of Mary, with a keener and more indefatigable inquisition.

It not unfrequently happens, however, in matters of circumstantial evidence, that the proof is weakened by redundancy, and the inference placed at a remoter distance by unnecessarily lengthening the chain that leads to it. On the other hand, a few striking coincidences harmoniously cohering, and acting with a single and undivided force on the understanding, impel it by a process almost instantaneous towards the result of the inquiry; — a law of evidence bearing no faint analogy to that rule of philosophy, which requires no more than the precise amount of causation adequate to a given effect. Another inconvenience, which follows from overlaying the case with multifarious proof, is this. A suspicion involuntarily haunts us that, when the evidence is thus needlessly accumulated, it is owing to a lurking conviction of the weakness of its constituent parts; for though it is on the aggregate effect of many circumstances, rather than the unaided force of a few, that what is called *circumstantial evidence* chiefly relies, yet this must be understood only of those circumstances which are in themselves striking and consequential. Slight and feeble particles of testimony may be multiplied *ad infinitum*, without generating any conclusion.

We are not quarrelling with the main position of this sensible (though somewhat diffuse) writer, while we thus hint at the objection which arises from the redundancy of his reasoning; for we have uniformly felt a persuasion that the secret would long since have transpired, had the *Waverley* novels been the product of any other mind than that to which universal consent has ascribed them. It is unnecessary to specify the several elements of this conclusion: but one of them we will venture to particularize, because it is in conformity to the known and regular course of human action and of human motives. In our judgment it is highly improbable that these singular fictions, of which the characters are as “familiar in our mouths as household gods,” of which the incidents are immoveably fixed in our hearts and memories, and of which the scenes, the

the dialogue, and the descriptions retain an almost indelible power over our imaginations; — that fictions which have deserved or acquired praise so prodigally unmeasured, as to be supposed by their admirers to include every form and variety of intellectual excellence, and to be placed even by the soberest criticism at the head of the department to which they belong; — it is, we say, wholly improbable that such productions should have flowed from any writer but one who, already laden with the *spolia opima* of poesy and letters, and revelling in the public applause, could *for other reasons* restrain himself from openly claiming the honours which he had here acquired. It is not, indeed, very easy to imagine any assignable reasons for concealment even with him: but, admitting the possibility of such a case, how much less easy is it to image to ourselves under such circumstances the continence of any other author; of one, for instance, who, not having like the poet of *Marmion* accumulated other funds of reputation, should be content with casting into the world these gifted productions, unowned and fatherless, without seeming to hear through “the loop-holes of his retreat” the stir and tumult of their triumphs? There might indeed be reasons for secrecy; yet so sweet is the melody of praise, — so intractable and domineering is the inherent vanity of man’s nature, — (and it is the proverbial passion of literary men,) that it would be extravagant to suppose that so sensitive and irrepressible a feeling would not occasionally break forth in direct rebellion against the motives, however powerful, that induced the author to conceal himself. On the other hand, much of the difficulty seems to vanish by ascribing them to an author who, so far from being new to fame, has imbibed its delicious draughts to satiety; and who, reposing on the laurels which he has already gathered, can afford, without any severe exercise of self-denial, to relinquish for a season the praise of being the first novelist of his country, in addition to that of being enrolled among the highest of her poets.

The author of these letters builds his argument on the internal evidence which he collects from the acknowledged publications in prose and poetry by Sir Walter Scott, and the anonymous productions in question. Many of the resemblances, we conceive, are much too shadowy to justify an inference in an argument of mere literary identity; — and, to repeat our objection, the proof is weakened, inasmuch as it is rested on too many presumptions. For instance, one of the prominent excellences of these novels is the great dramatic power embodied in the dialogue, and the astonishing address *with which* the author adapts to their several ages, sex, and
natural

natural and acquired habits, the discourse of his personages : — but, when the letter-writer goes so far as to see, or to think that he sees, in the dialogues of *Marmion* and of the *Lady of the Lake* the same skill and dexterity, and deduces an additional proof of identity from the assumed resemblance, we profess our reluctance or rather our inability to follow him. The two things are incapable of comparison. So essentially different in tone, spirit, and phraseology are those poems from *Waverley* or *Guy Mannering*, that the attempted analogy seems to us fantastic ; and scarcely more substantial than those strange shapings and resemblances which we sometimes discern in our parlour-fires, when we are rapt in one of the delicious moods so well described by the poet,

“ Sooth’d with a waking dream of houses, towers,
Trees, churches, and strange visages, expressed
In the red cinders.”

In truth, such is the practical inconvenience of pursuing a mode of reasoning so minutely analytic, that the letter-writer is obviously driven to characteristics which, if the argument were pushed to its utmost extent, would identify the author of the Scottish novels with all his predecessors who have appeared, though with various success, in the same walk of literature.

‘ In attempting’ (he observes) ‘ to draw the poetical character of the author of *Marmion*, I have dwelt particularly on his judgment in selecting, enthusiasm in feeling, and energy in painting. From the union of these qualities arises that particular excellence in which, rivalled only by the author of *Waverley*, he far surpasses all other contemporary poets and descriptive writers, and is little inferior, if inferior, to the greatest of any age. I mean that realizing power which brings the imagined scene so forcibly to our minds, that we almost seem to behold it with our eyes. If there is any single perfection which, beyond all the rest, distinguishes either the author of *Marmion*, or the novelist, considered as a poet, it is the freshness, the living truth, the *εὐάγρυια* of his narrative and description. Both seem to transport themselves at pleasure, by a strong effort of fancy, into the midst of the objects they propose to represent ; and hence the composition of their stories, in every important part, is either picturesque or dramatic, or partakes of both qualities ; and the circumstances are so well chosen and aptly combined, and the incidents follow one another so naturally, that we cannot but suppose the entire scene to have existed at once, or the whole action to have passed uninterruptedly, in the author’s imagination, and to have been transferred thence to his paper, like a minute of actual observations, or an abstract of real occurrences.’

Now this is as much the ordinary vocation as it is the indispensable duty of all novelists, high or low, who, according to their respective degrees of skill or ingenuity, undertake to administer a fitting repast for the omnivorous appetite of those who read for amusement. Here, consequently, the present author appears unmindful of the natural limits of the proposition which he intends to establish; namely, such an identity as will at once negative the possibility of the writer of the *Waverley* novels and the poet of *Marmion* being distinct persons. To expatiate, therefore, on the superiority of the *Waverley* productions in the recognized duties of the profession, — that power of realizing which transports his readers to the scene, and groupes them as it were with the personages of the fiction, — does not advance us a single step towards the conclusion; and nothing more is proved than may be safely admitted by any person who is determined to deny that the author of *Marmion* and *Waverley* is one and the same person.

We cannot adequately express our surprize on finding a writer, who seems to have studied these romances so diligently, betrayed into so unreflecting an admiration of his favourite author as to commend him in the most unmeasured terms for his ‘unforeseen explanation of mysteries.’ (P. 227.) For our own part, we have been always struck with the total want of fidelity with which that author keeps the secret of his fictions; and in our review of *Ivanhoe* we ventured to point it out as a defect. We were completely behind the scenes during the whole perusal of that interesting romance; and we guessed almost immediately at Richard, and Robin Hood, the principal mysteries of the story. *The Bride of Lammermoor* also, which for ingenuity of fable, and accuracy both of description and character, is among the first of the family, is remarkable for the premature indication of its catastrophe; — a catastrophe, which is perpetually obtruding itself in every stage of the narration to a degree almost fatal to its interest, and at which we arrive at last fully prepared both as to the place and the mode of its accomplishment. We do not assert that this must be necessarily a fault. Many tragedies founded on history, — those particularly in the Greek drama, — have taken their plots from notorious events; — yet who will pretend to say that the fortunes of Orestes or Electra are not of the deepest interest, although “the coming events cast their shadows before,” and we can almost hear the sounding footsteps of the awful and irresistible destiny that hurries them along? We are not quite sure that our solicitude in the *Bride of Lammermoor* is not augmented by the very circumstances, which in less skilful hands would deaden if not destroy it; —
the

the prophecies of Ailsee Gourlay and True Thomas, not to mention the fate of our poor friend the Raven at Mermaiden's well ;—predictions which convey the most unerring manifestations of the conclusion. We mention these particulars, and we might have collected others from the *Monastery* and the *Abbot*, not for the sake of indulging a spirit of captious and minute criticism against so great a master, but in order to guard with due reserves and qualifications the broad and undistinguishing panegyrics of the author of these letters.

Having made these remarks, we proceed to enumerate some of the principal coincidences and resemblances on which the present writer's argument is founded. He observes, first, that the author of *Marmion* has neglected his poetical vein, in proportion as the author of *Waverley* has cultivated his talent for prose-narration ; and we agree with him that there is much pregnancy in this circumstance, since ' it seldom happens that an author, who has dedicated a great part of his riper years to poetry, should *at once* become a truant to his muse' (p. 10.) : which is easily explained by supposing that the bard has transmigrated into the novelist. The author of *Waverley* must have been a poet, because the conception of his stories is in many instances purely poetical ; and the *Bride of Lammermoor* is, we think, a striking evidence of this position. The same remark applies to the introduction to *Old Mortality*, and the fiction of the White Maid in the *Monastery*. (P. 16.) He is moreover as great an antiquary as the author of *Marmion*, and as thoroughly infected with bibliomania. (P. 20.) He must have plunged deep into British history, and historical and traditional learning in general. The poet of *Flodden-field* is the editor of Lord Somers's Tracts, and Sir Ralph Sadler's State-papers. (P. 21.) He is decidedly " a man of law ;" for no unprofessional person could deal out the peculiar terms and phrases of that science as practised in Scotland. (P. 23.) Both authors are lovers of field-sports, and present animated pictures of the chase in all its varieties ; and both give the greatest importance to the canine race :—a point which the letter-writer has much laboured by ample quotations from the prose and poetry of the supposed individual. (P. 25. to 31.)

We perfectly coincide with the writer as to the conclusiveness of the following circumstance, and we give his reasonings on it in his own words :

' There remains one fact to be noticed, which, even if unconnected with any point in the poet's individual character, would yet, on the general principles of human action, accord so precisely with the supposition of his being the unknown novelist, that I cannot

cannot forbear adding it to the proofs already adduced. How is it to be explained, that the author of *Waverley* has taken occasion in his writings to make honourable mention of almost every distinguished contemporary poet, except the *Minstrel of the Border*? The answer is obvious; he could not do so, because he was himself that *Minstrel*: and a man of ingenuous mind will shrink from publishing a direct commendation of his own talent, although he may feel confident that the eulogy will never be traced home. It would be endless to enumerate particularly the extracts from living poets, and the allusions to their writings, which abound in almost all the novels: Campbell, "the Bard of Hope," is frequently quoted; Lord Byron, more than once; "honest Crabbe," "our moral teacher," "our English Juvenal," is perpetually appealed to, and with manifest fondness: James Hogg contributes a stanza; several verses are borrowed from Wordsworth, and one passage in his *Ballads* is pointed out as containing a beautiful expression of feeling; Coleridge is often cited, and is distinguished by name as "the most imaginative of our modern bards;" he "of the laurel wreath" receives a tribute of deserved admiration, and Joanna Baillie, "our immortal Joanna Baillie," is spoken of with a mixture of literary and national enthusiasm, as honourable to the man of taste and feeling, as characteristic of the true-hearted Caledonian. Yet, strange to say, neither national affection, nor admiration of a genius at least not inferior to the brightest our generation has produced, nor the necessary sympathy between two minds exactly similar in constitution and habits, engrossed with the same objects, and devoted to the same pursuits, has induced the novelist in any part of his works to bestow a single complimentary phrase upon the author of *Marmion*. Once, indeed, in the title-page of *Guy Mannering*, we are presented with four uninteresting lines, said to be taken from the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*; and once in the same novel, and again in the introduction to the *Monastery*, that poem is drily, not to say ungraciously alluded to; but the writer is never mentioned by name. This is the more remarkable, as there does not exist a poet whose works would have supplied quotations more congenial to the spirit and germane to the business of almost every chapter in these novels. Surely *Marmion*, and *Rokeby*, and *Don Roderick*, and the *Lady of the Lake*, might occasionally have contributed a verse, if it had been only to save the two frequent draught upon that well-written but very didactic "Old Play," which appears to be (as M. Brisac says in Fletcher's *Elder Brother*)

—————"A general collection

Of all the quiddits from Adam to this time." Act i. Sc. 2.

Having remarked on a certain resemblance of style between the unknown novelist and the acknowledged prose-writings of Sir Walter Scott, viz. the *Life of Swift*, the *Essay on Border-manners*, and *Paul's Letters*, (p. 67.) and stated that the concise historical and political summaries of the author of *Marmion* bear

bear a close resemblance to the prefaces of the novels, the writer adverts (p. 75.) to their extreme negligence, and frequent offences against the rules of composition; and particularly to the numerous Scotisms which occur in their pages. (P. 78.) He then traces what he calls the dramatic scenes of the several works; a point which he copiously illustrates by citations from the novels, the *Lay of the last Minstrel*, *Marmion*, &c. &c. (P. 86—109.)

Mr. Heber's correspondent next proceeds to compare the poetical phraseology of both writers, and we cannot abstain from extracting the following well-written and sensible passage:

‘ In no instance that I recollect, does the author of *Marmion* adopt this kind of poetical phraseology, which conveys in a few words the germ and essence of a beautiful or sublime description, but is not itself that description. I do not insist upon the circumstance as a subject of either praise or censure; I only point to it as distinguishing the method of an individual writer from those of his brethren and predecessors.

‘ Again, it is very common with poets of strong feeling and exuberant fancy, to describe (if that word may be applied to such a process) by accumulating round the principal object a number of images not physically connected with it, or with each other, but which, through the unfailing association of ideas, give, unitedly, the same impulse to the imagination and passions, as would have been produced by a finished detail of strictly coherent circumstances. Such is the effect of that well-known passage in *Macbeth*, where murder is thus personified:

‘ “ Now —————

————— wither'd murder,
Alarum'd by his sentinel, the wolf,
Whose howl's his watch, thus with his stealthy pace,
With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design
Moves like a ghost.” *Macbeth*, Act ii. Sc. i.

‘ This method, also, appears unsuitable to the simplicity with which the author of *Marmion* is accustomed to unfold his poetical conceptions. In his mode of describing, the circumstances, however fanciful in themselves, still follow each other by natural consequence, and in an orderly series; and hang together, not by the intervention of unseen links, but by immediate and palpable conjunction. His epithets and phrases, replete as they often are with poetic force and meaning, have always a direct bearing upon the principal subject. He pursues his theme, in short, from point to point, with the steadiness and plainness of one who descants on a common matter of fact. The difference between his style of description, and the two kinds from which I have distinguished it, is very perceptible in the following lines:

‘ “ They —————

————— bade the passing knell to toll
For welfare of a parting soul.

Slow o'er the midnight wave it swung,
 Northumbrian rocks in answer rung ;
 To Warkworth cell the echoes roll'd,
 His beads the wakeful hermit told ;
 The Bamborough peasant raised his head,
 But slept ere half a prayer he said ;
 So far was heard the mighty knell,
 The stag sprung up on Cheviot Fell,
 Spread his broad nostril to the wind,
 Listed before, aside, behind,
 Then couch'd him down beside the hind,
 And quaked among the mountain-fern,
 To hear that sound, so dull and stern."

Marmion, Canto ii. St. 33.'

The pictorial talent of the author of *Waverley* is (p. 156.) much argued, and a poetical delineation from the *Lay of the last Minstrel* is compared with a coincident one in the *Bride of Lammermoor*, the likeness of which we instantly recognized. The letter-writer then remarks (p. 181.) on the circumstance in which both the novels and the poems generally coincide ; viz. the close connection of the story with historical truth and topographical reality. Having run through a long and somewhat tedious catalogue of other resemblances, he points out a similarity with which we have been uniformly struck in the battle-scenes of the poet and the novelist (p. 242.); and he observes on two or three prominent circumstances which occur with peculiar frequency. We can notice only one of them ; viz. that the conflict is always described as seen by persons looking down on it from a commanding point, and not mixed in the tumult themselves ; and he also institutes a comparison between the tournaments in *Ivanhoe* and in the *Bridal of Triermain*, a poem now acknowledged by Sir Walter Scott. It is time, however, to take leave of the author and his enumerations ; and we cannot do this without warm commendations of the spirit and eloquence with which he has executed his task. As to the importance of the inquiry, to speak ingenuously, we consider it to be "*agitur tenui pulmone rubetæ*:"—but it is an useful exercise of the intellect to pursue any truth through a course of circumstantial evidence ; and the work, considered as an essay of comparative criticism, cannot be either uninteresting or unprofitable.

ART. IV. *The Hermit in London* ; or, Sketches of English Manners. 12mo. 3 Vols. 18s. Boards. Colburn. 1821.

MOST of our miscellaneous readers are no doubt acquainted with the French publication of the Hermit of the *Chaussée d'Antin*, and of *Provence*, whose amusing volumes have had much

much circulation within the last two or three years. In our lxxxvth volume, p. 521., and xcist volume, p. 480., we noticed at some length the productions to which we allude, and of which the English imitation now before us adopts both the title and the form : but the object of the Parisian pilgrim is to sketch an *embellished* likeness of the varying manners prevalent in different parts of Paris and of France ; whereas that of the London hermit is to *caricature* the more prominent specimens of English *artificial nature*. One inconvenience arises from this plan ; that our manners, our metropolis, and even our country, suffer depreciation and degradation from such a form of display ; and that the more faithful the portraiture is, the more mortifying is it to our vanity, and the more disparaging to our civilization. Still the book is clever, lively, amusing, and moral, though not free from repetitions : as in the case of the *Dandy*, who is characterized again and again, as if exterior symptoms more engaged the author's attentions than those moral beuts and tendencies whence they proceed ; and of every delineation there is too much.

The first volume consists of an Introduction, and of papers not unlike those in the *Spectator*, on entering a Room, a Patron, being too late for Dinner, Hyde Park on a Sunday, the Rage for imitating Foreign Manners, a Guardsman, Time and Wedlock, the Fatigue of Pleasure, Fashion in Dress, a New Member of Parliament, Sudden Changes, the Waterloo Panorama, Female Charioteers and Gamblers, Romancing, a Conversazione, a Return from College, Fashionable Advice, Fortune Hunters, a Morning in a Curricule, Sitting for a Picture, a Visit to a Country Seat, Delicate Distinctions, a Rainy Day, Killing Time, Giving and Receiving. Besides these lucubrations, we meet with one which we shall extract, intitled " My Country Cousin : "

“ What a pretty morning I have made of it ! ” exclaimed my cousin Bob, who had arrived the day before from the country. “ What do you mean ? ” said I. “ Why, I have been hoaxed, and queered, and gammoned by every body. ” “ Relate the particulars, ” said I, interrupting him ; for he appeared in a flurry, and somewhat ashamed of himself.

“ In the first place, ” said he, “ as I was going to look at my horses, a fellow ran against me, and smeared my new drab great coat. “ You unmannerly rascal, ” exclaimed I, “ do you know who I am ? ” “ Know who you are ? ” answered he : “ No, mayhap Giles Jolter, from Warwickshire. ” “ So, laughing and lolling his tongue out of his mouth, he passed on. At the same moment a mud-cart crossed me, just as I was going after the fellow to give him a touch of my hand-whip, and spattered me all over. I told my mind pretty freely to the driver, who made a swell of his cheek,

cheek, by tucking his tongue into it, and cried, 'Johnny Raw! when did you come to town?' "I'll commit you," cried I; "I'm a magistrate;" — 'and a fool,' says the fellow: 'vy I'll box you for your estate;' so saying he off'd with his coat. Now as I am a bit of a dab that way, I thought that I'd indulge him a little, and that he'd find me an ugly customer. So, giving my coat to a well dressed gentleman, I squared, and stood up to him like a man.

"'He's beneath your notice,' cried a grave gentleman, dressed in a suit of mourning, with powdered hair and green spectacles; 'don't dirty your fingers with him; he's beneath your notice; and you, sirrah, if you don't ask the gentleman's pardon this minute, I'll take the number of your cart, and have you fined; I saw you splash the gentleman on purpose, and that's a breach of the peace.' 'I humbly ask your pardon,' says the rascal. "Why then," says I, "all malice is over." So I turned round to put on my coat; but the well-dressed gentleman was off with it. 'Stop thief!' says the carman; 'I'll catch him; but where can I bring the coat to your honour?' "To that livery stable," I replied, pointing to where my horses stand. 'I'll accompany you,' said the elderly gentleman in black. "Many thanks," said I; "and when I have got my coat, I should be happy to offer you a Sandwich and a glass of Madeira." The gentleman stopped a quarter of an hour; but the carman did not return. So he made his excuses, that he could not remain any longer, and left me, exchanging cards, and promising to call upon me. I read his card, 'Sir John Jones, Adelphi Hotel.' "You do me honour, Sir John," said I, offering him my hand.

"At this moment the carman came up. 'Very sorry, your honour,' said he; 'but the rascal is too nimble for me.' I put my hand in my pocket to give him half-a-crown, when, lo and behold my pocket was picked of fourteen pounds, besides silver, my grandmother's gold ring, my watch, a receipt for making blacking, a gold pencil-case, and my gardening knife. "The devil is in London!" cried I. "Why what a burning shame! Botany Bay must be let loose in this quarter of the town; and, would you believe it? all the grooms, and the ostler, burst out a laughing. "D—— ye all," cried I, and smacked my whip at 'm; on which they ran off, one crying to another, 'What a greenhorn! what a spoony!' and I don't know what besides.

"I now sent my groom for my bottle-green hunting frock, and mounted my famous roan — cost me two hundred; my man riding a thorough-bred bay. Well, I had not been a quarter of an hour in Rotten Row, when two Dandies, as I'm told they're called, turned up their noses at me. One took his glass, measured me from head to foot; and, as I passed by the other, the monkey-thing says to his brother baboon, 'Where's my country cousin? who have we got from the fens of Lincolnshire? a fine pigeon! mind the country-cut coat, and the mahogany topp'd boots.'

"Well, I despised them; and as I was carelessly walking my horse down the ride, with my whip under my arm, I had the misfortune

fortune to run it into the eye of a beautiful woman, mounted on a rare bit of blood, and followed by a groom in a crimson and gold livery. "A thousand pardons, ma'am, said I; I hope I have not hurt you." 'Not much,' replied she, in a very sweet voice; so I took off my hat respectfully to her; begged her pardon again and again; and we rode up and down the Park twice, and got into a very pleasant conversation.

'Just at this moment, cousin Dick, in his dragoon uniform, gallops up to me, and taking me aside, says he, 'Don't you know what sort of a lady you are riding with? — just give you a hint — that's all' — and so off he galloped; and thus ended my morning's adventure."

'My unfortunate cousin afterwards went out to dinner, and informed me next morning, that he was laced up so tight in order to be in the fashion, that he could not eat an ounce; and after the Opera, a schoolfellow took him to a tavern, where there was private play, and fleeced him of three hundred pounds, for which he gave his bill.

'A pretty three days in London, indeed!" said I. He went home on the fourth; and I trust that his example may be useful to other country cousins, who may be exposed to the same snares. I need not add, that Sir John Jones, of the Adelphi Hotel, was nowhere to be found, any more than the purse and other articles, which my cousin lost at the time he had the honour to get acquainted with him, though, from his description of him, I suspect him to be a practised swindler, almost as well known about town, though I trust not quite so much esteemed, as

'THE HERMIT IN LONDON.'

The second volume exhibits the following list of topics: Shopping, Tattersall's, Mistakes in Company, the Nabob Club, Not at Home, Learned Women and Agreeable Women, Diary of an Exquisite, of a Belle, Gallomania, Fancy-balls, Confidence in Servants, Electioneering, Irresistibility of Manners, the Waltz, Counterfeits, Lodgings, Inmates, a Mysterious Character, Distinctions in Dress, Ladies, Repulse, Defiance and Endeavour, Maturity, Assignations, Hoax, Drill-serjeant, Courtesy, Sunday-men, the Fair Sex, Such is the World, the Boarding-school Heroine, and the Pedant.

Volume the third is preceded by this bill of fare: Conversation, Dinner-parties, New School, Life in London, Rout, Temper, Half-pay, Quality-scholar, Alarmist, Morning in High Life, Street Nuisances, Economy, Borrowing, Art *versus* Nature, Too lively an Imagination, Masquerade, Scandal, Natural Child, Courage, Patchwork, Scene, Leaving Town, London deserted.

The paper on 'Half-pay,' which has some natural pathos in it, may in a degree counterbalance the unfavourable account of our state of manners which these volumes present.

'Peace

‘ “Peace being proclaimed,” said an old friend, as we were sitting over our wine, “I became an idle man. For a time I was delighted with visiting my acquaintance and nominal friends. Novelty (for I had long been abroad) increased the pleasure which I experienced in viewing domestic objects ; but a very little time rendered them uninteresting, and *ennui* soon obtained possession of me : hung like a mildew on my prospects, and made me long once more for the tented field, the changing quarters, the uncertainty, nay, the very dangers of military life.

‘ “Sauntering down the Mall, in St. James’s Park, my thoughts took a successive glance at the past and present ; for the past and present form the whole of our life. The past may be regretful ; the present unsatisfactory ; but the future (which is the third and last state of man) is always fearfully obscure, and awfully beyond our reach.

‘ “Looking on the right and left, I espied a number of military men. The blue ornamented great coat, black silk handkerchief round the neck, fixed spur, and dowlass trowsers, announced the dismounted dragoon. The grey surtout and pantaloons, less easy air, and less affected style, showed the infantry officer, reduced, like the former, on half-pay, with Wellingtons, un-spurred. Both had issued from first floors in Suffolk Street, back rooms about the Adelphi and Strand, or hiding-places in the suburbs,

‘ “Wand’ring along, not knowing what they sought,
And whistling as they went, for want of thought.

‘ “I could easily distinguish the different nations amongst my reduced brethren in arms. The Englishman appeared resigned, though not quite satisfied. The Irishman looked doubtful and restless : he was boxing the compass at every moment, hoping that a favourable breeze might spring up and bring a prize in some shape ; and, above all, he was erecting his crest, throwing forward his broad chest, setting off his well proportioned shoulders, and viewing his sinewy legs, as much as to say, ‘Am I not a fine looking fellow ? surely some of the *leedies* will be taking a fancy to me !’ The Scotchman seemed to bend to circumstances, to stoop to his fate ; to throw off the soldier, and to assume the citizen and civilian : he looked as if a *guid* story, an act of politeness, a happy hit, or some unforeseen fortune, might ameliorate his lot. He felt that in war, and in his accounts with mankind, he stood square and unimpeached ; and he waited for the turn of fortune’s wheel in his favour. Poor, but proud ; humble, but above those degrading shifts of exigence, by which many bright and brave men from other countries are ruined, Sandy is aye discreet, moderate, calculating, and cool.

‘ “Whilst all this ran in my head ; and whilst I was contemplating the round, blue-eyed, fair-haired, independent head of paid-off John Bull ; the fine aquiline nose, sharp forehead, fiery eye, projecting lip, dark hair, changeful and jealous expression, and somewhat mutinous countenance of half-pay brother Pat ; and the cold, white, high-cheek-boned, grey-eyed, yet courteous
face

face of cautious Donald, or Sandy, placed on the reduced establishment or (involuntarily) retired list, a scene interesting to my feelings casually took place. I beheld a military man, discernible as such, though in coloured clothes, sitting on a bench, his back against one arm of it, and his feet extended on the seat; seemingly expressing, 'Here I am; I am put on half-pay; I come here for some hours in the day; I ruminate on past dangers, and on past glory; I frame memorials in my head, which either end in nothing, or, if sent, serve to light the minister's tapers; I will take a pinch of snuff, or a bottle of wine with any body, or I will amuse an old maid or an idler, by recounting, like Othello, the perils which I have braved; and if nothing like this occurs, I shall retire at five, to a cheap eating-house, take a pint of malt liquor, and read over a dozen newspapers, ere I retreat to my humble lodging to write dozens of letters on speculation, and to go early to bed.' Such are the Scotsman's habits: they are simple, honest, sober, and not dangerous to himself or to society.

' "In front of this tall, thin, recumbent figure, was a fine looking Scottish soldier. Such I knew him to be, by his physiognomy and his accent. He wore his uniform, but had a round hat on his head, and a thick stick under his arm. These are invariable marks of discharge, and of bending the weary way homewards."

' "The officer pulled out a thin pocket-book, and taking out a bank-note from it, he worked it about in his hands, as if he fain would have increased its weight, or as if its lightness vexed him. He looked thrice at it, as on a departing friend, then rumbled it, and, at last, put it into the soldier's hand, and heaving a sigh, said, "Chairlie, I wish ye weel; tak care o' yoursel; there's what I owe ye; and I wish, man, that it were mair." The soldier held back. His half-extended hand dropped, as it tried to take it. He hung his head, played with his fingers, as if unwilling to receive it; and at length he took it gently, played with it as if it were not his own, eyed it, frowned upon it, and, at last, slowly put it into his pocket.

' " "Many thanks to ye, Sir," cried he, and still remained immovable. "Ye're o'er guid," answered he, after a long pause. "Thanks to you," replied the officer, with a faltering voice. "Heaven bless ye, Sir," faintly articulated the soldier. He still stood, put his hand in his pocket, as if to return the money, sighed, shook his head. "Fare ye weel, Chairlie," was hastily pronounced again. Chairlie was motionless. "Gang awa, mun, now," cried the officer. Chairlie put his hand to his hat, as if it had been a cap, stood in a fine soldierly attitude, faced, wept, and slowly paced off. "Chairlie," cried the officer. He returned. "Guid luck to ye." He extended his hand to him. The man seized it eagerly, and went proudly, tearfully, and regretfully away.

' "I now understood what had passed: 'twas an officer bidding his last farewell to a faithful soldier. During the 'pomp and circumstance of war,' discipline forbade familiarity; but at a last parting, nature was commanding officer, and pride obeyed.

drew the two brethren in arms nearer together ; and sympathy would not permit the superior to part from his humble, deserving comrade, without this last token of well-earned affection.

“ Curiosity induced me to follow the soldier, and to fall into conversation with him. ‘ You seem affected at parting with your officer,’ said I. ‘ ’Tis the blackest day o’ my life,’ replied he. ‘ A’ the dangers, and hunger, and cauld, and hard fighting, was naething to this : he was a right guid officer, as kind a maister as ever lived, and as brave a man as ever marched. Seven years we shared the same fate together, slept sometimes in the same bed—that is, on our mither-earth, and Heaven for a’ curtain ; and now to think that his honour cannae afford to keep a man (here he passed his hand over his eyes), and that we maun pairt ! I wish Boney were let loose again ! I believe it was his last note that he gae me ; would I had ne’er seen it ! I wad sarve him for naething by day and by night, gin he wad keep me. But then he’s o’erprood for that ; and I dare na affront him. De’il tak the peace, though I did get a bit of a wound in battle.’

“ The man’s fidelity so pleased me, that I offered him a shilling to drink. I was ashamed of it afterwards, although my motive was good at the time ; for Chairlie was so full of love for his master, and of soldierly pride, that there was no room in his heart for any other feeling : no place in his mind for the intrusion even of interest. ‘ Thanks to you, Sir,’ said he ; ‘ I dinna want ; but I wish my maister were better off ; there’s an unco difference atween him and me.’ Here he shed tears abundantly ; and as I could not relieve him in any way, I wished him well and left him.”

Such was the story told me by Captain S——. It affected me, and I thought it well worthy of a place in the portfolio of—

THE HERMIT IN LONDON.

We should hope that this work, although adapted for immediate popularity, was not formed for longevity, if such productions were to be considered as faithful representations of life ; since, by selecting for satire the prevailing imperfections of our society, and omitting to pourtray the indemnifying excellences which it includes, an unfairly disadvantageous idea is in reality given of London and its inhabitants, and the nation is seemingly metamorphosed into a menagerie of ridiculous or profligate oddities. The book may be compared to one of those mirrors of the pedlars, which are silvered on window-glass ; and which, though they reflect with dazzling clearness, distort with mortifying obliquity, and humiliate the gazer whom their brilliancy may attract.

ART. V. *Narrative of the Chinese Embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, in the Years 1712, 1713, 1714, and 1715; by the Chinese Ambassador, and published, by the Emperor's Authority, at Pekin. Translated from the Chinese, and accompanied by an Appendix of Miscellaneous Translations, by Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart. LL.D. and F.R.S. 8vo. 18s. Boards. Murray. 1821.*

INQUIRERS into the literature of China will be much gratified by the perusal of the valuable publication before us; the translation of which has been long promised to the world, and for the appearance of which those were most anxious who were most familiar with the former productions of Sir George Staunton. The narrative, however, contains nothing material of a nature that can appear novel to those who have read the excellent travels of Mr. Bell of Antermomy; since he gives a very minute description of the same country, over which he travelled at the same time, and, indeed, must have fallen in with the Chinese Ambassador in the course of his route. It is extraordinary to observe how completely this account confirms that of Mr. Bell even in the most minute circumstances, whether as describing particular spots on the face of the country, or as depicting the manners of Tartar tribes, or as stating the political relations in which the countries then stood; and Sir George Staunton has judiciously subjoined, in notes at the bottom of the page, some of the most prominent points of coincidence. The only parts which are entirely new to the English reader are those which describe the mandates of the Emperor of China to the Ambassador, and the interviews of the latter with the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars. These mandates of the Emperor are very grand, as full of moral remarks as any of the protocols or deuterocols of modern European diplomacy, and containing about as little meaning.

The Tourgouths, in consequence of some dissension with their kindred tribes, had removed from the neighbourhood of China to the borders of the Caspian sea; withdrawing themselves in effect from the influence of the Chinese Emperor, and placing themselves under the protection of the Russian: but in 1771, as it is well known, they returned to their antient settlements, and solemnly acknowledged their dependence on the Chinese empire. The secret object of the embassy of which the narrative is before us, and of other embassies which took place during the expatriation of these Tartars, was to keep up the recollection of their former connection with China, and to induce them to resort to their old quarters. Such was the real ground of the mission. Instead, therefore, of quoting the summary of the Confucian system, or any of the other edifying particulars contained in the Emperor's directions

directions to the Ambassadors, we shall furnish our readers with one or two accounts of the interviews which these Ambassadors had with the Khan when they arrived at the end of their outward journey.

In the afternoon, we are told, '*A-yu-ke Khan* sent *Ko-ra*, one of the priests who was immediately attached to his person, and others, to wait on us and to say, Our Khan proposes to-morrow, being a fortunate day, to have an interview with your Excellencies, and to receive in form the edict of the most excellent Emperor.' The edict is accordingly presented 'on the second day of the moon' by the Ambassadors, and the narrator assures us that it was received by the Khan kneeling: but the circumstance of the Khan's humiliation on this occasion is very much questioned in a note by Sir George Staunton. After the ceremony of presentation, however, be the form what it might, we learn the following particulars:

'*A-yu-ke Khan* having expressed himself very grateful to his Majesty, invited us to sit down on his right hand; the music then began to play, and an entertainment was served up before us.

'*A-yu-ke Khan* having afterwards enquired of us respectfully concerning the venerable age of his Majesty, we informed him that our Emperor was born in the year *Kia-Vu*, and was at this time in the 61st year of his age.

'*A-yu-ke Khan* then enquired, what was the number of the imperial princes, his Majesty's sons.

'We said, "Those of his Majesty's sons who usually accompany him on his hunting excursions, some of whom are decorated with the titles of *Ching Vang*, *Kiun Vang*, *Pei-le*, *Pei-tse*, are 16 in number; how many more sons his Majesty may have, who, on account of their youth, have not yet gone beyond the precincts of the palace, we know not, as under such circumstances we can have no opportunity of seeing them."

'*A-yu-ke Khan* then enquired the number of the imperial princesses, his Majesty's daughters.

'We said, "We have heard that above 10 of his Majesty's daughters are already settled in marriage; but respecting the number of those who may be still within the precincts of the palace we know nothing."

'*A-yu-ke Khan* continued his enquiries, by saying, "I have understood that his Imperial Majesty, in order to avoid the summer heats, visits every year his country-residence, and there partakes of the diversion of hunting. What is the name of the place? how far is it from the capital? when does his Majesty proceed to it? and when does he return from it?"

'We replied, "The place which our Emperor visits in order to avoid the summer-heats is called *Je-ho* or *Ko-la-ho-tun*. It is seven or eight days' journey from the imperial city. Every year, about the latter end of the 4th, or the beginning of the 5th moon, his Majesty sets out upon this journey. In the mid-autumn, or immediately

ately after the last day of deer hunting, which occurs in the course of the 9th moon, his Majesty always returns to his capital."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* further enquired respecting the mountains, rivers, trees, and other vegetable productions of that country. We added; "*Je-ho* is situated beyond the boundary line of the Great Wall. There are there both high mountains and great rivers. The water is peculiarly sweet and excellent. The woods, as well as all other vegetation, are extremely luxuriant. Various kinds of beasts and birds are also found there in great abundance."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* continued his enquiries, saying, "How do the people plough and sow the earth in your Emperor's country? do the times of sowing depend on the rainy seasons; or are the fields overflowed artificially?"

' We replied, "In the empire of China, we plant or sow all the five species of grain, and also the various kinds of vegetables. In some places the fields are overflowed by art, in others they are watered by the rains only, and sown accordingly."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* next enquired, "How far is the original seat of his Majesty's ancestors from the imperial city; and what is the population of that quarter?"

' We replied, "The place you speak of is called *Shing-King* (Mougden), and is distant from the imperial court about 20 days' journey. The country in that quarter is very populous. Five great tribunals are established, with suitable officers in each, for the administration of the civil government, and there are besides three general officers of the highest rank stationed there for the purpose of holding the country in due subjection."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* continuing, said, "The Mantchoos and the Mongals bear a great resemblance to each other: I imagine therefore that they sprang anciently from the same origin. But how has it happened that they have since formed separate states and nations? The causes of this are no doubt well known to your Emperor. I accordingly must request your Excellencies to remember, when you return to your court, to notice these my enquiries to his Majesty, and to solicit his Majesty to condescend to instruct me upon this point, by the opportunity of the return of my envoy from his imperial presence."

' In reply, we promised upon our return to court to address his Majesty on the subject, agreeably to his desire.

' *A-yu-ke Khan* proceeded to enquire, why the Mantchoo tribes were divided into two classes, some being termed the Ancient Mantchoos, and others the New Mantchoos.

' We replied, "Those Mantchoos, who were originally residents at *Shing-king*, and were among the followers of the Emperors *Tay-tsou* and *Tay-tsing* *, we denominate, as well as all their children and descendants, the Ancient Mantchoos; but those who have come since to reside within the limits of the territory of *Shing-king*, and who have only been in the service of our Em-

* The immediate ancestors of the first Chinese Emperor of the reigning Mantchoo Tartar dynasty.'

perors since the removal of the court to the present capital, we denominate the New Mantchoos."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* then asked, "Are the Mantchoo and Mongal written characters the same or different? by whom were they invented, and how handed down to the present generation?"

' We replied, "Our Mantchoo characters are considerably different from the Mongal characters in many respects; our Emperor *Tay-tsou* was the first establisher of the 12 initial characters; our Emperor *Tay-tsing* afterwards added the marginal circles and dots, and immutably settled the pronunciation. It is now a character capable of infinite changes and combinations; and equally elegant as copious."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* proceeded to observe, "Many years ago I heard that in the dominions of your Emperor there was a certain *Pin-see-vang* (royal pacificator of the west) who had raised a rebellion. In what year did your Emperor subdue and destroy him? Are there any partizans or descendants of the rebels remaining?"

' We replied, "*Pin-see-vang* had received great favours from our Emperor. In recompense for his small and weak services, his Majesty was graciously pleased to dignify him with the title of King, and to establish him with great honour and credit in the province of Yunnan, which lies at the south-western extremity of our Chinese empire: but he not only proved himself unworthy of such favour, but ungratefully broke out into rebellion. Our Emperor was in consequence greatly incensed, and immediately dispatched forces against him, by which he and all his adherents were completely destroyed and exterminated. The laws and statutes of our Chinese empire will by no means permit the existence of any of the descendants or adherents of those who thus revolt against their country, and forget the favours that had been conferred on them. This rebellion took place in the year *Quee-cheu* (A. D. 1673); and it is now above 40 years since the complete restoration of tranquillity."

The subsequent conversation places in a still stronger point of view the curiosity and sagacity of *A-yu-ke Khan*, of whom but little is known in Europe; except from the account which Bell has given of him, and from that singular interview which he had with Peter the Great on the banks of the Wolga, when he engaged to furnish Peter with five thousand Tartars, whom he afterward sent according to promise:

' On the 5th day of the moon, *Yee-she*, one of the attendants on the person of *A-yu-ke Khan*, came to us by his orders and said, "We hear that your Excellencies have in your suite two very expert archers: the King, our master, wishes to see them; pray, therefore, if you have no objection, allow them to wait on his Majesty; nevertheless, if it be inconvenient, he will not desire it."

' We replied, "We have with us two New Mantchoos, who are archers by profession, but nothing more; they are by no means particularly

particularly expert: but, as your Sovereign wishes to see them, we shall order them to take their bows and arrows, and proceed accordingly."

' *Ko-tcha-ur-too* and *Mee-kieu* attended in consequence, and took with them the bows and arrows which they had received as special gifts from his Imperial Majesty.

' *A-yu-ke Khan* having invited them into his presence, and desired them to take seats near him, they were served with tea and fruit. He first enquired from them their ages; then, pointing to the pears in the dish, asked whether we had that species of fruit in our Chinese empire. *Ko-tcha-ur-too* answered in the affirmative. *A-yu-ke Khan* proceeded to ask what other fruits we had in China; *Ko-tcha-ur-too* replied, that our fruits in China were very various, and too many to enumerate.

' *A-yu-ke Khan* next asked them how far the country of their nativity was distant from the metropolis. *Ko-tcha-ur-too* replied, that when travellers proceeded thither from the imperial city, on horseback, they performed the journey in about three moons. *A-yu-ke Khan* then enquired of them, whether their country was hot or cold, whether rain or snow abounded or not, and whether it was remarkable for its mountains, rivers, or forests. *Ko-tcha-ur-too* replied, "In the country to which I and my family belong, the summer-months are not very warm, and the winter-months exceedingly cold. The quantity of rain and snow which falls is uncertain. In ordinary winters the snow lies upon the ground to the depth of 2 or 3 *che* (cubits): but in severe winters the depth of the snow is 4 to 5 *che*, and more. The mountains are high and rugged; the forests thick and close; the rivers and torrents extremely numerous. The most remarkable among them are the *He-lung-kiang* * and the *Niai-men*."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* further enquired, whether the water of these rivers were sweet or bitter. *Ko-tcha-ur-too* said, "The water in these rivers is sweet and beautifully clear: even in the narrow passes, where the current meets with interruption, the beauty and clearness of the water remain unchanged."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* asked, what kinds of fish were found in these rivers, and what wild animals in the mountains? *Ko-tcha-ur-too* replied, "The kinds of fish met with in these rivers are very many. Among others is the *whang-yu*, a fish which grows to the length of 10 to 20 *che* or more, and is caught by the Solons and *Ta-hu-ur* (Daourians) for the purpose of being offered as tribute to the Emperor. In the mountains there are tigers, panthers, bears, wolves, wild boars, deer, *pao*, *kan-ta-han* (elks), and other similar animals."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* asked, whether the people tilled and sowed the land in that country; what kind of houses they lived in; and what species of animals they kept for their domestic use?

* The former is the Amour or Sagalien Oula of our maps; the latter is uncertain.'

' *Ko-tcha-ur-too* replied, "They do not till or sow the land; they are occupied in the pursuit of game, and live entirely by hunting. They have no fixed habitations, but migrate from place to place, in the same manner as is practised by your Majesty's subjects. They rear and feed no animals besides their horses."

' After this conversation they took up their bows and arrows, and shot at a tree as a mark. *A-yu-ke Khan* expressed his admiration at their dexterity; upon which *Ko-tcha-ur-too* said, "We are by no means good archers; we are mere learners from the schools; but there are archers where our Emperor resides, who shoot with the strong bow, and are skilled in the art in all its branches."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* then took one of the bows into his own hands; and after examining it, asked, whether the horn of which it was constructed was bullock's horn?

' *Ko-tcha-ur-too* replied, "In the southern parts of our Chinese empire we have an animal called a buffalo or water-bullock. This is buffalo's horn."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* enquired, what was the size of the buffalo, and what was the colour of the animal?

' *Ko-tcha-ur-too* replied, "I happen to have had an opportunity of seeing these animals, the Emperor my sovereign having once sent me, upon service, to the southern province of *Hou-quang*. They are somewhat larger than the common bullock, and the colour of their hide is nearly the same as that of the camel."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* next enquired of *Ko-tcha-ur-too*, whether he happened to know what kind of bow his Imperial Majesty himself used? whether his Majesty ever practised shooting at a target; and if so, whether his Majesty was successful in hitting the mark?

' *Ko-tcha-ur-too* said, "The bow used by his Majesty is similar in its form and mode of construction to the ordinary bow, but the finest and most perfect horn is always selected for the purpose, and is put together with the wood of the *wha-pee*. His Majesty frequently practises shooting at a target, and generally hits the mark 8 or 9 times out of 10."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* asked whether in our empire the native Chinese were also accustomed to shoot with bows and arrows or not; and whether or not we had brought with us any of the military arms which we used in warfare?

' *Ko-tcha-ur-too* replied, "In China the Green division of the Emperor's army is formed wholly of native Chinese. In all the provincial stations, and principal posts on the frontiers, we have always great numbers of excellent archers. His Majesty from time to time exchanges the soldiers stationed at these posts, with those on duty about the imperial court, expressly with a view to their practising and perfecting themselves in riding and archery, and to afford an opportunity of encouraging and rewarding them according to their deserts. When our troops take the field, they carry with them cannon, musketry, swords, spears, bows and arrows, and arms of many other kinds; but, excepting our bows and arrows, we have brought nothing of the kind with us at present."

' *A-yu-ke*

' *A-yu-ke Khan* again looked at the bows and admired them. He then asked *Ko-tcha-eur-too* whether, beyond his native country, there were any other countries or kingdoms? how far distant it was from the sea? and whether he had himself crossed the seas or not?

' *Ko-tcha-eur-too* said, "Beyond my native country are the countries called *Pi-eur-la* and *Yu-chu-en*, the tribes of *Mo-ni-ye-eur* and *Ku-loo-ye-eur*, and many others with whose names I am unacquainted; but they all pay an annual tribute to his Imperial Majesty. The eastern sea is distant from my native country about a month's journey. I have never yet crossed the seas, but I have occasionally journeyed along the sea-coast when hunting."

' *A-yu-ke Khan* said, that he had heard that there was a kingdom subject to the Chinese empire called *Chao-sien* (Corea); he asked whether it paid tribute to his Imperial Majesty or not; and whether *Ko-tcha-eur-too* had ever been there or not?

' *Ko-tcha-eur-too* replied, *Chao-Sien* is undoubtedly one of the kingdoms subject to our Chinese empire. It pays an annual tribute to our Emperor of its various productions. I never, however, visited that country."

On their return, the Ambassadors make an official report; which, as it is entirely in Chinese taste, full of things 'as high as the mountains,' and 'as vast as the seas,' and other usual extravagances, we think is not likely to coincide much with the taste of our readers.

Of the Appendix of miscellaneous translations, the first is an abstract of four chapters of a novel intitled *Yu-kiao-lee*. As in the course of this piece much is effected by magic, and the hero easily extricates himself from some difficulties by marrying two ladies at once, Sir George did not deem it sufficiently accordant to European notions to be interesting, and therefore discontinued the task which he had commenced. Next follow notices of four Chinese plays, 1. The Student's Daughter revenged; 2. The Stratagems of the General whose Forces the River divided; 3. Leaving a Slipper, on the New Moon; 4. Curing Fish on the Banks of the River in Autumn. Of the last three plays we learn little more than the titles and the *dramatis personæ*: but of the first Sir George favours us with a more extended notice; and, as there are at present only two plays translated from the Chinese, "The Orphan of Tehao," rendered into French by Father Premare, (being the groundwork of Voltaire's tragedy of "The Orphan of China,") and since into English, and "The Heir in Old Age," translated by Mr. Davis, our readers may be glad to be presented with the plot of another Chinese drama:

' *First Part.* — A rich old woman has one son, a child of eight years. A poor student, who has a daughter seven years of age, borrows a small sum of money from the old woman, which he afterwards

terwards finds himself unable to repay. In lieu of payment he leaves his daughter with the old woman, and consents to her being affianced as the future wife of her son.

Second Part. — Thirteen years after, the student's daughter, now twenty years of age, is still living with the old woman, although her son having died young, the intended marriage could not take place. One day the old woman goes to an apothecary to demand payment of a debt — the apothecary persuades her to accompany him to a bye place, and there attempts to kill her — but they accidentally meet two men, a father and son, who interpose, and save her life. They claim in return for this service, respectively, the old woman and the student's daughter in marriage. — The old woman at first refuses, but on being threatened, consents, and brings the strangers home to her house: the student's daughter, on being informed of this engagement, positively refuses to ratify it on her part; but the old woman having married the elder stranger, both of them become inmates of the house, and the younger stranger perseveres in urging his suit.

Third Part. — The younger stranger being still unable to persuade the student's daughter to marry him, conceives he may be able to prevail, by previously getting rid of the old woman; and accordingly goes to the afore-mentioned apothecary to purchase some poison. The apothecary makes objections; but, on being recognized, and threatened with a discovery of his former attempt to commit murder, he complies, and the young man, having obtained the poison, puts it into some broth, intended for the old woman, who is sick. By some mistake, however, the elder stranger, the father of the younger, drinks the broth in her stead, and dies immediately. — The scheme of the younger stranger being thus frustrated, he repeats his demand of the student's daughter in marriage, and threatens to accuse both her and the old woman of the murder of his father, if she persists in her refusal — she remains, nevertheless, inflexible — both the women are then brought before a magistrate, and charged with the murder — and the younger being put to the torture to compel her to confess, resists firmly for some time; but, seeing the old woman about to be tortured likewise, her fortitude fails her, and she charges herself with the murder, though innocent.

The magistrate then declares himself satisfied; and, having pronounced sentence of death upon the young woman, is thanked by the false accuser for his righteous judgment.

Fourth Part. — The student's daughter is brought out for execution — attests her innocence, and begs her life — but is not spared. — She declares, just before her execution, that in testimony of her innocence, it will snow though in the midst of summer; that her blood will fly upwards, and stain the ensigns of the tribunal; and that there will be a drought for three years in the district wherein she is executed. — All these prodigies happen accordingly.

Fifth Part. — The poor student, in the mean while, had become a great Mandarin, and it was part of his duty to revise, occasionally,

casionaly, the proceedings of inferior magistrates. — One day, when he happened, unawares, to be reading the record of the trial and of the sentence passed upon his own daughter (of whom he had heard nothing, since he had parted from her, when a child,) her ghost appears to him, relates the injustice which had been committed, and calls for revenge. Upon this he immediately summons all the parties before him — institutes a new trial — rectifies the sentence — appeases the ghost — condemns the false accuser, who was himself the murderer, to be cut into ten thousand pieces; banishes the wicked apothecary for life; and, lastly, sentences the unjust magistrate to the corporal punishment of one hundred blows, and dismissal from his office for ever.'

This seems to be a sufficiently regular plot: but a representation comprehending the varieties of murder, torture, and an execution, is somewhat exclusively adapted to the taste of a people who have a sort of anatomical curiosity, and delight in any horrible exhibition. Still, if we did not daily witness similar occurrences in more civilized nations, it might appear surprizing that, where they have so much of regular drama, by no means deficient in sentiments, characters, or incidents, such nonsensical pantomimes as "The Marriage of the Ocean and the Earth," described by Lord Macartney, or "The Eclipse of the Moon," seem to be the great favourites, and to be brought forwards on the grandest occasions. The solution attempted by some writers, that these fooleries were exhibited only from the contempt which the Chinese entertain for foreigners, and for the amusement of the English and Dutch ambassadors, we cannot help considering as entirely groundless, when we recollect the delight expressed by some of the grandees at court on the whales waddling before the Emperor's box, and spouting forth some tons of water into the pit. They elbowed Lord Macartney that he might not fail to notice such a fine sight, and could not refrain from exclaiming, *Hac, kung hao!* This is charming, delightful!

The Appendix next contains an extract from a Chinese herbal, "On the Character, Culture, and Uses of the annual herbaceous Cotton." This is a very curious document, and will be deemed interesting when it is considered that it is from one species of this cotton, viz. the brown cotton, that nankeen cloth is manufactured. Then follow various extracts from the Pekin Gazette; several of which relate to military transactions, but all of which tend in a considerable degree to illustrate the manners and customs of the country. We shall copy two or three which appear to us the most remarkable. The first would be still more singular if, instead of the '1st and 2d of the 4th Moon of the 5th year of Kia King,' it bore date at Paris in the year 1813.

‘ *Imperial Edict.* — It appears that there are now many descendants in the second and third generation, of persons in the highest rank of nobility, who, from misfortunes or other causes, have been reduced to poverty or very humble employments : it is therefore ordered, that all such persons who have not attained the 7th degree of civil, or the 5th degree of military rank, shall be presented at court, that they may be pensioned, or raised in rank, according to their respective claims. *Khin-tse.*’ [*i. e.* respect this.]

‘ 4th and 5th of the 4th Moon of }
the 6th year of Kia King. } May 14th and 15th, 1801.

‘ *Imperial Edict.* — On our return from the imperial tombs, which we visited on the occasion of quitting our habits of mourning, we met with a man on horseback, in the district of *Whang-ma-tien*, who galloped to and fro in our presence with great apparent haste. The officers in waiting having apprehended the offender, and investigated the circumstances, it was found that he was an attendant on *Mien-ko*, prince of *Tchuong-ching*. Animadverting on such extraordinary and irregular behaviour, we direct that, in the first place, the offender shall be committed to the custody of the Tribunal of Crimes, where he shall be punished with the bamboo, according to the law against insolent and unruly conduct in the imperial presence ; and that, secondly, *Mien-ko* shall resign his post as a general in the army, and member of the Supreme Council, but shall continue to enjoy the rank and title of Prince of *Tchuong-ching*, in token of our indulgence towards him. We, however, abstain from a final decision of the affair, till we receive the result of the deliberations of the *Tsoung-zin-foo*, or Tribunal for Affairs affecting the Imperial Family. *Khin-tse.*’

‘ 3d and 4th of the 4th Moon of }
the 6th year of Kia King. } May 14th and 15th, 1801.

‘ *Imperial Edict.* — The marriage of the third Imperial Princess *Ha-je* being appointed to take place in the ensuing spring, the Tribunal of Mathematics is ordered to select a fortunate day for the celebration of this event. *Khin-tse.*’ —

‘ 23d of the 5th Moon of the }
6th year of Kia King. } July 3d and 4th, 1801.

‘ *Imperial Edict.* — The gracious protecting Temple of the King of the Dragons, on the mountain *Yu-chun-shan*, has, on every occasion of drought, proved favourable to the prayers we offered up there, according as long since has been duly recorded in our sacred registers.

‘ Immediately after the summer-solstice of the present year, a great want of rain was experienced ; on which account we were induced, on the 17th instant, again to offer up our prayers and sacrifices in person, at the temple above mentioned. In the course of the very same day a fall of small rain or dew was observed, and on the following, the country was relieved by frequent and copious showers.

‘ This further proof of efficacy in granting our requests augments our veneration ; and in testimony thereof, we direct that
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the temple of this propitious divinity shall receive an additional appellation, and be styled, on all future occasions, "The gracious in protecting and efficacious in preserving" the Temple of the King of the Dragons. *Khin-tse.*

Altogether, we consider this volume as forming an important and valuable addition to our literature. The public, indeed, would have had still higher obligations to the translator of Ta-tsing-leu-lee, if he had continued his inquiries into the government and laws of China, and had proceeded to give a translation of that immense work, the Ta-tsing-hoei-tien, which comprizes the institutes of the empire at large: for until that production be translated into some European language, our knowledge of the political regulations and jurisprudence of China must still remain in many particulars incomplete.

We are happy to find that a foreign scholar, M. Abel Remusat, intends to publish an entire version of the novel Yu-kiao-lee, which Sir George Staunton was discouraged from finishing; the fragment given by him being written with so much simplicity that we were disappointed by its abrupt termination. A Chinese novel, indeed, must be in a considerable degree valuable as a curiosity, and as illustrative of the national manners; and the very circumstances mentioned by the translator must render the work more curious and amusing. — We should be glad also to see a complete translation of the play of which we have extracted the plot. Of the other dramas we can scarcely form any judgment from the trifling particulars communicated by Sir George Staunton: but he thinks that, by a careful examination of the collection of one hundred plays from which these are taken, many would be found that, if translated accurately and at length, would not prove uninteresting.

During the last thirty years, an extraordinary degree of light has been thrown on the history, the government, and the manners of China; and for a very considerable portion of all which we know, and is worth knowing, respecting that country, we are indebted to the researches and observations of the accomplished translator of the work before us, and those of Mr. Barrow. Yet the attempt to naturalize the literature of China is only in its first beginnings; and we look forwards with sanguine hopes to the discovery and display of treasures, that have been for ages hidden from Europe by the thick veil of a language which it was ignorantly supposed by foreigners that they could never withdraw. Sincerely do we wish well to the labourers in this vineyard; and particularly to those servants of the East India Company, stationed in China, who
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may be desirous of atoning for the listlessness of their predecessors on that station, and may eagerly embrace the opportunity of illustrating the country of their residence, while they improve the knowledge and enlarge the literature of their native land.

ART. VI. *Manual of Mineralogy*: containing an Account of Simple Minerals, and also a Description and Arrangement of Mountain-Rocks. By Robert Jameson, Regius Professor of Natural History, Lecturer on Mineralogy, and Keeper of the Museum in the University of Edinburgh, F.R.S. F.S.A., &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 501. 15s. Boards. Edinburgh, Constable and Co.; London, Hurst and Co. 1821.

PROFESSOR JAMESON is no stranger to the public or to us; and in addition to our knowledge of him from his books, we learn from our *Scotch friends* that he is reputed to have so complete an acquaintance with mineral specimens, that if a gem or an ore or a stone be shewn to him, he will at once pronounce on its class, its order, its genus, and its species; — detailing also minutely its colour-suit and its crystal-suit, — its frangibility, its hardness, and its weight, — with its sapidity or insapidity, — and all its little characteristics of distinction, though they be so microscopic and evanescent as to be impalpable and imperceptible to every body but himself. When he has thus set his mark on them, he can sort all his specimens in their appropriate divisions in the drawers of his cabinet, with “every shade so softening into shade, — that as they still succeed, they ravish still.”

All this he can do, we are told, as accurately as Milo in days of yore could pitch millet-seeds through a needle's eye: — but this, we are informed, is positively all. If he casts his eye beyond his cabinet, he is completely bewildered. The immensity of nature is too much for his comprehension. He perceives the rocks, mountains, and valleys of a landscape so hazily and bedimmed, that he mistakes the visions and *bizareries* of his own fancy for their regular arrangement and distribution; and his theories and his general views, when he ventures on them, are consequently distorted and erroneous, as in the instance of his notable conclusion that the globe is a huge polyhedral crystal, of which rocks are the facets! His taste, also, is said to be radically bad. A person with no taste might occasionally hit on that which is tasteful: but, when Mr. Jameson has a choice, he uniformly selects what is barbarous and uncouth.

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It is reported to us that the cause of all this may be easily traced, for that he spent a part of the most enthusiastic period of his youth at Freyberg, under the celebrated Werner; who had the wonderful art, peculiar it should seem to Germans, of kindling in the breasts of his pupils a violent love for his system, and of adhering to it most implicitly and pertinaciously, through good report and evil report. Now this system, though it manifests uncommon genius in its author, is enveloped in the most inelegant and barbarous farrago of terms ever invented; and by the contemplation of these, the groundwork of his beloved system, Mr. Jameson seems to have had his youthful taste incurably infected.

We should also be inclined to imagine, that his *once* unqualified and devoted adherence to his master's opinions and doctrines has eventually cramped his own powers of independent observation and remark, and has made his mind (as usual in such discipleship) a mere repository and cabinet of opinions, without the habits or the power of thinking for himself. Now, however, the Professor has turned renegado, — given his old master Werner the slip, — and resigned himself most quietly into the hands of his successor, M. Mohs. Apparently, these Germans possess the art of fascination in perfection, when they can so rapidly gain over such distinguished men as Mr. Jameson, and bind them so firmly to their cause. M. Mohs is just commencing a similar career, and has already mustered in this country a considerable force; which we fear the volume under our review will have more influence to increase, than either the published or the threatened works of M. Mohs himself.

We think it is peculiarly unfortunate for the progress of mineralogy that Professor Jameson, who stands so high in the science, has adopted this barbarous system in so wholesale a manner, without the slightest attempt at selection or improvement. The language and the terms which he formerly adopted from Werner were harsh enough, as we might expect in a work on oryctognosy and geognosy: but the worst of them were musical and brief, when compared with the consonant-bristled-line-long-lumbering-terms of M. Mohs; for it seems that we are now to call cinnabar by the name of *Prismato-rhomboedrischer-rubin-blende*, and the diamond by the name of *Octaedrischer-diamond*. The inventor of such precious words must, we imagine, have had an eye to the interest of his countryman Feinagle's system of mnemonics; for our memories at least, as well as our tongues, would require some artificial aid in wrestling with such a nomenclature. This, however, is no objection to Mr. Jameson, who copies all most
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faithfully; thinking that it would be presumption in him to innovate on the effusions of a man like M. Mohs. He copies even his laughable truisms, and announces his profound discovery with the utmost gravity that '*common sea-water is the water of the ocean*;' (p. 3.) of which the world was hitherto ignorant, and mineralogists did not even know that the water of the sea was a mineral and its channel a mine till they were informed of these important facts by M. Mohs and Mr. Jameson. Homer, indeed, found long ago that the sea was *infertile**, as far as it was incapable of producing a crop of wheat or barley: but this discovery was nothing to the profound result of the present author's investigation — *that sea-water is the water of the sea*.

To us it is not a little marvellous that hail and snow escaped a similar description among minerals with rain and air, particularly as there would have been room to flourish off a few of the unintelligible *P's* and *R's* of the system, in speaking of their crystallization; though the diversities of form, as so admirably delineated in Scoresby's Arctic Regions, might have appeared a little puzzling; and there would have been no originality in the announcement that *snow is white*, because in this they are anticipated by Moore in the Irish Melodies, who informs us that

“ The *white snow* lay
On the narrow pathway.”

In one point of view, Mr. Jameson has not used his new master well. To save, perhaps, the trouble of writing a new introduction, he has copied *verbatim* that which M. Mohs prefixed to his CHARACTERISTIC, without attempting to amend its obscurity or its vagueness; and even in contradiction of his own reference to his “Treatise on the Characters of Minerals,” for an explanation of terms. For example, Mr. Jameson, in his “Treatise,” gives a very different account of *hardness* from that of M. Mohs which is here copied, and also from what is found in the text of the work before us. In this borrowed introduction, we are told that the number 2 expresses the hardness of ‘*a variety of prismatic gypsum*.’ What variety it is we are left to guess; for, on turning to this prismatic-gypsum-haloïde in the Manual, we find no varieties mentioned, and the hardness marked = 1.5,—3.5. We are left as much in uncertainty respecting all the ten degrees of hardness which M. Mohs has set down and Mr. Jameson copied. They seem, indeed, to take it for granted

* *Iliad*, *passim*.

that those who read their books should know what they mean by intuition, and should implicitly agree to all that they say without the privilege of examination or appeal.

Nevertheless, greatly as we dislike the barbarous and *lengthy* terms of Mohs here followed, we must do Mr. Jameson the justice to say that he has given a very minute account of simple minerals, so that this Manual will almost supersede with the generality of students a reference to his larger work; the last edition of which we regret to say is also barbarized with Mohsisms.

The more novel, and to many readers the more interesting portion of the present volume is the second part; which contains a 'Description and Arrangement of Mountain-Rocks.' Mr. Jameson's idea of a *mountain*, however, we are puzzled exceedingly to understand. 'Minerals,' he says, 'to have the true characters of mountain-rocks, must occur not only in great masses but frequently, and present in their structure and composition such characters as shall serve to distinguish them and make them known in whatever situation they may be found.' It should seem to follow that, if we had only seen a mountain-mass of granite, basalt, or lime-stone *once or twice*, we are not hence intitled to call it a rock till we have seen many such masses. It must also result that the Author of nature had an eye to Mr. Jameson's mineral system in the creation of rocks; for it is a part of his definition that rocks *must* present 'such characters as shall make them known in whatever situation they may be found.'

It is singularly incongruous, also, both with the definition and with the established usage of the language, to class among *mountain-rocks*, as Mr. Jameson has here done, not only the alluvia of valleys and plains, but the *sand of the desert, coral and shell sand, clay and loam* or soil, *common salt, peat, &c.* We again repeat that he must have a very strange notion of a *mountain-rock*; and we marvel that the manifest blunder of calling turf-bogs, sandy deserts, salt-mines, and arable soil, by the name of mountain-rocks or rocks of any sort, was not pointed out to him by the most humble corrector of the press. We recollect nothing so bad as this in Burnet, Buffon, or Brande; though the works of these celebrated men are viewed by Mr. Jameson as mere vagaries of fancy, at variance with all the darling details of his *oryctognosy* and *geognosy*.

We have one very serious charge to allege against the whole of this portion of the work: it does not exhibit any of the numerous improvements which have been made for the last ten or fifteen years by the active and persevering members of the Geological Society, and particularly by Dr. Mac-

culloch. To what must we ascribe this omission? Howsoever it may have originated, it is very culpable, and most materially injures the value of the book. Dr. Macculloch, Mr. Kidd, Mr. Greenough, and other eminent geologists, have brought most satisfactory proof that there is no such class of rocks as those which Mr. Jameson persists in calling *Transition*, in opposition to the strongest facts. We perceive, however, that he has quietly given up the Wernerian account of their origin, by couching his description of them in vague language, very different from the oracular dogmatism in the first edition of his *Mineralogy*, when he was fresh from the school of Freyberg. The class, he says, was named *Transition* 'from its forming, as it were, the transition or passage from the primitive to the secondary rocks.' Werner's own account, however, as formerly given by Mr. Jameson himself, was that, after the chaotic solution had deposited the primitive rocks, and the receding of the waters left them dry for a time, on a sudden the waters again rose high over the primitive rocks, and deposited the transition-formation. Now, Mr. Jameson suppresses this fancy, and instead of it gives us nothing but unmeaning words; without any account of the origin of these transition-rocks; and, which is worse, without affording us any criterion to guide us in determining that any rock which we may encounter is or is not a transition-rock. He tells us, indeed, that they have a *less* crystalline aspect than the primitive rocks; and that particular rocks, such as greywacké, *appear* to characterize them: — but the secondary rocks have also a less crystalline aspect than the primitive, and contain organic remains; so that, when the characterizing rock greywacké is wanting, how are we to distinguish the transition from the secondary, or, as Mr. Jameson delights to call them, the *Floetz*? To this question the *Manual* affords no answer. This transition-class, indeed, while it continued in fashion, was an admirably fertile region for the conjectures of which geologists seem so fond, at the very time when they exclaim loudly against them. The pupils of Werner boasted that he proceeded on rigid induction, and discarded all conjecture as unscientific: but that this was not the case the downfall of his short lived theory is ample proof.

We also support our charge that Mr. Jameson has not exhibited the present state of geological knowledge, by referring to what he has said of the much disputed subject of stratification; on which his notions are exceedingly confused. We quote his account of 'Stratified Structure:'

'When a mountain, mountain-mass, or bed, composed of one species of rock, is divided by means of parallel seams into masses whose

whose length and breadth are greater than their thickness, or into what may be denominated tabular masses, which extend generally through the whole mountain, it is said to be stratified, and the individual masses are termed strata. Of this kind of structure we have instances in *granite*, lime-stone, clay-slate and mica-slate.' —

'Granite is sometimes disposed in great beds in gneiss and other rocks, and *occasionally these beds appear divided into strata*. In other instances, in *granite-mountains* we observe besides other structures also the *stratified*; but this latter is in general *less perfect* than what is observed in similar rocks.' —

'It was *once* erroneously maintained that primitive lime-stone, *granite*, sienite, and greenstone, *were never stratified*.'

These statements clearly shew that Professor Jameson has never looked into any of the recent works of Dr. Macculloch and Mr. Greenough. The latter, in his facetious but well-supported scepticism, has so clearly shewn the uncertainty and vagueness of the terms *strata* and *stratification*, and has so successfully ridiculed the Wernerian and Jamesonian notion of mantle-shaped and basin-shaped beds, that we wonder that Mr. Jameson did not make an effort at greater precision and greater truth. So far, indeed, is it from being the real state of the case that it was 'once' (*formerly*) maintained that granite was never stratified, that it is by Dr. Macculloch placed unconditionally at the head of his classification as *unstratified*; and he farther adds that "*there is no instance in nature of a stratified rock forming veins*," and granite-veins every geologist knows are not of rare occurrence. How does Mr. Jameson reconcile this with his decision that this doctrine was *once* maintained, when Dr. Macculloch, at the head of our geologists, *still* maintains it; — not on the evidence of cabinet-specimens, but on the basis of ample observation? It is also very remarkable that Mr. Jameson does not once mention the name of Macculloch in his work, while German and French names are profusely sprinkled through his pages.

The author has concluded his account of *mountain-rocks* (which, notwithstanding our strictures, is highly valuable,) with a tabular arrangement of them according to their structure. As this is of unquestionable utility in distinguishing rocks, we shall abstract it:

' I. SIMPLE MOUNTAIN-ROCKS.

' 1. *Compact*.

' I. 1. Limestone. 2. Chalk. 3. Oolite, 4. Marl. 5. Calc-tuff. — II. 6. Serpentine. 7. Fuller's earth. — III. 8. Wacke. 9. Basalt. — IV. 10. Clay-stone. 11. Compact felspar. — V. 12. Pitch-stone. 13. Obsidian. 14. Pearl-stone. 15. Pumice. — VI. 16. Clay, including potter's, common, and plastic clay. 17. Loam.

17. Loam. — VII. 18. Quartz. 19. Jasper. — VIII. 20. Clay iron-stone. 21. Calamine. — IX. 22. Coal. 23. Peat.

‘ 2. *Granular*.

‘ 1. Lime-stone. 2. Gypsum. 3. Quartz-rock. 4. Hornblende-rock. 5. Felspar. 6. Calc-sinter.

‘ 3. *Slaty*.

‘ 1. Clay-slate. 2. Chlorite-slate. 3. Talc-slate. 4. Potstone. 5. Alum-slate. 6. Drawing slate. 7. Whet slate. 8. Bituminous shale. 9. Slate-clay. 10. Flinty slate. 11. Adhesive slate. 12. Polier-slate. 13. Bituminous marl-slate. 14. Hornblende-slate. 15. Tripoli.

‘ II. COMPOUND MOUNTAIN-ROCKS.’

‘ 1. *Granular*.

I. 1. Granite. 2. Syenite. 3. Protogine. 4. White stone. 5. Green stone. — II. 6. Quartz-rock. 7. Sand-stone. — III. 8. Topaz-rock.

‘ 2. *Slaty*.

‘ 1. Gneiss. 2. Mica-slate. 3. Green-stone-slate.

‘ 3. *Porphyritic*.

‘ 1. Porphyry. 2. Porphyritic granite, syenite, basalt, green stone, gneiss, and mica-slate. 3. Trachyte.

‘ 4. *Amygdaloidal*.

‘ 1. Amygdaloid. 2. Amygdaloidal porphyry, green stone, and basalt.

‘ 5. *Conglomerated*.

‘ 1. Conglomerate and many sand-stones. 2. Conglomerated granite, gneiss, mica-slate, clay-slate, porphyry, &c. 3. Greywacké and greywacké-slate. 4. Tuffa, trap, clay-stone, and volcanic.’

Although this table is valuable, it is far from being faultless, particularly where precision of terms is concerned: but on this point we shall not go into detail, some of the faults being so obvious that they must strike the merest novice in the science.

We are sorry that we cannot praise Mr. Jameson's ‘*Systematic View of Petrifications*;

 because, though it may be correct as far as it goes, it does not appear that by his brief and meagre descriptions a single specimen could be determined or identified. The *Tentamen*, in Latin, (and why in Latin, we may ask?) is liable to the same objection of being inapplicable in practical study.

ART. VII. *The History of the Crusades for the Recovery and Possession of the Holy Land.* By Charles Mills. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 475. and 408. 1l. 4s. Boards. Longman and Co.

WE gave in a former Number* our opinion of Mr. Mills's "History of Muhammedanism;" and we have now to announce that his success in that publication has induced him to exert his powers in a wider sphere. He is a professed admirer and imitator of Gibbon; and we think that it is unfortunate for him that, on this as well as on the former occasion, he has selected, as subjects for re-modelling, two æras already illustrated by that author himself. Of Mr. Gibbon's general manner of composition, as applied to history, we have uniformly expressed our disapprobation: his study of effect, his poetical mode of grouping his materials, and his throwing into hasty record many facts that were material and indeed principal, we have always considered as great improprieties in historic style: his levities, his indelicacies, his sarcasms, appear to us errors of a still more vicious cast; while the variety of names, or descriptions, or circumlocutions, used by him to indicate the same individual, would be scarcely worth remarking for the pettiness and rhetorical affectation which it evinces, did it not at the same time occasion much perplexity to his narrative. Many of these faults Mr. Gibbon redeemed by excellences; he has the power of unveiling the disguises of human nature, and of bringing forwards those slight traits which, in the midst of the deepest hypocrisy, at once develope folly or expose vice; in imitating the sententiousness he has sometimes caught the pregnant wisdom of Tacitus: but he succeeds above all in delineations of enthusiasm, in vivid representations of battles, and picturesque descriptions of perilous adventures.

The subjects, on which Mr. Mills has entered into the lists of competition with the historian of Rome, are those on which Mr. Gibbon has the most favourable opportunities for the display of his peculiar talent, and in treating which he has displayed the most splendid and most happy passages in the whole of his great work. If Mr. Mills had attempted, on the present occasion, to give in a simple and succinct manner the tale of the Crusades, we should have hailed his undertaking with pleasure, even if he had failed in the execution of it: but, as it is, we sat down in suspense, and we rise fatigued and disappointed.

The Crusades occupy a period of nearly 300 years, and form the last grand event in that dark period which inter-

* See Monthly Review, vol. xci. N. S. p. 199.

vened between the destruction of Rome and the restoration of letters in Europe. The several tribes of barbarians, who at different times had overwhelmed the dismembered dependencies of the Roman empire, had before this æra become fully established in their separate states; and the Popes were just growing sensible of that power which public opinion had gradually conferred on them in most of the governments of Europe. The Visigoths only were unsettled in Spain. Some important victories which they gained in the eleventh century against their Moorish invaders, and the romantic successes of Count Roger the Norman, who expelled the Arabs from the island of Sicily, and pursued them to the coast of Africa, were preludes to the grand enterprize of the Crusades.

We have had occasion lately, in our notices of several works*, to animadvert on the progress of the different Crusades, and particularly of the first. We cannot, however, forbear from extracting Mr. Mills's description of the siege of Antioch and the taking of Jerusalem, which are executed by him with more than ordinary animation :

‘ The capital of Syria was only four miles in circumference, and extended over both elevated and level land. It was surrounded by a wall; and, in those places where the mountainous nature of the ground presented no natural defence, the height of the artificial bulwark was more than sixty feet. A deep ditch nearly encompassed the city; the Orontes washed part of the western walls; and opposite to the spots on the north and east, where the Crusaders encamped, was a marsh, which had been formed by the waters from the adjacent hills. On the prospect of an attack, the emir, a grandson of Malek Shah, made every preparation of defence. The fortifications were repaired and furnished with hostile engines; and the magazines of provisions were replenished. Most of the male Christian population were considered superfluous consumers of stores, and were dismissed from the place. Antioch was the refuge of many of those people whom the Latins in their march had dispossessed; and the auxiliary and native troops amounted to six thousand or seven thousand horse-soldiers, and from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand foot.

‘ The formidable appearance of the city sunk the heroism of some of the leaders into timorous prudence. They urged in council that many of their troops were dispersed over the country in various garrisons, and could not be recalled till the spring. In that season the Emperor of Constantinople would send money and stores, and succours of men would also arrive from the west. But Raymond and others contended that inaction would produce vice

* See in particular our account of Villers and Heeren, vol. lx. N. S. p. 466.; of Lemoine, vol. lxii. p. 539.; of Michaud, vol. lxxi. p. 493., lxxvii. p. 520., lxxxvii. p. 519.

and disorder ; and a delay of the attack would be construed by the Turks into a consequence of inability and cowardice. " The power of God, which has hitherto given us victory, will still be our spear and shield ; and while we are favoured by Heaven, we need not fear either princes, or places, or times." This appeal to bravery and religion banished despondency ; and in order to guard against relaxation or cowardice, the chiefs bound themselves by oath not to desist from the siege till the city should be taken by force or stratagem. The plan of attack was agreed upon ; and the camp was formed round the eastern, northern, and towards the western sides : part of the west and all the south were left open to the besieged. The city had five gates ; and by this arrangement, the gate of the Bridge, and the gate of St. George belonged to the Turks. The other three gates were blockaded. Bohemond and Tancred, who commanded the Italians, were opposite the entrance of the east, called the Gate of St. Paul. The two Roberts, Stephen of Chartres, and Hugh Vermandois, with the Normans, the French, the Flemish, and the English, extended from the camp of Bohemond, in a northerly direction, to a gate called the Gate of the Dog. From this gate to that of the Duke, so named from the title of Godfrey, were Raymond and Adhemar, with the people of Gascony, Provence, and Burgundy. Godfrey, with his brother, and Conon of Montagu, and Reginald of Toul, accompanied by the people of Lorraine, the Frisons, the Saxons, the Franconians, and Bavarians, extended from the gate of the Duke towards that of the Bridge.

For some time the Crusaders rioted in plenty, totally undisturbed by the people of Antioch. The vallies round the city were fertile in corn and grapes ; and herds of cattle were fed in their rich meadows. Some days were lost by the besieged in the oppression of terror ; but at length they resumed their heroism, and the horrors of war began. The few Greeks and Armenians of the city were allowed free communication with their brethren ; and it was the universal complaint that they reported to the Turks the state of the Franks, and the preparations for hostility. The garrison made frequent sallies from the unblockaded gates ; and by the desultory mode of war in which the Turks excel, they harassed the foraging parties, and the imperfectly guarded places of the camp. For want of a bridge near the station of Godfrey, the Latin soldiers were obliged to wade or swim over the river, which it was necessary for them to pass when they were in quest of provisions. Ingenuity, however, at length assisted them ; and a number of boats lashed together united the opposite shores. They hurled enormous stones, and impelled their battering rams against the walls ; but Antioch had in former ages resisted many a vigorous attack, and the mouldering hand of time had spared it. The usual battering instruments were ineffectual ; and, at the cost of much invention and labour, they erected a new machine in the shape of a tower, and filled it with troops. The soldiers of Raymond wheeled it to the gate ; but the showers of arrows from the Turks destroyed the assailants, and the besieged made a sortie at

the same time, and set fire to the artificial tower, which soon was reduced to ashes. Their subsequent efforts against the walls were equally vain, for the Antiochians attacked them in the rear as well as from the battlements. As all the courage and skill of the Crusaders had been foiled, they now opposed the Turks by means which could only have been expected from the simplicity and ignorance of savages. They dug immense stones from neighbouring rocks, and accumulated them in such piles before the gate of the bridge, that the people of the city were in that quarter effectually barricadoed.

So unskilful were the operations of the besiegers, that, at the end of three months, Antioch stood firm and uninjured. The labours of the Croises were in circle rather than in progression. The distresses which they had made in the country now recoiled on themselves; they repented of their improvident waste of the forage which they had collected from the other side of the river. The vicinity of Antioch was exhausted, and the wintry season prevented any commerce between the camp and distant lands. The sword of the enemy, and the more afflicting pangs of hunger, daily carried off numbers, both of rich and poor. An ox, which at the commencement of the siege was scarcely worth fifteen shillings, became as valuable as four pounds. The price of a lamb or kid was increased nearly twenty-fold. The pods of unripe beans were considered as delicacies; and thistles were held in the same estimation; though, in consequence of the scarcity of fuel, they could only be half boiled. Carrion was openly dressed; and human flesh was eaten in secret. Twenty-four shillings scarcely furnished a horse's provender for one night; and hence the cavalry, which at the beginning of the siege numbered more than seventy thousand horses, was soon after Christmas reduced to two thousand. The winter-rains were heavier than usual; they made a morass of the camp, and putrified the tents and military accoutrements. Pestilential diseases necessarily sprung from these calamities. The surface of the Latin positions presented the appearance of one vast burial-place. Many of the soldiers escaped evils which active-bravery could not resist, nor patient endurance mitigate, by flying to the Christian settlements in Cilicia and Mesopotamia. Robert of Normandy went to a new English colony in Laodicea, and did not return to the army till he had been thrice recalled. By the advice of the council, Bohemond, Tancred, and Robert of Flanders, with all the cavalry and fifteen thousand foot-soldiers, made a predatory excursion into the Turkish territories. Raymond and Adhemar remained to guard the camp. Godfrey was oppressed by illness. Acquainted with every movement of their foes, the Turks seized this favourable occasion of attacking them; the bravery of the Christians rose with their dangers; they routed the infidels: but the impetuosity of their valour urged them to press too quickly after the Turks; and their imprudence cost them dear, for a new sally was made upon their divided squadrons, and the Moslems recovered the day. Bohemond and his troops returned to the camp with large stores of provisions; but they were soon exhausted

hausted by the ill disciplined army; and the Turks learnt that famine had once more afflicted their enemy. Experience at length taught the Crusaders the propriety of vigilance, and of total separation from the people in Antioch. Under the disguise of Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, the Moslems frequently mixed with the army, and reported its condition to Baghasian. A repetition of such conduct was prevented by an expedient at once ludicrous and dreadful. Bohemond slew some Turkish prisoners, and roasted them alive. He then exclaimed to the astonished bystanders that his appetite would submit to necessity, and that during the famine he would greedily devour what at other times would be loathsome and disgusting.

‘ Desertions multiplied, and among those which gave most offence to the Generals, was the departure from the army of Taticius. He represented to the council that if he were permitted to go to Constantinople, he would induce his Imperial master to open the granaries for the benefit of his liegemen. He would bind himself by oath to return, and would leave his tents as the pledge of his fidelity. Whether the chiefs were seduced by these fair promises, or whether they foresaw his treachery, and yet thought it prudent to conceal their feelings, is an uncertain and immaterial point. Taticius and his soldiers departed, never to return, and according to the lamentation of the Archbishop of Tyre the people with so pernicious an example before them, had no scruple in violating their oaths and public professions. The desertion of Taticius was not the only great instance of cowardice in this part of the siege. Two other columns of the sacred army gave way. The warriors were confounded by the departure of William Viscount Melun, surnamed the Carpenter, and the fanatics were disgraced by the worldly-mindedness of Peter. They attempted to fly together, but Tancred met them, and brought them to the tent of Bohemond. Reproaches alone would not have constituted their punishment, if royal authority and influence had not turned the sword of justice aside. At the request of Hugh of Vermandois, Bohemond accepted the declaration and oath of William, that he would never give up the holy undertaking, or bear enmity against Tancred for having intercepted his flight. Peter likewise was pardoned.

‘ The famine still continued, and was as productive of crimes as the most unbounded plenty. The Croises were in that state of sullen savage desperation which the extreme of misery often produces. The dying and the dead were spectacles so familiar to their eyes, that death no longer taught them morality. The exhortations of the clergy to virtue, though ceaseless, were in vain, and at the suggestion of the papal legate, judicial punishments were inflicted on moral crimes. Gaming, usury, drunkenness, and frauds in buying and selling, were cognisable by a tribunal, which was composed of lay and clerical elders. The pious Adhemar thought that conjugal affection was as sinful as immodest love, and that perfect chastity would be visited by Divine favour. The women, both vicious and decorous, were therefore separated from

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the men, and placed in a remote corner of the camp. About the same time Godfrey rose from the bed of sickness, and the people had no difficulty in accounting for this consolation by their return to piety.' —

(*Jerusalem.*) ' The next morning every thing was prepared for battle ; and there was no one who was not resolved either to die for Christ, or restore his city to liberty. Religious zeal did not only infuse courage and vigour into the infirm and young, but even the women took arms. The battering rams, the cats, and the towers, were impelled against the walls ; and the Egyptians met the attack with darts, stones, and the Greek fire. The conflict raged throughout the day ; and strong as were the fanaticism and courage of the Christians, yet the triumph was with the besieged. The great tower of the Count of Tholouse was much injured ; hundreds of men were slain ; and, on the approach of darkness, the commanders ordered a retreat. The night was spent in watching and alarm by Christians and Saracens. The walls of the city had many breaches in them ; and the camp was weakly defended. But the spring of action was not relaxed ; and when the morning arose, all was industry and bustle. The means both of hostility and defence were repaired. Every Christian seemed fresh and fierce ; the towers were manned with choice-drawn cavaliers ; some mounted the summits and second stories, others were at the bottom impelling the immense masses. The battering rams were put into motion ; and such Croises as were not attached to some of these engines, were stationed at a distance to cover by their darts and arrows the attacks of their friends. The besieged repaired their mural breaches, got ready their fire, their boiling oil, and all the dreadful stores of war. For several hours expectation stood in horror for the issue of the raging conflict. About noon the cause of the western world seemed to totter on the brink of destruction ; and the most courageous thought that Heaven had deserted its people. At the moment when all appeared lost, a knight was seen on Mount Olivet, waving his glittering shield as a sign to the soldiers that they should rally and return to the charge. Godfrey and Eustace cried to the army that St. George was come to their succour. The languishing spirit of enthusiasm was revived, and the Crusaders returned to the battle with pristine animation. Fatigue and disability vanished ; the weary and the wounded were no longer distinguishable from the vigorous and active ; the princes, the columns of the army, led the way, and their example awoke the most timid to gallant and noble daring. Nor were the women to be restrained from mingling in the fight : they were every where to be seen in these moments of peril and anxiety, supporting and relieving their fainting friends. In the space of an hour the Barbican was broken down, and Godfrey's tower rested against the inner wall. Changing the duties of a general for those of the soldier, the Duke of Lorraine fought with his bow. " The Lord guided his hand, and all his arrows pierced the enemy through and through." Near him were Eustace and Baldwin, " like two lions beside another lion." At the hour, when the Saviour of the
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world had been crucified, a soldier, named Letoldus of Tournay, leaped upon the fortifications ; his brother Engelbert followed, and Godfrey was the third Christian who stood as a conqueror on the ramparts of Jerusalem. The glorious ensign of the cross streamed from the walls. Tancred and the two Roberts burst open the gate of St. Stephen, and the north and north-west parts of the city presented many openings. The news of the success soon reached the ears of Raymond, but instead of entering any of the breaches, he animated his troops to emulate the valour of the French. Raymond's tower had only been partially repaired, the Provençals mounted the walls by ladders, and in a short time all Jerusalem was in possession of the champions of the cross. The Muselmans fought for a while, then fled to their temples, and submitted their necks to slaughter. Such was the carnage in the Mosque of Omar, that the mutilated carcasses were hurried by the torrents of blood into the court ; dissevered arms and hands floated into the current that carried them into contact with bodies to which they had not belonged. Ten thousand people were murdered in this sanctuary. It was not only the lacerated and headless trunks which shocked the sight, but the figures of the victors themselves reeking with the blood of their slaughtered enemies. No place of refuge remained to the vanquished, so indiscriminately did the insatiable fanaticism of the conquerors disregard alike supplication and resistance. Some were slain, others were thrown from the tops of the churches and of the citadel. On entering the city, the Duke of Lorraine drew his sword and murdered the helpless Saracens, in revenge for the Christian blood which had been spilt by the Moslems, and as a punishment for the raileries and outrages to which they had subjected the pilgrims. But after having avenged the cause of Heaven, Godfrey did not neglect other religious duties. He threw aside his armour, clothed himself in a linen mantle, and, with bare head and naked feet, went to the church of the Sepulchre. His piety (unchristian as it may appear to enlightened days) was the piety of all the soldiers : they laid down their arms, washed their hands, and put on habiliments of repentance. In the spirit of humility, with contrite hearts, with tears and groans, they walked over all those places which the Saviour had consecrated by his presence. The whole city was influenced by one spirit ; and " the clamour of thanksgiving was loud enough to have reached the stars." The people vowed to sin no more ; and the sick and poor were liberally relieved by the great, who thought themselves sufficiently rich and happy in living to see that day. All previous misfortunes were forgotten in the present holy joy. The ghost of the departed Adhemar came and rejoiced ; and as at the resurrection of Christ the bodies of the saints arose, so at the resurrection of the temple from the impurity of the infidels the spirits of many of those who had fallen on the road from Europe to Jerusalem appeared and shared in the felicity of their friends. Finally, the hermit who, four or five years before, had wept over the degraded condition of the Holy City, and who had commiserated the oppressed state of the votaries of Christ in Palestine, was recognized in the person
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of Peter. It was remembered that he had taken charge of the letters from the patriarch to the princes of Europe: it was acknowledged that he had excited their piety, and inflamed their zeal; and the multitude fell at his feet in gratitude for his faithful discharge of his trust, praising God who was glorified in his servant.

‘In wars of ambition, subjugated cities, after the ebullition of military lawlessness, become the possessions of the victorious state and public. But in the Crusades each soldier fought from personal motives; and the cause of the war, and not submission to authority, was the principle of union. Personal interest frequently prevailed; and, accordingly, each Crusader became the owner of any particular house on the portal of which he had set his buckler. But the treasures of the mosques were converted to the use of the church and of the poor; and among the splendid spoils of two of the principal temples were seventy large chandeliers, fifty of silver, and the remainder of gold.’

In giving an account of the fourth Crusade, Mr. Mills confines himself scrupulously to those transactions which finally concluded in having some influence on Palestine: detailing the outfit of the German barons, their successive arrivals in the East, their disregard of the satisfied condition of those whom they wished to succour: their folly in success, their sudden dejection, and their extermination. All this is well told: but he omits to relate any of those great preparations, destined for the Holy Land, which terminated in crusades in Sicily, or in crusades against Constantinople. Mr. Mills perhaps thought that, as the professed historian of the ‘Crusades for the Recovery and Possession of the Holy Land,’ he might confine himself to such as resulted in some effect on that region: but we think that these events are important not only as giving a view of the temper of that age and the extent of ecclesiastical influence, but as forming also an essential part of the Crusades, to shew how it happened that the French and Italians, who in the preceding expeditions had been among the leading adventurers, landed not at all in Syria during the fourth Crusade, but left the Germans to reap by themselves its honours and its miseries. This omission, therefore, appears to us a defect in the present history.

In the retrospect which Mr. Mills takes of the Crusades, we cannot regard his conclusions as just. We admit that they were wars of fanaticism; that the principle of self-defence, which has been adduced to justify them, was not (with perhaps a single exception) the motive of any of the chief leaders; and that such a principle did neither in fact occasion, nor could it in policy sanction, the emptying of Europe to depopulate Asia, and to recover Jerusalem from
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the hands of infidels. We believe also the religious notions on which those wars were undertaken to be impious, and their morality to be injustice. Still, when looking back on them as parts of the history of the world, as links in the mighty series of human events, we cannot say that these measures, though originating in folly and crime, have been productive of unmixed evil; nor do we think that it tends in the least to invalidate moral distinctions, if we imagine that the progress of mankind in arts and civilization is sometimes produced by means which seem to have no connection with that end. Such views only shew that the vices and extravagancies of mankind, even when expatiating in their widest excess, are controuled by some counteracting principle of good; that there is some power which, amid the wildest wantoning of human passions, still pronounces, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther;" and that, in the midst of absurdities, follies, and vices, good is often, in spite of man, brought out of evil. We conceive that the view which Mr. Gibbon has taken of the consequences of the Crusades is every way more just; and, while we recall to mind the improvements in the arts, the enlargement of commerce, the rise of the free states in Italy, the enfranchisement of serfs, and the establishment of chivalrous orders and sentiments as independent of feudal institutions, which the Crusades in so conspicuous a manner contributed to effect, we feel ourselves bound to urge that those romantic and hair-brained expeditions of our ancestors to the East were *not* productive of 'unmixed evil' to Europe.

The two ample extracts which we have made will satisfy the reader that Mr. Mills is sometimes happy in his descriptions, but we cannot say that such passages occur with sufficient frequency to atone for the general inflation and artificial structure of his composition. He is not successful in giving individuality to the characters and actors in the Crusades; and we find nothing throughout the work which can be put in competition with the characters (for instance) of Peter the Hermit, of St. Bernard, of Richard the First of England, of Saladin, and of Celestine the Third, as drawn by Gibbon. Nothing is sketched with such boldness and effect. To shew, however, that Mr. Mills has sufficiently copied Mr. Gibbon's affectations, it is only necessary to mention that the persons, whom in one page we find termed Knights Templars, are in the next called Templars, or Red Cross Knights, then Cavaliers, and so on through the changes; or in like manner Knights Hospitallers, Hospitallers, Hospitalians, Military Friars, Knights of St. John, Cavaliers of St. John, &c. &c.; — or to quote the following sentences:

‘ We dwell with impassioned interest on “ the fierce wars and faithful loves” which moralized the songs of our early poets, and, losing nothing of our veneration for the regular beauties of classical lore, we can admire the rich and luxurious ornaments, which the creative imagination of romance has thrown around the disinterestedness and gallantry, the dignity and pathos of chivalry.’—

‘ The soldiers of the cross had all the heroism, but none of the polish, of knight-errantry, and the sword leaped from its scabbard not for the generous purpose of avenging the looks which threatened beauty with insult, but for the vile and rude office of striking off a Saracen’s head. In Europe, they fought for Heaven and the ladies; in Palestine, for Heaven only; and the spirit of military fanaticism was so much stronger than that of military gallantry, that many noble cavaliers, disdaining the soft collar of the gentle affections, aspired to high and austere virtues, and enrolled themselves in those martial fraternities of which celibacy was the key, in order that the “ lascivious pleadings of the lute” should be drowned in the roarings of the brazen throat of Paynim war.’

In the same page, also, with the last paragraph, we learn that ‘ potentates and plebeians made *consentaneous movements* and *simultaneous exertions*.’

Passages likewise occur in which we should have been better pleased to find that Mr. Mills had availed himself of the detailed account given by Knolles of the Crusades in the commencement of his admirable History of the Turks, instead of consulting Thomas Fuller, and interlarding his own work with ludicrous extracts from that author, whose general character as an historian is not misrepresented by Bishop Nicholson, when, speaking of his Church History, he says, “ If a pretty story comes in his way that affords scope for *clinch* and droll, off it goes with all the gaiety of the stage, without staying to inquire, whether it have any foundation in truth or not; and even the most serious and most authentic parts of his works are so interlaced with pun and quibble that it looks as if the man had designed to ridicule all annals into fable and romance.”

ART. VIII. *Transactions of the Society instituted at London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, &c.* Vols. XXXVI. and XXXVII. 8vo. 10s. 6d. each. Boards. Sold by all Booksellers.

WE are desirous of occasionally paying our respects to the Transactions of a Society which is, perhaps, unequalled as to its practical utility: but the numerous demands on us sometimes retard our intentions, and the Society itself has given such an impulse to the march of improvement in

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arts and manufactures, that it can hardly keep pace with the velocity which it has communicated. "Good wine needs no bush;" and the merit of these volumes may be appreciated by the character of those which have preceded them. No article is admitted which, with its accompaniments of models, machinery, drawings, &c., has not already undergone the test of a critical and scientific examination, and which has not already obtained for its author the honour and the reward bestowed by this munificent institution on exertions of genius, skill, and science. We can specify only some of the papers.

In the AGRICULTURAL department, several premiums are adjudged to individuals for extensive plantations on mountainous, rocky, and intractable soils, where the labours of the plough would yield a very precarious profit. To plant the British colours on a newly discovered island is deemed sufficient to appropriate the soil: but how much worthier a claim has he who plants the verdant foliage of nature on some useless waste, preparing materials for future navies, and furnishing the labourer with immediate and profitable employment? A paper by Mr. Espinasse, on *the Management of Bees*, one of those subjects of rural economy which are by no means undeserving of attention from the farmer, and are extremely interesting to the naturalist, well merited the silver Ceres medal. It is a paper which every gardener or cottager can understand, and, without bewildering himself with ingenious theories, he may profit in the management of his hives by the long and successful experience of the author.

Mr. Young, an eminent surgeon at Edinburgh, received the gold Isis medal for his communication of the method which he adopts in cultivating the *Papaver Somniferum*, and in preparing from it an opium which Dr. Duncan and Mr. Gillespie have certified to be remarkably efficacious, and in no degree inferior to the best Turkey opium. The object of this communication is to describe a method by which the obstacles that have hitherto been deemed insuperable against the profitable culture of the poppy are removed; and to shew that opium of the finest quality may be raised in Great Britain, sufficient not only for home-consumption but for exportation. It is proposed also to cultivate the poppy as well for its oil as its opium; and it appears that early potatoes may be raised on the same space of ground and by the same culture; such a crop, in a favourable season, being likely to yield a clear profit of from 50*l.* to 80*l.* an acre. One acre of poppies, cultivated according to the method of Mr. Young, will
yield

yield 1000 pounds of seed ; and this quantity of seed will give by expression 375 pounds of oil.

Of the papers in CHEMISTRY, one is by Mr. Bowden, who received the gold medal for his very simple, cheap, and as far as experience has hitherto gone, his effectual remedy or preventative against the *Dry Rot in Ship-Timber* : it is merely submerging all the timbers and planks in the sea for a time before they are used. Ships already taking injury from that disease should be sunken, and it will be found that the fungi which attached to them are soon destroyed. — The second paper, by Mr. Cook, gives an account of the successful *Preservation of Anatomical Preparations*, by means of common brine, or solution of muriate of soda : which may be had for about ten-pence a gallon, and will answer all the purposes of preserving natural and morbid structures which spirit of 18 or 20 shillings per gallon will effect. The original paper will of course be consulted for particulars, by those professional gentlemen to whom the information which it communicates is especially valuable.

Under the head of POLITE ARTS, we find two premiums awarded to Mr. Hullmandel and Mr. Redman, for specimens of *Lithography* ; an art invented some years ago in Germany, and but lately introduced or much pursued in England. Its great advantage is that of enabling the artist to present the public with the original productions of his pencil, without having recourse to engravers. — Mr. Einsle also received thirty guineas for the communication of his method of making *Ivory Paper*, for the use of artists.

‘ The properties which render ivory so desirable a substance for the miniature-painter and other artists are, the evenness and fineness of its grain, its allowing all water-colours laid on its surface to be washed out with a soft wet brush, and the facility with which the artist may scrape off the colour from any particular part, by means of the point of a knife or other convenient instrument, and thus heighten and add brilliancy to the lights in his painting more expeditiously and efficaciously than can be done in any other way.

‘ The objections to ivory are, its high price, the impossibility of obtaining plates exceeding very moderate dimensions, and the coarseness of grain in the larger of these ; its liability, when thin, to warp by changes of the weather ; and its property of turning yellow by long exposure to the light, owing to the oil which it contains.

‘ The candidate produced before the Committee several specimens of his ivory-paper about an eighth of an inch thick, and of superficial dimensions much larger than the largest ivory : the surface was hard, smooth, and perfectly even. On trial of these by some of the artists, members of the Society, it appears that
colours

colours may be washed off the ivory-paper more completely than from ivory itself, and that the process may be repeated three or four times on the same surface, without rubbing up the grain of the paper. It will also, with proper care, bear to be scraped with the edge of a knife without becoming rough.'

The process, which is very unexpensive, is explained at large. Colours on ivory are liable to be injured by the exudation of animal oil, a defect from which the ivory-paper is free; and the latter is likewise considered as having an advantage over the former in the facility with which it receives colours, and in the greater brilliancy of them when laid on, owing to the superior whiteness of the ground. — The musical world will feel obliged to Mr. Barraud for his *Improved Violoncello*; an intermediate instrument between the common violoncello and the double bass, contrived for the purpose of producing a more agreeable general effect in performances of chamber-music than can be derived from the use of two violoncellos, or even of a violoncello and double bass in moderately sized rooms.

The papers in MECHANICS are very numerous, and cannot be understood without reference to the plates: indeed, of many we should say that they cannot be perfectly understood without a view of the models themselves, which are deposited in the Society's room. We can only select the *subjects* of a few, not the particulars of any; feeling how very inadequate must be any attempt to explain the principles of them, or to do justice to their merits, without the aid of the graver.

Mr. Grant's *Life-Preserver* appears to be well worthy of attention; and the testimonials in its favour by several naval officers will relieve us from responsibility in giving such an opinion. Numerous life-preservers have been suggested: but from some cause, perhaps their complexity, no one of them has been brought into general use. Vessels are occasionally lost at too great a distance from the shore to be relieved by the admirable apparatus of Captain Manby's mortar; and sometimes the sea is so tremendously boisterous that no life-boat can get to the sinking vessel in time to save her crew. Mr. Grant, after a variety of contrivances to remedy these difficulties, at length determined on the conversion of a ship's water-cask into a life-preserver; and this simple machine, requiring little or no care, and little or no apparatus, is always at hand. All the ship's water-casks now in use may be converted into these life-preservers in a few hours. A barrel of 36 gallons, with such a bed or cradle lashed to it as is here described, will float eight or ten men ashore in a stormy sea; those who from cold and fatigue are unable to

hold on have a seat, and are supported round the back ; and from the manner in which the ballast is fixed to the cask, — which, moreover, may convey the ship's papers, and a few light articles of value, — it will always float steadily, and can neither roll nor upset.

Mr. Prior's machine to prevent *Accidents in descending Mines* is another attempt to diminish the chance of those fatal accidents to which man, in the busy career of life, is exposed. The rope may rapidly uncoil or break, by which men and coals are let down and brought up at coal-pits : but whenever this happens, ' two powerful clicks, with centres of motion on the side of the moving frame,' are brought into action by the elasticity of the springs which are under them, and the bucket is stopped.

Mr. Park has saved the public some thousands annually by his *Cast-iron mooring Block*, adopted by the Navy-Board at Portsmouth harbour ; which, already too shallow, was almost in danger of becoming choaked up by the yearly necessity of throwing into it many thousand tons of shingle, which is no longer requisite.

Mr. Jones has remedied many of the imperfections of the common *Pulley-Block*, and received the Society's silver medal for his improvements. — The great simplicity, cheapness, and usefulness of Mr. Richtie's *Improved Pendulum* induced the Society to reward that gentleman's ingenuity with a pecuniary compliment, in addition to the gold Isis medal. His improvement in Time-keepers, by locking together the paleets, crutch, and pendulum, occasions a great saving in the motive force, and at the same time promotes an uniformity and regularity in the rate of going.

The most elaborate communication in these volumes, accompanied by an unusual number of plates, is Mr. Clement's description and illustration of a machine which he has invented for drawing circles, ellipses, parallel, radiating, and spiral lines ; the teeth of wheels, and the threads of screws ; and for dividing right lines, circles, and ellipses, both geometrically and perspectively. The most satisfactory testimony in its favour is subjoined by a gentleman particularly competent to appreciate its high merit ; and it is sufficient praise to say that Mr. Lowry, whose own contrivance for the purpose is universally allowed to be excellent, acknowledges that he never saw a machine so convenient in its application or so comprehensive in its powers as that of Mr. Clement. He accordingly expressed his desire to have one for his own use.

Mr. Russel has invented an effectual method of *Locking the Cocks of Liquor-Casks* ; and we mention it because the palpable

palpable insecurity of those in common use has rendered some improvement in their construction extremely necessary. If porter-brewers, or wine and liquor merchants, sustain considerable injury, so likewise has every private family suffered from the facility of access to the contents of beer-barrels. All liquor-cocks, now in use, from the smallest to the largest, may receive this security at a small expence; and the key to unlock the largest ever made may be carried at the watch-chain.

Two officers of the navy, Lieutenants Rodger and Cook, have been very laudably employing themselves in investigating the best method of constructing *Rafts for preserving the Lives of Seamen, &c.*, in the event of their ships being lost. The rafts in both instances are supported by the buoyancy of empty butts; and they may be quickly constructed of such materials as every ship carries to sea, namely, butts, slings, capstan-bars, gratings, and hand-spikes. That of Mr. Rodgers floats very safely with twenty men on it. Captain Walker tried it alongside the Northumberland; and he gives it as his opinion that this raft would be useful in landing troops on a beach when there is too much surf for boats to perform that service, and that it may also be applicable in landing from a wreck.

The principle of Mr. Donkin's *Counting Machine*, for which he was rewarded with the gold Isis medal, is so perspicuously explained by himself, that we cannot do better than give his own words:

' This machine is applicable, wherever it may be desirable, to keep an account of the number of revolutions or strokes which may be made by the wheels or levers of any other machine in a given time or space; as for instance, the number of revolutions made by a mill-wheel, or of the strokes of a steam-engine beam in a given time, or the number of revolutions made by the wheel of a carriage or perambulator on passing over a certain space. In the first case, we know, that if the machine to which the counter has been applied, has, during any given period, performed a certain number of movements, a corresponding quantity of work either has been, or ought to have been done. And in the latter case, by inspecting the counting machine, we learn that a wheel (whether of a carriage or perambulator) of a known diameter has made so many revolutions during its passage from one place to another, and from thence we easily determine the distance between the two places.

' This machine, as well as all others used for a similar purpose, depends upon the well-known principle of relative motion, which may be familiarly exemplified by the three hands or indices of a clock or watch, in which one is a counter of seconds during a minute, another of minutes during an hour, and the third of hours

throughout the day. Various mechanical expedients of more or less complication have been resorted to for producing the like effect, and it is the novelty and simplicity of the mechanical expedient alone in which it differs from other machines.

‘ The nature of the expedient and the description of the machine will perhaps be more easily understood by first stating, without reference to the drawings, that in this machine ratchet wheels are employed, and that these wheels are moved one tooth at a time, by means of clicks appended to a lever. The number of teeth in each of the ratchet wheels, and also the number of ratchet wheels, are determined by the extent of the number of revolutions or strokes intended to be counted. For example, if we wish the machine to count to 100, we might easily make one wheel with 100 teeth answer the purpose. But if the counting is to be continued to 10,000, or 1,000,000, it becomes almost impracticable to make a wheel with such a number of teeth, of any moderate diameter. Let us suppose two wheels of 100 teeth in each to be employed; it is evident that by moving one of the wheels one tooth at a time, by every motion of the lever, it will count a hundred during one revolution. And if, on completing every revolution of the first wheel, the second wheel is made to move one tooth, it is also evident that the second wheel will count the revolutions of the first, or so many hundreds. So that the two wheels would together count to one hundred times 100, or 10,000. In like manner, if three wheels be employed, the third wheel would become the counter of the revolutions of the second, and the enumeration would be carried on to 1,000,000, and so on by a greater number of wheels to any assignable extent.’

Among the instruments which have received some valuable improvements in point of accuracy and delicacy, and which are referable to astronomical purposes, must be mentioned Mr. Fayer’s *Three-wheeled Clock*, Mr. Taylor’s *Repeating Alarm*, and the *Inverted Spring Pendulum* of Mr. Hardy. The sensibility of this latter instrument ascertains with the greatest precision whether a pendulum, vibrating, communicates motion to the place to which it is fixed: a most essential circumstance to know, because, unless that central point be perfectly motionless, the result of any experiments with the pendulum must be inconclusive.

Mr. R. Phillips received the silver medal for his improvements in the *Construction of Carriages*, so as to prevent them from overturning if the axle-tree or perch-bolt breaks; in which case, the carriage may still pursue its journey, and is secured from accident by means of a hollow tube through which the bolt passes, and answers the same purpose. — A machine of the greatest value has been invented by Mr. Monk for lessening the effects of *Explosions in double Gun-powder Mills*. The risk of life and limb, to which workmen employed

ployed in such manufactories are exposed, is so constant and so imminent, that every friend to humanity must rejoice at the success of any attempt to diminish it. Although the invention has hitherto been confined to a single manufacturing establishment, it appears already to have saved eight mills, and in all probability the lives of several workmen.

The gold medal was adjudged to Mr. Behnes for a *Mathematical Instrument to be employed by Sculptors* in ascertaining and transferring *points* on marble, from original models of statues, bas-reliefs, busts, &c. Its superiority over the machine in common use consists, first, in its having a central motion, by which means the point or needle may be extended from one extremity of a statue to another, without moving the machine and placing it to a line on a horizontal stone, the whole length of the subject; secondly, by means of a quadrant, 'the carver is enabled to turn off the point or needle out of his way, while cutting off the waste, and thus preventing the removal of the machine until the point is finished; and, thirdly, several points may be taken at one time, without removing the machine.'

We have been obliged to pass over several ingenious mechanical inventions, and are perfectly conscious how very insufficient is the notice which we have taken of any, except for the purpose that we have alone in view; namely, to direct the attention of those who are interested in these subjects to the nature and to those general principles and properties of them, which they will find elucidated by the explanations and by the beautiful engravings in these volumes.

ART. IX. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Luis de Camoens.*

By John Adamson, F.S.A. 12mo. 2 Vols. pp. 702. 1l. 4s. Boards. Longman and Co.

WHEN we reflect that the most prominent feature in the character of Camoens was a sentiment of high honour and unquenchable love for his country, we cannot but unite our admiration of his genius with that of the cause of freedom which he so much loved; and which, at length, bids fair to render that country worthy of the name of the soldier, the poet, and the scholar, to whom it gave birth. These qualities seem to have communicated to his poetry the lofty spirit, and deep feeling of humanity and love, which every where pervade it, and are expressed in too enthusiastic and sincere a tone to be affected. It displays much of that prevailing richness and harmony of mind, which, like the poetry of

Shakspeare, seems to exclude the admission of all that is trifling or contemptible.

The adventures, which chequered the life of the poet of Lusitania with vicissitude and misfortunes, are too generally known to require from us now more than a very brief and rapid notice. His youth was chiefly spent at the University of Coimbra, whence he returned to Lisbon; where he soon became distinguished at court by his poetical talents, as well as by his personal accomplishments. Unfortunately, however, he was not sufficiently skilled in the manners of a courtier to avoid offence to those who were higher in authority and favour; and on displaying a satirical genius, and aspiring to hopes in love that were not approved, he was banished to Santarem in Estremadura. On this occasion he produced the fine elegy commencing,

“ *O Sulmoneuse Ovidio desterrado,*”

“ To rugged Pontus, when from cloudless skies
Sulmonian Ovid, banished, weeping, turned;
His household gods, wife, children; — all the ties
Of sacred love, in parting grief he mourned.”

Composed in a passionate strain of amatory sorrow, the conclusion is considered as peculiarly touching;

“ Ye waves transport the tears which now I weep,
Ye winds upon your breezes waft my sighs
To where my long lost hopes of comfort sleep,
Where ye have borne the soul of her I prize.”

It appears that this unfortunate attachment was reciprocal; — and though the lady, whose name was Donna Catharina, was ~~no~~ more than Camoens's equal in birth, we learn from De Sousa ~~that every exertion was made by her friends to prevent their~~ union. Thus to the pains of love were added those of exile. Despairing of returning to Lisbon, he resolved to try his fortune in the wars: but, unable to resist the temptation of seeing the object of his love once more before he departed, he was again discovered at court renewing his indiscretion, and banished for a second time. Soon afterward, he obtained permission to serve in a fleet which was sent on an expedition to Africa, and was in many engagements; in one of which he lost an eye, giving proofs of the greatest bravery. After a voyage to the Straits of the Red Sea, he was allowed some intervals of repose; in which he devoted himself with renewed pleasure to poetry and study, and at the same time explored many of the surrounding regions of Africa. He was for a short period appointed commissary to one of the settlements, where

where he found leisure to complete his poem of *The Lusiad*, which he had designed during his banishment; and the world is indebted to several excursions which he made to many of the islands in the Indian Archipelago, for the picturesque beauty and local fidelity of the descriptions with which that celebrated composition abounds.

Having realized a small property, during a five years' residence at Macao, he took ship to return to Goa, but was unfortunately wrecked near the mouth of the river Mecon, and lost all his little accumulations; with difficulty saving himself by swimming to the shore of Cochin China, bearing his poems in one hand, and supporting himself with the other. On this remote coast, grateful for his escape, he wrote his beautiful paraphrase of the psalm which describes the Jews as hanging up their harps by the waters of Babylon. On arriving, after many reverses, at Goa, he was thrown into the public prison, on a pretended charge of malversation in his office at Macao, which he honorably repelled, and was at last acquitted.

Worn with toils and disappointment, he now began to look anxiously towards his native land, whence he had first been driven by unkindness and despair. Meeting with a fellow-countryman who generously assisted him, he at length reached Lisbon, in the year 1569, after an absence of sixteen years; and there he diligently devoted himself to the revision and publication of his *Lusiad*, which first appeared in 1572. It was received with great applause, and went through a second edition during the same year: but, while it was deemed a work that conferred honour on the age and nation, its author was left to comparative indigence and neglect; and a small pension, conferred on him by the young king, Sebastian, whose exploits he anticipated, and to whom he dedicated his poem, was so inadequate to his support, that he was frequently obliged to send out his faithful black servant into the streets of Lisbon at night, to beg alms for his master and himself. Even this wretched pension was withdrawn in the succeeding reign; and such were the desertion and neglect to which he was consigned, that he felt happy when he could obtain the society of a few poor Dominican monks to beguile his long and weary evenings in a hospital, where he shortly afterward died.

We are aware, that some of his biographers have endeavoured to prove that this account of the poet's death has originated in error: but its accuracy is now placed beyond a doubt, by the discovery of an entry to that effect in a copy of the first edition of the *Lusiad*, in the possession of Lord Holland. This literary curiosity, formerly the property of a

friar, Josepe Indio, and left by him in the convent of the barefooted Carmelites, contains the following note written by Josepe; which would lead us to conclude that he had been witness to the poet's death, and received this volume from his hands:

“What a lamentable thing to see so great a genius so ill rewarded! I saw him die in an hospital in Lisbon, without having a sheet (shroud) to cover him, after having triumphed in the East Indies, and sailed 5500 leagues.”

His memory, however, was honoured by numerous eulogies from the pens of poets and statesmen, both of Spain and Portugal; and even the dark and relentless spirit of Philip the Second, then invading Portugal, seemed for a moment touched with pity at the recital of his woes. Observing that he greatly admired the poem, he desired that the author might be brought before him; and being informed that the unfortunate poet had recently expired, he expressed his regret and indignation at the relation.

With regard to the character of Camoens; — if we temper the partiality shewn by De Sousa with some grains of allowance for nationality, we must allow his observations to be tolerably just.

‘The tenderness and sensibility of his heart are evinced in his poems, and in the delicate and lively passion which he felt for Donna Catharina de Atayde. The love of his country predominated over every other feeling; and to match him in that respect, we must go back to the heroes of antient Greece and Rome. His valour, disinterestedness, heroism, and nobleness, were equal to any which the days of chivalry could produce. But his constancy and fortitude in his extreme adversity, in which he neither degraded himself by submitting to flatter, nor denounced the author of his sufferings, must always distinguish him amongst the greatest men of all ages, for qualities which only belong to an eminently superior character. Nor is his genius less to be admired, of which his epic poem is an immortal testimony; but had he even not written more than his *Rimas*, he would have deserved, from their production, to have been placed by the side of Petrarch, and of other poets who have succeeded best in this description of poetry. Such was Luis de Camoens; and the Portuguese, after his death, to distinguish him, gave him the appellation of *Great*; this praise he certainly deserved better than most of those men on whom base flattery prostitutes, during their lives, a title so honourable as to be merited by few.’

It is not for his *Rimas*, however, or even for a rich variety of other poetical compositions, that the name of Camoens is still pronounced with enthusiastic veneration by all the votaries of Portuguese literature: but the work by which he is known

known to modern times, and which will secure his future fame, is the *Lusiad*. The poets of other countries, as well as of Portugal, have bestowed on it the homage which is due to its grandeur of conception as well as its masterly composition; and among the most illustrious foreigners who have thus done honour to themselves and to him, are Tasso and Lope de Vega. The sonnet composed by Tasso, beginning,

“ *Vasco, le cui felici, ardite antenne,*”

is too well known to require any comment from us. In the *Laurel de Apolo* is also found an elegant tribute to Camoens, by Lope de Vega, and in numerous other works of his greatest contemporaries. The subject of the *Lusiad* is a noble theme, and well adapted to the powers of the poet; and the discovery of the East Indies by the Portuguese, under Vasco de Gama, afforded a fine field for the strength of his genius, the richness of his fancy, and his powers of description, which he has exhausted on a world at that time equally magnificent and new. The descriptions are also rendered much more interesting by the truth and nature with which they are delineated; the author having had a personal acquaintance with the scenery of those parts of the world, in which the action of the poem is laid. Some of his episodes, too, are extremely beautiful, of which we may instance that of Ignez de Castro; while his poetical fictions are conceived in a bold and happy manner: and his personification of the terrors of the Cape, in the giant Adamastor, the guardian genius of tempests, is an effort of the imagination as sublime as any that the inspiration of a poet has produced. Certainly, his historical episodes have the merit of a deep interest beyond even those of Tasso; as the latter, it is notorious, drew his most beautiful tale of Olinda from a similar story of equal pathos in Camoens. The well known tragic history of Ignez de Castro has afforded much “food for love,” and for thoughts that “do often lie too deep for tears,” in the souls of the Portuguese and Spanish tragedians. De Sousa observes, in his Essay on the *Lusiad*, that it was the opinion of Voltaire that we cannot find, even in Virgil, the most correct and pathetic author of antiquity, an incident more touching or more perfectly described than the story of Ignez by Camoens. We must recollect, however, that we are to receive the opinions of the Portuguese commentator with certain limitations of faith on this subject, since his Essay is written in the spirit of eulogy rather than of criticism and impartial views. Among its other claims to superiority over the best modern epics, he maintains “that in no other poem are so many eulogies on the female sex and
their

their powerful attractions to be found. The sensible heart of Camoens delighted to dwell on the variety of beauty and charms, and on the vicissitudes of the pleasures and of the pains of love, with the feeling of one who had a lively sense of their effects." When he wishes us to admit that the poem ought not to be subjected to too severe an ordeal of the rules of Aristotle, he quotes the celebrated moralist La Bruyère; who observes, "when the reading of a book elevates our minds, and inspires us with noble and valorous sentiments, we should not seek for other rules by which to form our judgment of it, but should conclude that it is good, and the performance of an excellent hand." We grant that there is some truth in these arguments, and that the sentiments of love and glory are strewn with a lavish spirit through the poem of the *Lusiad*: but the Essay of De Sousa, so far from being written for the exact purposes of criticism, can find only complete perfection in the work of Camoens, or, if it admits the least faults; veils them with the consoling doctrine,

"That even his foibles lean to virtue's side."

Thus, when De Sousa proceeds to remark, "I think, *without any boast*, that the preference among modern poets may be given to Camoens," we demur to an opinion in which no admirer of Dante, of Milton, and of Ariosto, will concur. While we allow that the grandeur and beauty of the poetry of Camoens intitle it to rank with that of a few of the first geniuses of Europe, we dare not presume with its Portuguese commentator that it is faultless; or that the diction and poetical style of the *Lusind* present a character *always* natural, noble, and without affectation. Though the nymphs of the Tagus were propitious to a portion of his prayer that they would grant him

~~~~~ "Um som alto e sublimado,  
Um estylo grandiloquo, e corrente;  
~~~~~ Uma furia grande, e sonora ;"

yet a part of it, after the custom of heathen worship, must be allowed to have been dispersed in air. The design and conduct of his great work, the skilful distribution of the parts, the entireness of action, and the completion of the plan, are not equal to the sublimity of the sentiments and language, the arrangement of the figures, and the truth and beauty of the episodes and descriptions. Though in the delineation of eastern scenery Camoens is often grand, and avails himself of the powerful and sublime pencil of Michel Angelo equally with the more delicate one of Albano or Correggio, he is
still

still wanting in that sustained and unfailing vigour, fine judgment, and deep knowledge of human character, which perhaps belong only to Homer and to Dante. He is also chargeable occasionally with a neglect of the nicer decorums; and with a degree of false taste which led him to reconcile the heathen with the Christian mythology in the machinery; thus committing an incongruity which, added to a certain prolixity and boldness of style, will amply testify that the work, with all its excellences, is still a human production. We shall perhaps form a correct estimate of its worth, when we observe that it exhibits greater powers and more wonderful efforts of genius, as well as more imperfections and incongruities, than any single epic poem of ancient or modern times. For this reason, it has excited considerable attention among the first literary characters of Europe; and Sir W. Jones, Voltaire, and more recently the Schlegels, have vied with each other in doing honour or rather justice to the genius of the poet of the Tagus. Besides the almost incalculable editions of the original, it has been translated into all the chief languages of Europe, and illustrated by copious and elaborate commentaries. Two English versions of it have appeared; the first by Sir Richard Fanshaw, and another, distinguished rather for the beauty of its versification than for its fidelity, by Mr. Mickle. We much question, however, whether the liberties taken with the original in numerous instances, in adapting it to the genius and spirit of the English tongue by large additions, alterations, and omissions, have improved the character of the work, or given a just representation of the genius of its writer. Indeed, Camoens has been considered as rather unfortunate with respect to the translations of his poem. An ingenious foreigner observes, principally with a reference to those that were executed abroad, that the persons who undertook them had generally been *traditori* instead of *tradattori*, — *traducers* instead of *translators*; and a critic of our own country, alluding to the translation of the *Lusiad* by Mr. Mickle, and of some of the *Rimas* by Lord Strangford, says that Mr. D'Israeli may chronicle it as one of the “Curiosities of Literature,” that two Englishmen of considerable genius have employed themselves at different times in interpolating a Portuguese poet.

We have to observe, in commendation of the biography before us, that, besides the high interest of the subject, it presents a collection and judicious arrangement of a copious mass of materials, from various editions, annotations, and translations; for which we would rather refer our readers to the *Memoirs*, than make a bibliographical and editorial parade

of dates and authorities, that would prove more laborious than interesting or amusing. With the exception perhaps of the translation of the Essay on the *Lusiad*, which is of an inferior style of composition, the Memoirs are well drawn up, and are rendered attractive by the manner in which they are interspersed with many of the lighter and sweeter effusions of the muse of Camoens. These effusions are often exquisitely versified by Southey, Sir W. Jones, Leyden, and Lord Strangford; to whose names we are somewhat doubtful whether we may add those of Hayley, and the author of the present work itself. We do not, however, discern any thing very superior or striking in the performance, beyond the merit of a well-executed compilation; and its highest claim seems to be that of making the poet as much as possible his own biographer. In addition to the details of former commentators, it is enriched by a diligent research into documents of rare occurrence, and by the insertion of many of his *Rimas* that were almost totally unknown in this country: including also 'a bibliographical account of the several translations of the *Lusiad*, with notices concerning the translators; and as accurate a list of the editions of the various works of Camoens as the author had the means to procure.' We may subjoin the due praise of tasteful distribution, and of a "*lucidus ordo*" of the *Catalogue*; and, finally, that the volumes are embellished with numerous engravings, among which are the portraits of Ignez de Castro, and of her immortal poet himself.

ART. X. *A Geographical and Commercial View of Northern Central Africa*; containing a particular Account of the Course and Termination of the great River Niger in the Atlantic Ocean. By James M'Queen. 8vo. pp. 300. 10s. 6d. Boards. Edinburgh, Blackwood; London, Cadell. 1821.

ART. XI. *A Voyage to Africa*: including a Narrative of an Embassy to one of the interior Kingdoms, in the Year 1820; with Remarks on the Course and Termination of the Niger, and other principal Rivers in that Country. By William Hutton, late acting Consul for Ashantee, and an Officer in the African Company's Service. Illustrated with Maps and Plates. 8vo. pp. 500. 18s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.

ART. XII. *A Dissertation shewing the Identity of the Rivers Niger and Nile*; chiefly from the Authority of the Ancients. By John Dudley, M. A. Vicar of Humberston and Sileby, in the County of Leicester. 8vo. pp. 100. 3s. 6d. sewed. Longman and Co. 1821.

WE have recently heard much of Africa; and it is not the least of our national glories, that we are making such *indefatigable* efforts to explore that mysterious continent as

we have for some time manifested. Great triumphs are probably reserved for humanity and virtue in those regions; and the period, we may hope, is not incalculably distant, when the insulted rights of nature will be vindicated, and the despised and unhappy race of our African brethren regain the violated charter, which a benevolent Providence has conferred alike on all his intelligent offspring.

In this generous project, Great Britain has hitherto stood and yet stands alone and unassisted. She not only abolished the trade by her own legislative enactments, but influenced by her example and her remonstrances the European powers to declare through their plenipotentiaries that it was “the degradation of Europe and the scourge of humanity;”—and treaties were subscribed, covenanting that it should wholly cease at the expiration of a certain time, during which it was deemed expedient that Spain and Portugal should be permitted to continue it. Yet the cause of benevolence has hitherto obtained little more than a nominal victory; and the Roman satirist’s exclamation is, we fear, still applicable to the unredressed wrongs of Africa:

“*At tu, victrix provincia ploras.*”

It is, indeed, notorious that this abominable traffic is not only continued with an activity stimulated by the apprehended shortness of its tenure, but that the very powers, who have thus pledged themselves to a complete abolition, are now engaged in it by actual participation as well as by connivance, to an extent of which we should have been incredulous, had not the most undeniable documents attested it. We trust, however, that the experience of the six years, which have elapsed since the plenipotentiaries issued the memorable declaration just noticed, will not be thrown away; and that some decisive and final negotiations on this interesting topic will remove this stain of modern civilization,—this foul and disgusting blot of an age which has made so rapid an advancement in civility and refinement. Yet even this will not be the consummation of our hopes. Till the interior of Africa is improved, and the moral condition of its Moorish and Negro population is ameliorated, slavery and kidnapping will exist, and philanthropy still sigh in unavailing despondence over the ills of that wretched portion of mankind: but we are not disposed to consider even this object as unattainable. A moral series, we trust, is in progression; and impulses, fully adequate to so desirable an end, we have every reason to think, have been for some time in movement.

Among

Among these aids, the spirit of research of which Africa has recently been the theatre is not the least efficient; and for this reason we have witnessed with great patience the large mass of publications with which the press has furnished us, on African expeditions and the course of the Nile and the Niger, on Bornou, and Timbuctoo, and the other mysteries of those unfrequented countries. As mere logomachies, or idle disputes on geographical problems, these endless disquisitions would have been intolerable: but we view them in subservience to the great interests of which we have been speaking, and our murmurs are instantly hushed. The subject assumes if not an agreeable at least an interesting aspect, and we travel to Ashantee with Mr. Bowdich, to Morzouk with Capt. Lyon, and to Soudan with Hornemann and Browne, without one repining sensation as we follow their track across the thirsty and inhospitable desert.

If Mr. M'Queen has also excited a similar degree of attention, it is in a great measure because his book vibrates on the same chord: but it also contains much interesting matter, though not always imparted to us with clearness or method; and we cannot withhold our praise from his industry, although we dissent from the leading hypothesis on which he has constructed his whole scheme of African geography. It is inconsistent with the limits of this article to enter into the theory which the author has thus ingeniously constructed in his closet, without having so much as placed his foot in Africa: but, leaving him for the present in the undisturbed enjoyment of his favourite position, 'that the mighty rivers, which send their sluggish waters into the bights of Benin and Biafra, are ramifications from one great trunk, the Niger, supplied and swelled in its western course by numerous tributary streams,' we proceed to notice, as by far the most novel and interesting part of his volume, his remarks on the beautiful island of Fernando Po; which he recommends, by arguments that have extorted conviction from our minds, as the most eligible spot whence future expeditions into northern Africa can proceed, and as the most convenient avenue to a favourable intercourse with its interior. He has also convinced us that Fernando Po is the best station for British cruizers to watch and disconcert the slave-trade.

We could have wished that Mr. M'Queen had been more minute in his geographical description of this island, for the instruction of those who have not the map of the coast of Guinea before them. He thus sums it up: 'The island is about 40 miles distant from the mouth of Bannee river, — the same distance from the estuary of Cross and Elrei rivers, — scarcely

scarcely farther removed from Cameroons and Malemba rivers, and about 200 and 220 miles from the Moöhnda and Rio de Gaboon, thus commanding the entrance of all these rivers, if they proceed from the Niger, or whether they proceed from the Niger or not.' — 'It has been successively abandoned by the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spaniards, and the title to it could thus readily be acquired. The land is very high, and therefore healthy. It is 36 miles long and 15 broad. On each side it has fine and safe anchorage: the inhabitants are warlike, but their subjugation would be an easy task.' To this confused and imperfect sketch, we shall take the liberty of adding one or two particulars. In that part of the Gulph of Guinea which is called the bights of Benin and Biafra, and into which many considerable African rivers discharge themselves, are situated four islands, extending in a straight line to the south-west, and placed at nearly equal distances from each other. Of these Fernando Po is the northernmost, and nearest to the coast of Africa. It is inhabited by a peculiar and apparently an unmixed race, whose manners, features, and language resemble neither those of the sister-islands nor those of the Negroes of the continent. It was discovered by the Portuguese at the end of the fifteenth century, and from its picturesque and striking appearance was named by those navigators *Ilha de Formosa*; which was afterward superseded by that of the discoverer *Fernando do Po*. It has been lately visited by the Pheasant sloop of war, and her commander, Capt. Kelly, fully confirms the reasonings of Mr. M'Queen in his description of its advantages and capabilities; pointing it out as a place eminently calculated for the depôt of a legitimate trade with Africa, through the numerous navigable rivers which fall into the bights of Benin and Biafra, and which, according to the map and the hypothesis of the work now before us, are ramifications merely from the Niger. With regard, however, to the practical part of the question, it matters little whether they are independent streams or tributary to the Niger.

In something like a prophetic vision, Mr. M'Queen thus states the results of occupying Fernando Po, according to his own views of the subject:

' Fernando Po is, of all places, the best, and, it may be added, the only proper station on the African coast, for our cruizers to watch and cut up the slave-trade, which is, and while it continues, will always be, greatest on the coast opposite. Our naval officers know, and are well convinced of this. Sierra Leone is near 1600 miles from this island, and from the prevailing winds, vessels from the Bights of Benin and Biafra, where the greatest number of cap-
tures

tures are made, are forced to beat all the way to Sierra Leone, which renders the passage exceedingly tedious. As the vessels now employed in the slave-trade are small, and built to sail fast, that they may elude our cruizers, and being thus exceedingly crowded, the length of the passage to Sierra Leone proves fatal to many of the slaves. Sierra Leone is also the most unhealthy spot on the whole western coast of Africa, and, from its situation, must remain so. It is a grave for Europeans; and whoever turns his eye to the map, will readily perceive that it is the worst chosen station on all the coast of Africa for an extensive political or commercial establishment. From the nature of the country behind this settlement, it is obvious that it can have no communication with the interior but by land-carriage, and this, from the mountainous nature of the country, is almost impracticable. It has nothing in it or about it that ever can give it an ascendancy in Africa, and an establishment on the Niger and Fernando Po would soon shew its insignificance.

‘ But, while possession of Fernando Po would, in time of war, completely command all the grand outlet of central Africa, and place whatever European settlements were therein planted completely at the mercy of Great Britain, still the possession of that island alone would neither give us the monopoly of the trade to those parts, nor prevent other European nations from sharing in that trade with us in time of peace. A commanding station, however, inland on any spot which could controul the united stream, would give to this nation the complete monopoly and every advantage. Without this, Fernando Po would only become valuable to Great Britain when war occurred betwixt her and any European power which had settlements in the interior. Without such a controuling settlement also, in the interior, the trade from Great Britain to those central parts of Africa, laid open by these rivers, had much better, as more convenient and less expensive, be carried on direct from any port in Great Britain to Timbuctoo, &c. (should the Niger prove navigable for ships,) than to have the goods landed, and afterwards reshipped at Fernando Po. This island may be of great use as a depôt, till the point for forming a settlement in the interior is finally pitched upon, and rendered secure against any attack. In choosing the position for this settlement, care must be taken not only to take into consideration the security and advantage for the present moment, but those great advantages and important results which may be fairly anticipated for the future.

‘ Granting that the navigation of the Niger was interrupted at Boussa, by reason of rapids or rocks rising amidst the stream, still we know that the river can be navigated in safety from Boussa upwards, and from Boussa downwards. Therefore, on this commanding spot, let the British standard be firmly planted, and no power on Africa could tear it up. A trifling land-carriage would then give this nation nearly all the advantages of an open navigation, and by such a natural barrier place the Niger completely under her controul. Firmly planted in central Africa, the British flag
would

would become the rallying point for all that is honourable, useful, beneficial, just, and good. Under the mighty shade thereof, the nations would seek security, comfort, and repose. Allies Great Britain would find in abundance. They would flock to her settlement, if it had the power and the means to protect them. The resources of Africa, and the energies of Africa, under a wise and vigorous policy, may be made to subdue and controul Africa. Let Britain only form such a settlement, and give it that countenance, support, and protection, which the wisdom and energy of British councils can give, and which the power and resources of the British empire can so well maintain, and central Africa to future ages will remain a grateful and obedient dependency of this empire. The latter will become the centre of all the wealth, and the focus of all the industry of the former. Then the Niger, like the Ganges, would acknowledge Great Britain as its protector — our King as its lord.

‘ The extent of country and population whose improvements, labours, and wants would be dependant upon, and stimulated to exertions by, a settlement on the Niger, is prodigious, and all together unequalled. The extent comprises a country of nearly 40° of longitude, from W. to E., and through the greater part of this extent of 20° latitude, from N. to S., a space almost equal to Europe. Where the confluence of the Gir, or the Bahr Kulla, with the Niger takes place, is the spot to erect the capital of our great African establishments. A city built there, under the protecting wings of Great Britain, and extended, enriched, and embellished by the industry, skill, and spirit of her sons, would ere long become the capital of Africa. Fifty millions of people, yea, even a greater number, would be dependant on it.

‘ Whoever turns his eyes to the map, must at one glance perceive that this is a kingdom — a colony — a trade in which no foreign power whatever could come into competition with us, or endanger its stability and prosperity. Insurmountable barriers oppose on every side. On the north and on the east deserts intervene, across which all attempts at mercantile competition must be fruitless, and where no hostile armies in any force can find their way. From the west, south-west, and south-east, impenetrable mountains (for I may say these are so for any purposes of trade or attempt at invasion) arise insuperable barriers. By the majestic stream of the Niger an entrance can only be obtained. The mistress of the ocean may place a barrier there, which she, and she only, can shut and open at her pleasure. The rival which can approach nearest, must do so by means of the Senegal. But this stream ceases to be navigable above Galam. Thence to the Niger is nearly 200 miles, across such mountains, and through such forests, as may be considered impassable for any army of strength, or for any mercantile speculation which could alarm or shake the prosperity of the settlements eastward on the Niger.’

Something, we fear, must here be deducted from the calculations of an ardent and enthusiastic mind : but, making all due

allowances, we think that the occupation of this island, which is now wholly derelict, might, from its contiguity to the coast and the great navigable rivers of the continent, be the means of facilitating the progress of religion and refinement among the depressed race of Africa.

There is so redeeming a merit in the ardor and perseverance displayed by the British travellers who have recently explored the desolate and perilous tracts of Africa, that it would be great injustice to visit their literary defects with severity. Mr. Hutton's book requires and deserves this indulgence. Though not written with elegance, and scarcely with accuracy, it is an useful contribution to our stock of information concerning the interior of that vast continent, and particularly to Mr. Bowdich's interesting account of his mission to Ashantee, in 1817: for, among other matter, it contains the narrative of another embassy to that kingdom under the immediate orders of the British government; a circumstance which we consider to be highly auspicious to the interests of Africa, inasmuch as it implies the abolition of the African Company, under whose direction Mr. Bowdich undertook his expedition. Peace to its manes!

Mr. Hutton admits the correctness of the information given by Mr. Bowdich in his tracts on Africa: but he remarks that Mr. B. was not the '*first* to unmask the pernicious system of a trading government,' which has unfortunately so long rendered our settlements on the Gold Coast worse than useless: for Mr. H. claims the merit of having addressed a statement to Lord Bathurst in 1818, urging, as measures of the greatest expediency, the abandonment of several useless stations, the reduction of expensive establishments, and, above all, the abolition of the African Company; measures which were soon afterward carried into effect.

The present writer recommends with much earnestness the occupation of the islands Anna Bona, St. Thomas, Prince's and Fernando Po, (of the advantages of which we have just been speaking,*) which lie within a few days' sail of each other in the Gulf of Guinea. He argues their importance not merely in a commercial point of view, but as the most effectual means of checking the slave-trade, which is pursued with increased activity in those latitudes by the Portuguese and the Spaniards. Fernando Po commands the entrance of all the rivers which flow into the Gulf, and which are supposed to have a communication with the Niger. By means of these rivers,

* They are also fully stated in the papers printed last year by order of the House of Commons.

Mr. Hutton thinks that we might carry on a trade into the very heart of Africa, and to a greater extent in one month than on the Gold Coast, which has no great rivers, in a year.

‘ It is indeed surprising, with all the anxious curiosity which has so long been manifested respecting the Niger, that these rivers have never attracted the attention of the African Company, though they are situated only a few days’ sail from our settlements on the Gold Coast. How far this has been owing to the contracted means of the African Committee, or to a want of energy and zeal for the public service among the chief directors of their affairs in Africa*, I will not now stop to enquire; but certain it is, not one of those rivers has ever been explored by the Company’s servants, although it is well known, from their short distance from our settlements in that quarter, small expeditions for this purpose might easily have been fitted out at Cape Coast, where there are not wanting men of enterprising spirit, who would willingly have hazarded their lives in such an undertaking, had they been encouraged to do so. It is therefore to be hoped, as his Majesty’s government have taken the forts from the African Company, that the Governor, who may be appointed at Cape Coast, will be vested with full powers to send exploratory missions up the Volta, Lagos, Formosa, Calabar, and Del Rey; for even though such undertakings fail in ascertaining the termination of the Niger, they will not fail in acquiring much valuable and interesting information of the countries on the banks of those rivers. The Rio Del Rey is eight miles broad at its mouth, and is very likely to prove an arm of the Niger, although Mr. M’Queen draws a different conclusion from the cataracts and rapids which he states this river to be full of; and hence will arise the greatest difficulties in exploring it. The death of Mr. Nichols, who was employed by the African Association to explore it, is to be lamented, as we have no accounts of its source, although Mr. M’Queen supposes it to be on the south side of the Mount Thala of Ptolemy; but Mr. Nichols’s reports to the African Association give no account of this, and his information is altogether very unsatisfactory. From frequent conversations upon this subject with Mr. Robertson, (author of *Notes on Africa*,) that gentleman appeared to be better acquainted with the Del Rey and the other rivers which flow into the bights of Benin and Biafra than any person I have ever conversed with, or any author I have read, excepting only Bosman, whose work certainly contains the best account of the Rio Formoso: it was written by a Dutch captain (Nyan-dale) in 1702, who had been twice trading in this river, and is to the following effect: “ That sixty Dutch miles (or two hundred and ten English) above its mouth, ships may be navigated with safety, sailing by hundreds of branches, some of which are so wide that they well deserve the name of rivers; its length and

* The only exploratory missions which have been undertaken by the Company’s servants, were suggested during the government of Mr. Dawson and Mr. Smith, within the last four years.

source, he adds, he was not able to discover, no Negro being able to give him an exact account of it."

' Granting, however, that the Formoso may not enable us to get to the Niger, still a trial, with steam-boats, ought to be made to ascertain how far it will take us into the interior; and then, mooring a vessel well manned and provisioned, at the highest navigable point of the river, small parties could be sent out daily to make incursions, and after becoming in some measure acquainted with the natives, and obtaining information as to the best means of pursuing the journey, a strong detachment, with men of science, might easily be fitted out from the vessel, which should remain moored as already mentioned; so that the party, which may be detached, will have an opportunity of communicating to the commander, from week to week, the success of the undertaking, and hence we should be able to get in England the earliest accounts of their progress. Upon this subject, I agree with Mr. M'Queen, that the bights of Benin and Biafra are the most desirable points to set out from to ascertain the course and termination of the Niger.'

The Niger might, according to Mr. H., be easily reached by an overland-journey through Ashantee. His computation is, that it is not distant more than 700 miles from Cape Coast, of which 200 have been repeatedly traversed; and that, with the king of Ashantee's protection, the remaining 500 might be accomplished in ten weeks.

It seems that Mr. Hutton, who was then in the service of the African Company, set out with Major Peddie on the ill-fated expedition in which he perished; and the causes of its failure are thus stated:

' The number of horses purchased by Major Peddie amounted nearly to fifty, and the asses to a hundred, besides several camels: the officers and men exceeded a hundred; and the property purchased for the use of the expedition, the presents, and all expences, could not have cost less than 50,000*l.*; so that the little good (if any) which has resulted from this expedition, must plainly show the bad policy of fitting out such large and expensive missions to explore Africa; for what chief would let such a formidable expedition pass through his territory? The king of Ashantee, and all the African chiefs that I have ever been acquainted with, would object to it from the fear alone of such a strong party joining their enemies. It was, therefore, not at all to be wondered at that the king of the Foulahs would not allow the expedition to pass through his territory. Besides, Major Peddie did a very impolitic thing at Senegal, in trying in public how the horses would carry the two field-pieces, which were intended for the boats after getting to the Niger, as the Moors who were at Senegal must have noticed it, and, it was most probable, would send word of the fact to the king of Sego and other chiefs in the interior. But as the fate and particulars of this expedition were long ago known, I shall only

add that Major Peddie lost his life at Kakundy, in the Rio Nunez; and Captain Campbell, who succeeded him in the command, advanced into the Foulah country, where his haughty conduct obstructed his further progress, and constrained him, amidst a thousand difficulties, to retrace his steps to Kakundy, where the fever prevented the execution of a plot formed by his soldiers to assassinate him. Lieutenant Stokoe, of the *Inconstant* frigate, then succeeded to the command; and there was a gentleman of the name of Dochart, a surgeon, who was the next officer to Stokoe, and who, I believe, is now in England; but what became of Lieutenant Stokoe I have never heard. Upon the subject of this expedition, experience has convinced me that such formidable missions will never succeed in exploring Africa, as the natives are too jealous and too much alarmed at such a force. My humble opinion is, that we must either have no appearance of force at all, or else such a force as will surmount every obstacle.'

It was not without surprize that we found Mr. H. referring more than once to M. Mollien's authority, respecting the proximity of the sources of the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande. We conceive that Mr. Bowdich has satisfactorily refuted this gentleman's pretensions to the magnificent discovery of those sources*, and we are by no means inclined to renew the discussion. Mr. H. also bears testimony to the correctness of Mr. Robertson's description of the coast†, and concurs with him on the importance of the harbour of Succondee, and of a settlement either at Cape Lahou or Cape Palmas: but he inclines in favour of the former, which is 140 miles farther to the eastward, for reasons that are in our opinion cogent and sensible.

We shall not enter into those disgusting and discreditable disputes respecting the mission between the Governor and Council, and the Conductor of the embassy, which counteracted its progress in every stage, and in a great measure defeated its objects. By the shortness of his visit at Coomassie, Mr. H. was prevented from collecting much information relative to the Ashantees, beyond that which has been recently detailed by Mr. Bowdich. It seems that the Fantees and the Ashantees, though distinct and hostile tribes, are branches of the same nation. The population of Ashantee is estimated by Mr. Bowdich at a million, but Mr. Hutton thinks that this is greatly over-rated. The natives of all these countries on the western coast are idolaters of the lowest description, their worship being literally an adoration of the principle of evil, under the most appropriate symbols. At Dixcove, in Ahanta, the crocodile is worshipped:

* See the last Appendix to M. R., p. 537,

† Notes on Africa, &c.

‘ Any person going ashore here, may see one of these animals at the expense of a fowl and a bottle of liquor, which is given to the fetish man, (Tando Cudjoe,) who *obliged* me with a sight of it in the following manner. This fetish man, or priest, took a white fowl, (which colour, it appears, the fowl must be, as the natives have most faith in it,) and on arriving at the pond near the fort, it was placed on the ground, Tando Cudjoe making a little noise with his mouth, when the crocodile instantly made its appearance on the opposite side of the pond, and, plunging through the water, came very near the spot where we were standing ; but as the fowl made its escape into the bush, or forest, the crocodile, instead of following it, pursued me and my companion, Captain Leavens, so closely for a short distance, that had not a small dog been behind me, which it laid hold of, and was thus satisfied, the animal would, in another minute, most probably have taken a fancy to one of my legs ! The path being narrow, and Captain Leavens before me, I could neither run so fast as I wished, nor turn to the right hand or to the left, on account of the thick underwood which prevailed on both sides of the path.’

The horrible practice of sacrificing human victims, on the death of a person of distinction, is sometimes accompanied with aggravated barbarity :

‘ At Ashantee hundreds, sometimes thousands, are sacrificed on the death of a person of distinction, or on the commencement of the yam-season ; at Dahomey, in like manner, at the beginning of the harvest, sixty-five human beings have been known to be butchered ! And these horrid customs are repeated annually, and sometimes oftener. Similar barbarous customs also prevail at other parts of the coast. In Appollonia, (if we may believe Bosman,) the tenth child is always buried alive ; in the Benin country, if twins are born, not only the mother but the children also are destroyed ; and, if the father should happen to be a priest, he must destroy his own children.

‘ In the same country, “ A vestal female is frequently impaled, as a sacrifice to improve the navigation of the river and extend the trade. The ceremony is performed with the most barbarous brutality, by pressing the body on a sharp stake, the extremities being fastened to two adjoining posts ; in this state the victim is left to expire. The bustards, which are very numerous here, sometimes attack the body before life is extinct.” ’

The improvement of geographical knowledge, and the opening of new markets for commercial enterprize, are results which we may rationally expect from increased intercourses with Africa : but there are higher objects, for which religion, humanity, and virtue equally excite our solicitude ; and these, we think, will one day be effected, if they *are* effected, by a class of persons to whose efficiency Mr. Hutton does not appear ready to do justice. We turn, however, with disgust
from

from the paltry disputes, the idle negotiations, the mismanagement, the rapacity, and the almost total inefficiency of colonial settlements, to the good which has been done already by the missionaries alone for Western Africa, with inadequate means and little encouragement; and it is to them that we confidently look for the solution of the great problems with regard to the interior of Africa, which still remain undecided. It would have been well if the Mohammedan or Pagan savage had first become acquainted with the English name through the intervention of these unwearied philanthropists.

Mr. Hutton does not seem inclined to dispute the supposed union of the Niger and the Nile; an hypothesis which is supported by M. Dupuis and Mr. Bowdich, and corroborated by the uniform assertions of the Moors: but he appears to think that they are notwithstanding distinct rivers, connected by the Gir; and that the Niger throws off a great body of its water into some yet undiscovered branch, to the east of the Leasa, and flowing into the bights of Benan and Biafra. This idea leads us to the subject of the third work before us, the hypothesis of the Vicar of Humberston as to the identity of the Nile and the Niger.

The reasonings of Mr. Dudley's little tract, which is a learned *spicilegium* of antient testimonies, accord so closely with the information collected by Captain Lyon from the African traders respecting the course of the Niger, that we cannot refrain from taking a rapid survey of them. The conclusions of the Arabian geographers in the seventh and eighth centuries respecting these two rivers were very erroneous. They affirmed that the Nile and the Niger, to which they gave the same common name, issued from the same lake, but that the Nile of the Negroes flowed westward into the Atlantic: while the antient poets and historians are at direct variance with such statements, and concur in establishing the identity of the two. To this opinion, which he corroborates by ample testimony derived from the antient writers, Mr. Dudley zealously inclines, confidently anticipating its confirmation from future discoveries in Africa. He begins with Homer, who makes mention of *οκεανος* in the country of the Æthiopians; and *οκεανος*, he contends, means only a large river. The Æthiopians thus commemorated by the father of poesy were the Negro inhabitants of Western Africa, where recent discoveries have traced the sources of the Niger. The Egyptians personified Ocean under the name of Osiris, and, according to Diodorus, the Nile in antient times was called Oceanus.

Mr. Dudley next establishes the antient geographical position of Æthiopia, and deals profusely in authorities which shew that, in the time of Homer, the river *Ocean* (now the Nile,) flowed through Lybia, the country of the Æthiopians, the Western Negroes of Africa. He also cites Æschylus; who, in the *Prometheus*, represents the sage, while chained to the rock, describing prophetically to the unhappy Io the wide extent of her wanderings, tracing her way over the African continent, and speaking of the river *Æthiops*, by the banks of which she is directed to keep,

—— “ until thou comest
To that descent, where, from Byblinian heights,
The Nile pours down its sacred stream.”

Hence he infers the continuity of the Niger and the Nile; for the course of the Æthiops not being traced farther than its falls from the Byblinian heights, which (as the scholiast remarks) are so called because the Nile and the Niger both abound in the *papyrus*, those heights *must be* those cataracts of the Nile of which the antients never fail to speak, though they are almost unknown to modern travellers. The Æthiops of Æschylus, therefore, is the Lybian Niger.

The reverend dissertator next passes to Herodotus; who, though professing to be ignorant of the sources of the Nile, correctly describes the course of the Niger, which he says passes through and intersects the whole of Lybia. Park's discoveries have clearly shewn that the Niger is the only river which can be said to intersect Lybia; and hence the Niger was considered by Herodotus to be the upper stream of the Nile. Dionysius Periergetes, a poet of the Augustan period, gives a detailed account of the sources of the Nile, which he places in the country of the Blemyæ, a tribe of Æthiopians near the western shores of Africa:

‘ The Ethiopians, the last of men,
Pasture the continent's remotest lands
On ocean's verge in *Cernes* dells extreme,
'Fore these up towers the sun burnt Blemyan's height,
Whence fall the waters of all fertile Nile,
Who while he eastward winds his Libyan course
Is Siris named. But they of far Syene
Change, when his stream is turned, the name to Nile.
From thence, as northward spreads his varying way,
Through seven mouths rolled he glides into the sea,
Egypt's fat plain enriching as he flows.

‘ In a subsequent passage, the conductor-geographer leads his readers to the lake *Tritonis*, of which, in accordance with other writers, he thus speaks;

‘ They

‘ They who abide around Tritonis lake
Which spreads a broad sea ’mid the Libyan sands.

‘ Whoever may compare this short but complete testimony of the ancient geographer with the modern reports of the traveller, Park, concerning the *Joliba*, or Niger, will be surprised at their perfect agreement. As far as the discoveries of Park extend, they afford a full confirmation of the statements of Dionysius, and entitle him to our implicit belief concerning that part of the course of the river which has not been visited by any European of our times. The testimony of Park in sum is this: The Niger rises among the mountains of the Mandingoes and Fooladoos (the *Blemyæ* as it should seem of the ancients). The western scarpe of these mountains pours down into the Atlantic Ocean the rivers Senegal, Gambia, and *Riò Grande*; but the eastern descents produce the streams which, uniting into one, compose the modern Niger. This our adventurous traveller traced along its course eastward for about three hundred miles. He learned that lower down it passed not far from the Negro city *Tombuctoo*, beyond which he could gain no intelligence of its course. He formed indeed his conjectures, but the information collected by him affords no serious opposition to the opinion that the Niger is the upper stream of the Nile.’

Having noticed the testimonies of Pliny and Pausanias, Mr. Dudley concludes, from the uniform concurrence of the antient opinions concerning the Niger, that there is even a superfluity of proof that these rivers are one; and the most ingenious part of his tract is that in which he labours to remove the objections to his theory, arising from the obscurity of some terms used by the authors whom he cites, and to reconcile their discrepancies. He thus combats the opinion that the Niger flows westward into the Atlantic, the hypothesis of El Edrisi, the Nubian geographer, and adopted by Bruce; and that the Nile of the Negroes runs westward into the Atlantic, and takes its rise from the same lakes in Abyssinia with the Nile of Egypt:

‘ Now in this it is to be remarked that the Nile of the Negroes is not said to flow from or through Libya, but from Abyssinia, which country being to the south of Libya, it follows that this Nile, were it the Niger, must flow northward for at least some part of its course, before it reaches Libya. But such a supposition is utterly destitute of any support whatsoever, and is known to be untrue. Again, the Niger, it is well known, does not rise in Abyssinia, but in Western Africa: the Nile therefore of the Negroes cannot be the Niger or Nile of Libya, but some other river wholly distinct from that celebrated river, and wholly unknown to the ancients. Such a stream, corresponding in many respects with the river of the Nubian, is now known in the river Zaire, or Congo river, which rises, as may be presumed, in regions at least in the
vicinity

vicinity of Abyssinia, but south of the Equator, and discharges an immense volume of water into the Atlantic, in latitude six degrees south. This river, it should seem, is called the *Nile of the Negroes*, to distinguish it from the Nile of Egypt, and as is here contended, from the Nile of Libya also, one and the same with the Egyptian Nile. The reason also why the Nubian should have adopted this term of distinction is equally obvious. A Nile flowing from Abyssinia westward, particularly if it took a southerly direction, must pass through countries now ascertained to be inhabited by Negroes only; a circumstance which renders the term the Nile of the Negroes peculiarly applicable to the Zaire. If it be asked, Why should such a river be called the Nile? it may be answered, That the general hue of waters flowing from the mountain-rocks of Abyssinia deep and clear may, and in all probability do, appear of a dark hue, and may therefore be aptly denominated by the name of the Nile, or Black Stream, as that name signifies. But it is more probable that the river in question would be called the Nile by the Nubian, from the great resemblance it bears to the Nile of Egypt, in the annual inundations which take place with great regularity, are of great extent, and, as modern travellers who have observed the Congo river affirm, are occasioned by rains not falling in the vicinity of the stream, but on distant mountains from whence they flow and inundate other countries like Egypt. These circumstances, now well known, are sufficient to have obtained for the Zaire the name of the Nile, and these will serve to remove the perplexities arising from accounts affirming that the Niger, or in other terms, the Nile, flows westward into the Atlantic Ocean.'

Mr. D. thus sums up the practical tendencies of his hypothesis :

' To escape from error is the surest and readiest way to the attainment of truth. The expectation of the existence of two distinct rivers, the Libyan Niger and the Nile of the Negroes, will serve to guide aright the endeavours of ingenious research to the full discovery of both. It will suggest to the explorer of Libyan Africa the propriety of taking his course from the neighbourhood of the ancient *Syrtis*, or modern Gulph of *Sidra*, perhaps from Tripoli, in his search of the lower course of the Niger or Libyan Nile. In this he will follow the track of the Argonauts of Apollonius, the Nasamones of Herodotus, and the caravans which now pass occasionally from Tripoli to Tombuctoo. In his travels to discover the Nile, or Niger, of the Negroes, the daring explorer will probably endeavour to avail himself of the advice and protection, if savages can afford either, of the newly known monarch of the Ashantee Negroes, whose empire or influence may be reasonably supposed to extend to the banks of the Zaire, though not very likely to reach the Niger of Libya. To pass directly to different points or parts of the Niger and the Zaire will be more likely to enable Europeans to obtain full accounts of them, than unscientific and almost impracticable attempts to ascend or descend the streams of either the one or the other river. To ascend the
Zaire

Zaire was lately a work of waste to the health, strength, and lives, of the adventurers who engaged in the enterprize. The attempt to descend the Niger, or *Joliba*, proved fatal to Park, who in all probability was lost in one of the rapids of that river. At all events, whatever may be the truth of the evidences adduced in this essay, and whatever may be the solidity of the preceding inferences drawn from the testimony of the ancients, thus much, at least, is certain, that it cannot but be very honourable to our national character, to avail ourselves, on all occasions, of the wisdom and information of other times; nor can there be a better application of learning than that whereby the experience of past ages is rendered subservient to purposes of useful knowledge.

We have given but an imperfect analysis of Mr. Dudley's argument. For ourselves, we are perfectly neutral. In a critical journal, the speculations of learned and ingenious men on scientific or literary subjects must not be altogether overlooked, although they contribute but little to the real interest of literature or science. Considered, however, in relation to the history of the human mind, they illustrate at once the strength and the weakness of its powers; — their strength in the compact and coherent structures of reasoning which are built on imperfect and uncertain data; — their weakness in being at last compelled to leave the subjects, on which so much learned toil has been expended, as obscure and problematical as they found them.

ART. XIII. *The Third Report of the Committee of the Society for the Improvement of Prison-Discipline, and for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders.* 1821. With an Appendix. 8vo. pp. 67., and Appendix 227. 3s. sewed. Arch.

THE whole community must feel interested in the exertions of a Society whose object is the diminution of crime; and whose time is laboriously and gratuitously employed in promoting the measures, which the talents of its members suggest to them as likely to be most efficacious in producing that desirable end. Such an improvement in prison-discipline as will render gaols the schools of an amendment of life, as well as the receptacles for the punishment of crime, (for they must both be connected,) is the point to which their efforts are directed; and, if their intent can be accomplished, they will deserve a far greater reward than we can offer. To our notices of the former publications of this Society, we may refer for our favourable opinion of the tendency of their endeavours; by their preceding Reports we have seen that their arguments were gradually producing the most favourable impression;

pression; and in the work before us we are rejoiced to find that the most palpable advantages have resulted, where the principles which they wish to inculcate have been adopted.

Objections to the system proposed have been urged by individuals, who are fearful of the slightest alteration in any established practice; and who have misrepresented the views of its promoters, or have mistaken the real object of their labours. By the latter description of persons, 'the efficacy of prison-discipline in reforming the offender has not only been disputed, but the measures recommended for this purpose have been objected to, as having a tendency to render prisons habitations of comfort, and confinement an object rather of desire than of dread.' Some of the principal observations in this Report are properly directed to counteract these notions, and they are in our opinion successful. Let them speak for themselves:

'The Committee, in reply, would observe, that the practicability of reclaiming the criminal is proved, not by fanciful theories, founded, as is alleged, on mistaken notions of benevolence, but by the powerful and irresistible evidence of facts. Whether, indeed, the mind of the offender be really impressed with the turpitude of his guilt; whether he avoid the further perpetration of crime, from hatred of vice, or from dread of punishment, the Committee pretend not to determine; but one thing is perfectly clear, and admits of demonstrative proof, that, in a great number of instances, offenders, even the most hardened, who have for a reasonable time been subjected to a well-regulated system of discipline, do abstain from the further violation of the law, and have, in a variety of cases, been known to abandon their criminal pursuits. To this important truth, the testimony of the most experienced magistrates affords abundant evidence. Numbers who, on entering confinement, were debased by nearly every vice that can degrade human nature, whose repeated offences had formerly occasioned their frequent committal to the same gaol, have not, since the establishment of a strict and improved discipline, been found again within its walls; and, on inquiry, it has been ascertained that they have applied themselves to habits of honest industry. That such indeed is the natural result of a beneficial system of prison-management, will, upon consideration, appear obvious. A good prison is a school of moral discipline, where incentives to vicious propensity are removed — where drunkenness, gambling, and dissipation, are superseded by abstinence, order, and restraint — where, by personal seclusion and judicious classification, the evils resulting from contamination are prevented — where the refractory are subdued by punishment, and the idle compelled to labour until industry becomes a habit. These are the leading features of a salutary system of gaol-management; and it seems wisely ordered, that this discipline should form at once the medium of reformation, and the instrument of punishment,

' That

‘ That a well-regulated system of prison-discipline represses crime, is proved by the best possible evidence. To what description of prison does the offender more commonly return? Is it to a gaol, where hard labour, spare diet, and vigilant restraint, are steadily enforced; or to a prison, where no effort is made to instruct, employ, or reclaim? It is absurd to suppose, because a prison no longer affords the means of vicious gratification, that therefore it is more congenial to the inclinations of the depraved. To what but to the dread of prison-discipline can we justly attribute the fact, that few prisoners, after their discharge from a good gaol, return to it, while the number of re-committals to a bad prison is generally considerable? This number invariably diminishes in proportion to the good management of the prison.’

As a proof of the truth of these arguments, the following facts are then adduced:

‘ The re-committals to inferior gaols vary from fifteen to fifty per cent., while the following is the average of re-committals to prisons distinguished for their good management:—Preston, four per cent.; Wakefield, four per cent.; Bury, five per cent.; Devizes, the general average about three per cent., and for felons only one per cent.; Knutsford, two per cent.; Bodmin, three per cent.; Ipswich, three per cent.; Lewes, six per cent.; and even at Gloucester, where the prison is particularly crowded, only seven per cent. Worcester contains two prisons—the county-gaol is admirably conducted, and here the return of prisoners, of all descriptions, is averaged at two per cent., of felons only one and a half per cent.; while the number re-committed to the city-prison, which is extremely deficient in its system of management, is no less than twenty per cent. At Leicester, also, there are two prisons, the House of Correction, and the prison belonging to the borough. At the former, which is well managed, the re-committals amount to three per cent.; and at the latter, which is defective, forty per cent.’

We do not altogether agree in thinking that the comparative returns of the county and city prisons in Worcester, or of those in Leicester, are such decisive proofs of the efficacy of the system as they are represented to afford. The re-commitments to town-prisons must necessarily be more numerous than to county-gaols; since the offenders released from the one, being probably residents within the walls, have a more confined sphere of action than those who, when discharged from the other, not being connected with any particular place, are likely to extend their predatory rambles into other districts, and thus become inmates of different places of confinement. Still the above Report is very satisfactory, as proving that the system is effective in deterring persons once confined from returning to those prisons in which the new plan is adopted;—and consequently as a testimony in favour of the opinion that,

were

were all gaols regulated according to it, the dread of confinement would become universal, and crime be thus palpably diminished.

The following extract contains so convincing a proof of the benefit of labour on the moral conduct of prisoners, that we cannot refrain from presenting it to our readers; especially as it is not a mere theoretic declamation, but a description of the real effects produced by the use of the Treading-mill in Hertford House of Correction, communicated by a magistrate of that county:

“ I feel the greatest satisfaction in being able to assure you, from my own observation, that very considerable improvement has already taken place. Formerly, persons of all descriptions, and of all ages, were indiscriminately mixed together, there being but one yard, and one day-room. Not having labour of any kind, the time of the prisoners was by necessity spent in idleness, no resource being left them but the miserable one of forming plans for future mischief, and instructing the less depraved, though unhappily willing learners, in the ways of wickedness and vice. Quarrels also among them were very frequent. All is now changed. The prisoners are divided into four classes. Each class works by itself, nor can any communication between the classes take place. The men, instead of being riotous and noisy, are (generally speaking) well-behaved, orderly, and quiet. That they go to their daily labour with reluctance must be confessed, for they have a horror of the mill, and would sooner undergo, as they all declare, any fatigue, or suffer any deprivation, than return to the House of Correction when once released. As a proof of the truth of this, I have known only one instance of a re-commitment since the first of August, 1820, when the mill was set to work. Previous to this, the re-commitment of vagrants, as well as of others, was a common thing. Hard labour has however effected the cure; and I shall be grievously mistaken if more than a very few ever return, after one month's trial in our present Bridewell.”

We must, however, take notice of the allusion to the increasing number of committals which is made in page 45., as seeming in some measure to counteract the diminishing number of *re-committals* so frequently urged; and we would recommend the following as useful subjects of inquiry: — 1st, the comparative difference in the number of *re-committals* to any prison before, and since, the improved system was adopted, as manifesting the effect of the discipline of that prison in preventing the offenders from breaking the laws within its district; 2dly, the extension of the inquiry that has been already made into the number of persons re-committed to a prison where they have been before confined, to the numbers in that prison in each year who have been confined in *other prisons* for former

former offences; — by which the real diminution or increase of crime might be rendered more easily apparent.

The Appendix contains extensive extracts from the correspondence with the Committee with every county and almost every town in England, Scotland, and Ireland, where a gaol is situated; and it affords not only an honourable testimony to the industry of the Committee, but a gratifying exhibition of the increased interest that is every where excited among those who are best able both to appreciate their suggestions, and to introduce them when approved. The ‘Foreign Correspondence’ is very interesting; and the miscellaneous department, amid much useful matter, gives hints for improving female prisoners, suggests employments which may be adopted by both sexes, and describes so many cases of youths who have been preserved from vice by means of this institution in its ‘Temporary Refuge,’ that we cannot close the Third Report of this excellent Society without feeling anxious for its success, and recommending it to the support of our readers.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

FOR APRIL, 1822.

POETRY.

Art. 14. *Christina's Revenge; or, The Fate of Monaldeschi: with other Poems.* By J. M. Moffatt. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. Boards. Jennings. 1821.

We must allow that this is a well-chosen subject for a short poem. It is horrible to reflect that, at a period so late as 1657, in the very palace of Fontainebleau, such an assassination should have been dared by a stranger, a female, and a guest, as that of Monaldeschi. Christina, the ex-queen of Sweden, as it is well known, was the chief actress in this bloody tragedy; and, certainly, she is so far a tragic character. Whether Mr. Moffatt has fully availed himself of the striking and most extraordinary events of his story, is another question; and we are reluctantly obliged (for Mr. M. is a scholar) to answer it in the negative.

Our readers shall judge. The priest who attended Monaldeschi during the dreadful scene of his murder, in the gallery of the palace, is supposed to relate to an inquiring stranger, perhaps the poet, the circumstances of the sad event; and he is now pleading with the queen for Monaldeschi:

‘ “ To this fallacious reasoning *I*
Unhesitating made reply.
‘ Madam, I humbly beg to say
Whilst you assume the judge’s sway,

You

You also act th' accuser's part :
 Your wrongs 'gainst mercy steel your heart.
 Besides, although we should admit
 You on the judgment-seat might sit
 In that, to us, far foreign land,
 Where once you held supreme command ;
 Yet now on Gallic ground we stand,
 And here presides a sceptred chief,
 Who to the injured grants relief :
 At his tribunal might you plead
 'Gainst Monaldeschi, for the deed
 Which gave your majesty offence :
 That proved by proper evidence,
 His punishment you might intrust
 To our great monarch, wise and just.
 His sentence, candour must confess,
 Would best afford your wrongs redress.
 Then if a traitor's dreadful fate
 Should Monaldeschi's crime await,
 Your conduct no man could arraign,
 Or think your foe unfairly slain.
 I mark'd her visage, whence there broke
 Flashes of anger as I spoke ;
 And no impression could I make
 On her hard heart. As the last stake
 To hazard in thy friend's defence,
 Ere closed my mournful audience,
 I said, her majesty, a guest
 In France, her anger thus express'd
 Would want of due respect evince
 Both to our government and prince :
 And from this action might arise
 P'rhaps dangers and perplexities ;
 Into which rather than to run,
 'Twere better leave the deed undone.
 But, as I glanced this topic thro'
 More guardedly than now I do,
 Yet more at length, she, rising, cried, —
 ' I will not hear thy prince belied !
 Think not that Sweden's queen can fear
 To be detain'd a pris'ner here.
 No — such an outrage from your king,
 To him, not me, disgrace would bring.
 My sire was brave, his daughter's soul
 No danger ever shall control :
 A traitor if my household yield,
 Who from my wrath the wretch shall shield ?'
 ' " Our conference o'er, I left the room,
 To fit the pris'ner for his doom.
 Believe me, stranger, when I say,
 The task which now upon me lay,

Tho' 'twas a duty done before,
 Yet here it harsher features wore.
 Thou knowest not, and canst not know
 What 'tis to see a mortal kneel,
 Who must, in apprehension, feel,
 If sense exist, the headsman's blow.
 What tho' the lips rehearse the utter'd pray'r,
 Still thoughts profane will occupy the mind:
 In vain devotion seeks his breast to share,
 Whose ev'ry earthly hope must be resign'd.
 But, for the hapless object of my tale,
 Peculiar horrors seem'd to shrowd his fate:
 Changing his unsuspecting bliss for bale,
 For bonds and death his former happy state.
 The strange, mysterious nature of his crime
 Intenser interest on the scene imprest;
 Which, rather heighten'd than impair'd by time,
 Maintains its mournful influence o'er my breast.
 Thou canst not guess the feelings of my heart, —
 Conceive the sorrow it to me must give,
 That I to Monaldeschi must impart
 The queen's fix'd doom, that he should cease to live.
 And to the gall'ry, where the pris'ner mourn'd
 The impending mis'ry of his fate,
 I, scarcely conscious of my steps, return'd,
 The failure of my pray'rs to state." '

Is not this much more than enough to prove the inability of the author to write *poetically*?

In the minor poems, Mr. Moffatt displays, perhaps rather ambitiously, his powers of translation; and we have versions from the Greek, the Latin, the Italian — *all*, we think, rather moderate; and some rather savouring of plagiarism.

For example,

‘ *Haste, let the liquid ruby flow,*

an indifferent version of Anacreon, commences with an *enfeeblement* of Sir William Jones.

The next ode is Sappho's famous effusion, beginning thus,

‘ Could envy touch th' immortal gods'
It sure must reach their blest abodes.

We have then the celebrated Song of Callistratus:

‘ With myrtle-boughs my sword I'll braid;
 For thus was wreath'd Harmodius' blade,
 When with Aristogeiton he,
 In patriotic union bound,
 Dealt the stern tyrant's mortal wound,
 And bade th' Athenians equal be.

‘ Beloved Harmodius! shall thy lot
 Be placed with those in death forgot?

No; for, as ancient poets tell,
 Thou dost with all the mighty dead,
 With Peleus' son and Diomed,
 In th' islands of Elysium dwell.

' With myrtle-boughs my sword I'll braid;
 For thus was wreath'd Harmodius' blade,
 When with Aristogeiton he
 Gave at Minerva's fane the blow,
 Which laid in death Hipparchus low,
 A sacrifice to liberty.

' The friends who thus for freedom dared,
 Who thus the glorious exploit shared,
 Their spotless fame no end shall see;
 Who, both in patriot union bound,
 Dealt the stern tyrant's mortal wound,
 And bade th' Athenians equal be.'

' *It sure*' might be enough to have quoted this from Mr. Moffatt.
 He attempts things beyond his strength.

For instance, again;

' Some Rhodes admire, some Mitylene ;'
 and the rest of the limping and maimed translation of

" *Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon,*" &c.

Where was Mr. Moffatt's ear when he wrote,

' *As the sweet stream whose murmurs make,*
 Lessons on "Discord," with examples, abound most involun-
 tarily in our modern poetry.

Once more. Let us try Mr. M.'s version of the well known
 lines "*Somne levis,*" &c.

' *Soft sleep, tho' thou death's very form dost wear,*
 Still may'st thou be companion of my bed:
 Oh, sacred rest! let me thy blessings share;
 'Tis so sweet thus to live, without life's care, —
 Thus, without death, to life's care to be dead.'

Art. 15. *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell*, a Dramatic Poem; the Mer-
 maid of Galloway, the Legend of Richard Faulder, and Twenty
 Scottish Songs. By Allan Cunningham. 12mo. 7s. Boards.
 Taylor and Hessey. 1822.

In saying that, if our limits were more extensive, we should be
 glad to run a short parallel between Mr. Cunningham and his great
 predecessors Allan Ramsay and Burns, we are perhaps paying him
 the highest compliment in our power; for, though it may be ad-
 mitted that, in the comparison, either of the latter poets would be
 found *facile princeps*, yet even an approach to excellence like
 theirs implies a high degree of merit. The author of this inter-
 esting volume is, we understand, another instance that the Muse is
 no respecter of persons, but that her influence descends alike on
 the rich and the poor. Some of his compositions have occasion-
 ally appeared in one of our Magazines; and it is remarkable that
 the

the late Mr. Cromek, in his Collection of Nithsdale and Galloway Songs, has inserted several pieces written by Mr. Cunningham, as real specimens of the antient minstrelsy of Scotland; so ably and closely has he imitated the beauty and simplicity of the elder poetry of his country.

A large portion of the present volume is filled by a dramatic poem, partly traditionary and partly imaginary, and which displays very high poetical powers, with somewhat of an uncurbed fancy. It contains the usual proportion of weird-women, wraiths, winding-sheets, and spectres, with which our northern neighbours are so fond of shattering the sober nerves of us unfortunate Southrons: but at the same time it abounds in fine description, and is by no means deficient in true dramatic feeling. The Legend of Richard Faulder is exceedingly wild, but perhaps as eminently poetical as any thing in the volume.—The Twenty Songs are all excellent. We cannot refrain from transcribing the following, on account of its peculiar national character, and that singular blending of love and devotion for which some of the Scottish ballads and songs are so remarkable.

‘ Thou hast vow’d by thy Faith, my Jeanie.

- ‘ Thou hast vow’d by thy faith, my Jeanie,
By that pretty white hand of thine,
And by all the lowing stars in heaven,
That thou wad aye be mine:
And I have sworn by my faith, my Jeanie,
And by that kind heart of thine,
By all the stars sown thick o’er heaven,
That thou shalt aye be mine.
- ‘ Foul fa’ the hands wad loose sic bands,
And the heart wad part sic love;
But there’s nae hand can loose the band
But the finger of Him above.
Though the wee wee cot maun be my bield,
And my clothing e’en sae mean,
I should lap up rich in the faulds of love,
Heaven’s armfu’ of my Jean.
- ‘ Thy white arm wad be a pillow to me,
Far softer than the down,
And love wad winnow o’er us his kind kind wings,
And sweetly we’d sleep and sown.
Come here to me, thou lass whom I love,
Come here and kneel wi’ me,
The morning is full of the presence of God,
And I cannot pray but wi’ thee.
- ‘ The wind is sweet amang the new flowers,
The wee birds sing soft on the tree,
Our good-man sits in the bonny sunshine,
And a blythe auld bodie is he;

The beuk maun be ta'en when he comes hame,
 Wi' the holy psalmodie,
 And I will speak of thee when I pray,
 And thou maun speak of me.'

In perusing these poems, many inaccuracies of metre and a profusion of bad rhymes may be observed. It is a frequent error among men who are conscious of possessing poetical genius, to neglect the minor parts of the art: but we would suggest to Mr. Cunningham that it is not imagination and feeling alone which form the poet, — skill and learning are necessary to complete the character. "*Invenire etiam barbari solent, disponere et ornare non nisi eruditus.*" Pliny.

Art. 16. *Edgar and Ella*; a Legendary Tale of the Sixteenth Century: in Three Cantos; and other Poems. By J. F. Rattenbury, Esq. 8vo. 8s. Boards. Baldwyn. 1822.

A "mewling and puking" Walter-Scottish production. Indeed, that great novelist, and very considerable poet, furnishes one half of the models by which our rhymesters work; and Lord Byron (as we are eternally forced to remark) supplies the other half. They are the Gog and Magog of contemporary verse; and the dwarfs of the day swell themselves out to look like these giants.

The present tale is dedicated as follows:

' TO HANS BUSK, ESQ. &c. &c. &c.

' To whose liberal taste the public is indebted for the splendour of the "Banquet," the classic elegance of the "Desert," and the delightful irony of the "Opera," which, tempering the severity of satire with suavity of language, has conveyed its correcting influence without violating dignity of expression,

' The following poems are inscribed

' By his sincere friend,

' London, Dec. 1. 1821.

' THE AUTHOR.'

We really think that the brother-poet here addressed has shewn, in his trifling productions, sense enough to blush at the extravagant praise bestowed on them: but, however this may be, we are sure that no considerate author would repay such panegyric in kind; especially if he chanced to remember the celebrated interchange of compliments between the great Doodle and the godlike Noodle, in the play.

Now for a specimen of the merits of 'Edgar and Ella:'

' The rosy fingers of Aurora bright
 Draw back the dusky curtains of the night,
 All nature woos, with smiles, the morning light.' P. 13.

In other words:

" All nature smiles, and seems for to say,
 Haste to the wedding, haste away!" *Anon.*

Both these coins would seem to have been struck at the same mint; yet we recollect the latter as long as we recollect any thing

thing in verse; and the former we have not seen perhaps above five hundred times in the course of the last twenty years.

To be serious. Out of these everlasting lays of last minstrels, is there one from which we could select, with care and candor unwearied, a single passage of original thought, forcibly and elegantly expressed? On the contrary, are they not *all* about as happy in novelty of idea, or peculiar combination of phrase, as the subjoined fair specimen of the present cargo?

‘ Unbless’d the wretch who never knew
The sigh to suffering virtue due;
And chill and cold that tearless eye
That never wept in sympathy.
To such insensates ne’er ’tis given,
To know the kindest gifts of heaven:
Friendship, the charm of life’s short hour,
And gentle love, sweet soothing power!
That o’er the scene delusive spread
Their cheering rays, tho’ hope be fled;
When misery’s cup with bitter ills,
Relentless fate unceasing fills.’

This monotonous chime of eight bells has been ringing in our ears, ever since the tune and time were imported from Edinburgh at the beginning of this century. Would that Miss Mitford’s happy satire,

“ And now the sons and now the daughters,
With tears the tender father waters,” &c. &c.

had washed away the belfry and the ringers together.

We discern a manlier strain in the following passage, although far from faultless; and we quote it with pleasure:

‘ Immortal liberty! divinely bright,
With ardent eyes and footsteps fairy light,
With sparkling zone, unbound thy sunny hair,
In floating robe of downy gossamer,
Whether I rove on Afric’s burning coast,
Or Zembla’s regions, triply bound in frost.
Or where the giant Cordeleira reigns,
Turban’d with clouds, o’er vast Columbia’s plains,
Where’er thou art, delighted will I roam,
Thy smiling presence makes that country home.

‘ Better to live secluded and alone,
Amid the horrors of the frozen zone,
Or on those shores, where, tho’ bright Phœbus showers
Eternal summer — ever-blooming flowers, —
Yet wretched man, on nature’s smiling vest,
Toils thro’ the sultry day with fever’d breast, —
Than live in courts, and bow, a suppliant, down,
Cheer’d by a smile, or humbled by a frown.
Vile is the wretch, who thus will basely live,
And eat the gilded crumbs which princes give.

' Farewell, dark Fulda ! from thy banks I turn,
 Thy name I honor, and thy glory mourn.
 But ah, alas ! still stern mysterious fate
 Pursues thy country with relentless hate.
 Presumptuous Hapsburg ! wilt thou dare to draw
 Thy ruthless sword upon a nation's law,
 And send thy eagles o'er the foaming Po, —
 Ensigns of death, and harbingers of woe ? —
 On, madly on, thy destin'd course pursue,
 Thy sons shall mourn it, and thy daughters rue :
 Avenging Heaven hereafter shall demand
 Severe atonement at thy impious hand.'

Would to Heaven that we could deem it likely !

What earthly meaning, or use human or divine, is there in printing such things as that which fills p. 155. ?

' Now, hush thee, Baby.

' Now, hush thee, baby, cease complaining,
 Thy mother o'er thy cradle bends;
 With cares oppress'd; her heart is straining,
 Of joy bereft, denied of friends.

Then, hush thee, baby.

' Thy father's to the battle going,
 To seek 'mid death thy future way ;
 His life, his honor, all bestowing,
 To gild his infant's dawning day.

Then, hush thee, baby.

— ' Yet, rest thee, babe ! and slumber sweetly,
 While my quick throbbing breast shall sigh ;
 And when thou wak'st, with smiles I'll greet thee,
 And gently wipe thy tearful eye.

Then, hush thee, baby.

' And when in manhood thou shalt measure ;
 Thy mother's pride, her boy shall prove ;
 Thy father hail his other treasure,
 And closer draw the bonds of love.

Then, hush thee, baby.'

And this, according to the modern trick, with a title in capitals !

EDUCATION.

Art. 17. *Twilight Hours improved* ; or, *The Visit to Grand-mamma.* By the Author of "*Affection's Gift.*" Small 12mo. 2s. half-bound. Baldwin and Co. 1821.

The writer's evident desire to inculcate principles of humanity makes us unwilling to object to this little work : but we must observe that the style is too flowery and romantic ; and that the extravagant praise, which parents and guardians are here made to bestow on any right action or amiable speech, may occasion juvenile readers to entertain too exalted ideas of youthful merit, and to form undue expectations of similar admiration elsewhere.

Art.

Art. 18. *Harry Beaufoy ; or, The Pupil of Nature.* By Maria Hack. Small 12mo. 2s. 6d. half-bound. Harvey and Darton. 1821.

These dialogues convey several clear and important lessons in natural history, and may be safely recommended to young people.

Art. 19. *Retrospection ; a Tale.* By Mrs. Taylor of Ongar, Author of "Maternal Solitude," &c. 12mo. 6s. Boards. Taylor and Hessey. 1821.

Though not equal in point of interest and composition to some other productions of Mrs. Taylor and her family, the tale of *Retrospection* merits regard, since it exhibits in natural colours the evils of an ill-regulated temper ; and it is the more valuable as a warning, because, though the consequences are shewn to be serious, yet the "temper-flaws unsightly" which occasion them are not so extravagant as to elude general application : a circumstance not always sufficiently regarded in books of an admonitory tendency. Some parts of the story, however, are lame ; the enmity between Miss Burrows and Peter Patterson is not explained ; and the dispute between Lucy and her brother, on his desiring her to 'measure nine drops of rum into a glass of water,' is too puerile to be made the occasion of his death.

Art. 20. *The Flatterer ; or, False Friendship ; a Tale.* By Mary Ann Hodge, Author of "Affection's Gift," &c. 12mo. 4s. Boards. Baldwin and Co. 1822.

Not only the motto but the plot of this tale is borrowed from Madame de Genlis's "Spoiled Child ;" and those who are acquainted with the drama of that ingenious French writer may easily imagine the scope and tendency of the present work. We do not approve of such literary freedoms, and would have no trespasses committed on their neighbour's *Hedges* by the wanderers on Parnassus : though, as Pistol might say,

"Convey, the wise it call — Steal ! Pho !
A fico for the phrase !"

Art. 21. *Advice to Young Ladies on the Improvement of the Mind, and the Conduct of Life.* By the Rev. Thomas Broadhurst. Third Edition. 8vo. 6s. Boards. Nunn. 1822.

This writer may be supposed to offer the results of experience in female education, since we learn from his introduction that Mrs. Broadhurst conducts a female seminary in Bath. Yet his observations and advice are couched in very general terms ; and in the second lecture, when recommending a course of reading, he forbears to specify any works which might be useful in the proposed studies. The remarks on female epistolary correspondence, p. 136., appear to us judicious.

L A W.

Art. 22. *The Elements of the Art of Packing, as applied to Special Juries, particularly in Cases of Libel-Law.* By Jeremy Bentham, Esq., Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. 8vo. pp. 269. 10s. 6d. Boards. Wilson. 1821.

The origin of special juries seems to be involved in considerable obscurity: but the probability is that they were first introduced in causes *by consent*, where both parties were anxious to have the point in litigation decided by a jury possessed of character and information above the ordinary level. This course must have been frequently desirable, particularly in mercantile cases. The first act of parliament recognizing their existence, the 3d George II. chap. 25., authorizes the judges, in trials of issues at Westminster, to order a special jury at the desire of either party, and determines the qualifications of such special juries; and the same authority is, by the 6th George II. chap. 37., given to the justices of assize in the counties palatine. By the act of 3d George II. chap. 25., and by 4th George II. chap. 7., it is provided that no person shall be summoned to serve a second time on any jury in the county of Middlesex, who has been returned within two terms preceding; in the county of Rutland, who has served within one year; in the county of York, within four years; and in any of the other counties, within two years. By 24th George II. chap. 18., after a statement that "complaints had been made of the great and extravagant fees paid to special juries," it was enacted that no special jurymen should be allowed to take a greater sum than the judge should deem necessary, not exceeding 1*l.* 1*s.* for each cause.

In the year 1808, Sir Richard Phillips, being one of the sheriffs for London and Middlesex, wrote this letter to Sir Archibald Macdonald, who was then Chief Baron of the Exchequer:

“ My Lord, — In obtruding upon your Lordship, on a question which has arisen in the exercise of the high office which I have the honour to fill, and which appertains, in an important degree, to the practice of the court over which your Lordship so honourably presides, I am emboldened by that urbanity and liberality, which I have discovered to be the leading and actuating traits of your personal character.

“ Your Lordship is doubtless aware, that the public have viewed with peculiar interest, for many years past, the manner in which special juries are brought together, and particularly the circumstance that they have consisted, with little variation, of nearly the same individuals in every cause, for terms and years together.

“ In causes between individuals, this is a matter of minor consequence, but in causes between the crown and the subject, your Lordship will readily conceive that it is a practice viewed with jealousy, and does not accord with those other features of jurisprudence which are so much admired at home and abroad.

“ The evil is not attributable to the connivance or direction of the judges, nor to any defect in the law, but it arises solely, as I am told, from the negligence or indifference with which the juries are struck by the proper officers, and from the interference, in certain cases, of the solicitors for the crown. The freeholders' list is full and tolerably perfect, but in calling over the names, the solicitor is permitted to interpose, and to say who will and will not attend;

so that, instead of the names being indifferently taken and dictated by the officer of the court, and the attendance of those persons being compelled by the exaction of severe penalties, the juries are chiefly composed of those who, it is loosely stated, will attend; and these are frequently the same persons, jury after jury, and term after term.

‘ “ Your Lordship will perceive, from the enclosed letter of Mr. * * *, that the sheriffs have had some difficulty in their minds on the subject of summoning persons thus returned; considering as they do, that the clause of the 4th George II. applies equally to special and common juries. Yet as the correction of the evil is their object as public officers, rather than any contention with the officer of the court, I have felt it more respectful at once frankly to submit the whole matter to your Lordship, in the hope that it may tend to place every thing on its proper footing in the pleasantest manner.

‘ “ I beg at the same time to have it distinctly understood by your Lordship, that in making this statement, and in writing the observations contained in this note, I have had no design to implicate the conduct of any individual; and that in stating the general facts, my only object has been to justify the application which I have in this manner felt it my duty to make.

‘ “ I entreat of your Lordship to believe me,

‘ “ With every sentiment of respect,

‘ “ Yours, &c. &c. &c.

‘ “ *Bridge-street, April 4. 1808.*

‘ “ R. PHILLIPS.”

The following answer was sent by the Chief Baron :

‘ “ Sir, — Permit me to thank you for the very flattering manner in which you were pleased to make the communication I received, with respect to the summoning of special juries. Mr. ———’s observations were perfectly just; I cannot but observe, however, that he uses the expression, ‘if you think it worth your while’ to make any reform: this, as far as respects the Court of Exchequer, I have not found from the experience of above twenty-four years, in the character of his Majesty’s law officer, or as Chief Baron, to be worth while; as I have never seen the least inconvenience arise from the manner of striking and summoning special juries, during that time. A great inconvenience to the special jurors must arise from summoning those from a distance.

‘ “ The causes in the Court of Exchequer are of a nature quite peculiar to themselves in many respects, and the duration of any cause is particularly uncertain. In order to obtain their attendance, it has been found expedient to summon such as live near to London, otherwise there would be little expectation of having any thing like full special juries, and almost all causes in revenue-matters are tried by special juries.

‘ “ Within the last half year, I have had complaints in court, by gentlemen summoned on the special jury, of being brought fifteen miles from their homes, whereas the persons living in the immediately adjacent parts of the county could attend without

any inconvenience. I may add, too, that some experience in serving upon Exchequer special juries is far from being detrimental to the public or defendants, in as much as the instructing jury after jury, in the conduct of many species of manufactures, and the laws on the subject, exposes both parties to the hazard of the points being ill understood, and hastily determined by them.

“ During the long time that I have been employed in the Court of Exchequer, I have known few verdicts from which I should have dissented, had I been one of their inestimable body, and they have been cases wherein the determination has been favourable to the defendants.

“ Having hitherto seen no reason to complain, as far as my experience goes, it must be left to your own discretion, whether you will risk the making us better than well.

“ I am, Sir, with great respect,

“ Your obedient, humble servant,

“ A. MACDONALD.”

Mr. Bentham was very much dissatisfied with this reply, as it seemed to him to admit the existence of an illegal usage, and to justify the continuance of it on principles that would give to the courts of law an authority paramount to the legislature. Soon after the above correspondence took place, therefore, he wrote and printed the volume now before us; which animadverts, in very strong language, on the mischiefs of *permanency*, as it is termed by him, in special juries: being entirely subversive of the constitutional character of a jury, who are a body of men intended to be a check on the arbitrary will of the judge. Much sound reflection is evinced in the maxims and general principles interspersed through the volume: but we were pained to find these valuable materials mixed up with, and almost buried under, loads of personal allusions and political invective, rather calculated to exasperate the objects of Mr. Bentham's indignation, than to inform or enlighten any studious inquirer. The work, when first printed, was suppressed, and now is published, in both instances without the desire of the author.

TRAVELS.

Art. 23. *Travels in North America, from Modern Writers.* With Remarks and Observations, exhibiting a connected View of the Geography and present State of that Quarter of the Globe. By the Rev. William Bingley, M. A. F. L. S., late of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and Author of “*Animal Biography*.” 12mo. 6s. 6d. Boards. Harvey and Darton. 1821.

Mr. Bingley has here selected those portions of general information which are most instructive and characteristic in the travels of Fearon, Birkbeck, and others; and he has greatly increased the value of his book by adding judicious extracts from the late accounts of our British Voyages of Discovery to the North Pole.

Art. 24. *Travels in South Europe, from Modern Writers.* With Remarks and Observations. Exhibiting a connected View of the

the Geography and present State of that Division of the Globe. By the Rev. William Bingley, M. A. 12mo. 6s. Boards. Harvey and Darton. 1821.

As the authority of Colonel Pinkney, whose travels in France are here quoted, has been publicly and essentially impeached, he should not have been copied by Mr. Bingley, who does not seem to have known this circumstance. In other respects, the present compilation will be found useful and entertaining; the works of Eustace, Southey, and Scott having furnished its principal materials. We may remark that several French words are incorrectly printed, such as, p. 27., '*Restorateur*' for *Restaurateur*; p. 28., '*Café Montansier*,' for *Montausier*, &c.

NOVELS.

Art. 25. *Maid Marian*, by the Author of "*Headlong Hall*." 12mo. 7s. Boards. Hookham. 1822.

Although we do not in general admire the taste of those modern novelists, who, to use the words of the author of *Hudibras*, "pull down old histories to build them up finer again, after a new model of their own designing," yet are we compelled, perforce, to commend the lively little tale before us; so much sprightly wit, good-humoured satire, and clever writing does it contain. It has not been our fault, if our readers have omitted to peruse the former productions of the author of *Maid Marian*; and we can now assure them that the present volume is worthy of its predecessors. The title of the tale will of course give indication of the period to which it relates, and the characters which it is intended to describe; and had it not been for the decided disclaimer which the advertisement contains, stating that all the work, with the exception of the last three chapters, was written in the autumn of 1818, we should certainly have imagined that the author had taken the hint of his story from "*Ivanhoe*," where we find the same personages incidentally introduced who here enact the principal parts.

It is evident, however, that the author of *Maid Marian* was induced to take the adventures of that "bold yemàn" Robin Hood for the subject of his story, by the perusal of the collection of ballads and other poetical remains relating to that celebrated greenwood hero, made by the noted antiquary Joseph Ritson, and published by him in two small 8vo. volumes, in 1795. This curious book, which, when *Maid Marian* was written, was *extremely* scarce, has since been reprinted with a few alterations. On looking into that pleasant volume, we find that most of the incidents and many good ideas in *Maid Marian* have been borrowed from it: but the skill and ability with which they have been worked into the narrative are the author's own. The characters of the merry foresters are very well painted, and after the true old model. Perhaps, however, Marian might have been represented somewhat less masculine and warlike in her taste, though we acknowledge the historical correctness of the picture. Indeed, the old ballad tells us that

" With

“ With quiver and bow, sword, buckler, and all,
Thus armed was Marian most bold ;”

and that, meeting her liege lord Robin in disguise, a combat ensued, in which the outlaw was forced to cry craven. In the more modern version of these adventures, the woodland Amazon is made to attack Prince John ‘ She raised her sword in the air, and lowered it on his head with an impetus that would have gone nigh to fathom even that extraordinary depth of brain which always by Divine grace furnishes the interior of a head-royal, if he had not very dexterously parried the blow.’

The most defective picture in the groupe is that of Robin Hood himself, of whom the author has not succeeded in giving us a strong and characteristic likeness. Father Michael, alias Friar Tuck, is admirably hit off; and the many jovial songs with which he entertains us are excellent imitations of the style of the old ballads, without any of their lame versification. The following few lines are a fair specimen of the author’s powers in this kind of writing :

‘ A staff, a staff, of a young oak graff,
That is both stoure and stiff,
Is all a good friar can needs desire
To shrive a proud sheriffe —
And thou, fine fellowe, who has tasted so
Of the forester’s greenwood game,
Wilt be in no haste thy time to waste
In seeking more taste of the same :
Of this I can read thee, and riddle thee well,
Thou hadst better by far be the Devil in hell,
Than the Sheriff of Nottinghame. —’

Art. 26. *Agnes ; or, The Triumph of Principle.* 12mo. 6s.
Boards. Holdsworth. 1822.

Our respect for the religious feelings, which appear to actuate this writer, must not deter us from objecting to the examples which her tale presents. It is doubtless right to defend the religion which we profess, and to “ be ready to give every man *that asketh* a reason of the hope that is in us :” but we are now called to admire a plain but pious young lady, who in a ball-room and at a card-party delivers long religious lectures, and in one instance passes nearly an hour in bestowing serious exhortations on a gentleman who is an utter stranger to her. Any female, who should thus violate propriety, would not only fail to obtain the reward assigned to Agnes, namely, a converted and titled lover, but would probably injure the sacred cause which she intended to serve. We may add that the general conversation, which is here supposed to take place among young people of fashion, is far too strained, affected, and flowery, to be ever tolerated in real life; and in page 117., a hint appears to have been taken from *Mrs. Slip Slip*, when Janet exclaims, ‘ ’Tis a pity that such a *Pytho* should remain in shade.’ Query, was *Pythia* intended?

Art.

Art. 27. *The Village Coquette*, by the Author of "Such is the World." 12mo. 3 Vols. 18s. sewed. Whittakers. 1822.
 Though a moral may be gleaned from these volumes, yet the scenes and characters being all taken from humble life, the time of those persons to whom the lessons are addressed might certainly be employed to better purpose than in seeking instruction from a novel. The general reader will find some tolerably affecting situations and natural dialogues: but the latter are not recommended by either humour or pathos, and a degree of coarseness pervades the whole work which prevents it from being attractive.

A S T R O N O M Y.

Art. 28. *Star Tables, No. I., for the Year 1822; for the more readily ascertaining the Latitude and Longitude at Sea, during the Night.* Also the Horary Angles or Distance of Six of the principal Stars from the Meridian at certain Degrees of Altitude, &c. &c. By Thomas Lynn, late Commander in the Service of the Honourable East India Company. Sold by Messrs. Black and Co.

Of the various applications of mathematics to the arts and the several purposes of life, that which relates to navigation is of the highest importance. In no other science are those principles so constantly employed, or is the consequence of error or misapplication so fatal and destructive; thousands of valuable lives, and millions of mercantile property, being hourly exposed in the midst of pathless oceans, without any other guide than that which is derived from astronomical observation, aided by the principles of mathematical calculation.

By the persevering industry and ingenuity of theorists, these principles have been reduced to great degrees of accuracy, and increasing facilities are yearly offered to the practical navigator. The "Nautical Almanac," and the "Requisite Tables," both of which owe their birth to the late Astronomer Royal, are now almost as essential to a navigator as his compass or rudder; and, although the tables at present under review are certainly of less importance than those works, yet we must consider them as a highly useful acquisition to the nautical profession, since they tend to diminish the chances of error, and serve to facilitate the process of calculation.

It is a painful reflection, (but we fear that it is too well founded,) that a very large portion of the navigators of this country are entirely ignorant of the principles of the computation which they are daily and almost hourly employing: long habit has made them familiar with and even dexterous in the calculation, but they know nothing more; and, consequently, if any obstacle prevents them from making those observations to which they have been accustomed, and to which their rules are adapted, they are according to their own phraseology *taken aback*, and must wait another opportunity; which may not occur for several days together, during the whole of which time they are left in doubt and uncertainty.

Yet

Yet how frequently have we star-light nights after cloudy and misty days, and in those cases how important it is to be able to employ the stars for determining our latitude and the apparent time at the ship? Here it is that these tables become so highly useful. It is true, that the calculation might be made without them: but they throw great facilities in the way, and will enable many of the less informed of our ship-commanders to avail themselves of this mode of determining the place of the ship, who would not feel themselves competent to attempt it without some such aid.

‘ The first table contains a catalogue of the right ascension and declination of 60 of the principal fixed stars, for the beginning of the year 1822; and the second exhibits the time of transit at Greenwich, of the 61 stars of Dr. Maskelyne, in apparent time, for every day in the year. The third and fourth tables relate to the acceleration of the stars; the refraction, and the dip of the horizon. Tables five and six exhibit the true meridional altitudes of certain stars in the northern and southern hemisphere, for every degree of latitude from 0° to 60° ; which latter is also followed by another, containing the altitude of the same stars when on the meridian, in certain parallels of latitude answering to situations in the neighbourhood of the British isles.’

Capt. Lynn remarks that his ‘ tables contain the horary angles of the stars No. 11. and 42. of Dr. Maskelyne’s catalogue, from 60° of north latitude, to the equator, and also the stars No. 25. 31. 52. and 59. in the vicinity of the British Channel, answering to certain altitudes expressed in the margin; which, therefore, the observer has simply to put on his quadrant, and the times corresponding to such altitudes are given to him at sight, leaving the operation to consist almost entirely in the observation.’

From some practice in calculations of this kind, we can form an idea of the immense labor which the author must have had in the construction of these tables; and we sincerely wish that the value of them may be duly appreciated by the nautical profession, so as to enable him to continue the series which he has projected. In order to give some idea of the advantages of the transit-table, we may imagine the following example; viz. Suppose it were required to determine the apparent time of transit of a certain star over any proposed meridian. According to the usual method, we must first, from the most recent tables, compute the star’s right ascension, by correcting for its annual variation; and hence by means of the sun’s right ascension, corrected for its change in the interval between the transit of the sun and star, we have the apparent time of transit at Greenwich. The whole of these operations is saved by the tables; for we have only to refer to the proper page, where the actual time of transit is found by inspection:—beyond this, the computations are the same in both methods. It is true that the calculations described above involve no difficulty, but they furnish so many sources of probable error, and the more these are diminished the better.

Again;

Again ; let us suppose that the apparent time at the ship is to be determined by the altitude of a given star. Here it is requisite to correct both the right ascension and the declination of the star by means of the annual variation, and the right ascension of the sun for the time since the last transit at Greenwich. We have then to compute the star's meridian altitude, the horary angle, and the right ascension of the *mid heaven* ; and hence the time sought : — whereas, by means of the table, the whole operation consists in adding two quantities together, each found by inspection, and in making the requisite correction for the change in the sun's right ascension.

We might have given various other examples : but the practical navigator will see at once, from the description of the tables, the purposes which they are intended to answer, and the nature of the computations which they are meant to supply. In private observations, the transit-table will also be found an useful auxiliary.

We know not how far the Board of Longitude may be disposed to assist the author in his laborious undertaking : but we conceive this work to be precisely of the kind contemplated by the Act, and that it is deserving of public encouragement and support.

M I S C E L L A N E O U S.

Art. 29. *Life in London ; or the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, Esq., and his elegant Friend, Corinthian Tom, accompanied by Bob Logic, the Oxonian, in their Rambles and Sprees through the Metropolis.* By Pierce Egan, Author of *Walks through Bath, Sporting Anecdotes, &c.* Royal 8vo. with many Plates. 1l. 16s. Boards. Sherwood and Co. 1821.

The personages and events comprized in this picture of *life* in our metropolis having been *dramatized*, and made to form a very popular exhibition at one of our minor theatres, the public has become so well acquainted with them, that we should be performing an act of supererogation if we were to offer a detailed account of this volume. Other reasons, however, forbid this attempt. First ; the task would be difficult, even if it were desirable. Next, what are we reviewers to know of these scenes of *high* and *low* folly, vice, and nonsense ? — Credit will perhaps not be given to us, nor do we ask it, for an acquaintance with the *former*, and as to the *latter* we sturdily protest our ignorance. Finally, what could we do without the aid of the ‘ thirty-six scenes from real life, designed and etched by Messrs. Cruikshank, and the numerous other original designs on wood by the same artists,’ with which the volume is illustrated and enriched ? In truth, these engravings have the very highest merit of their kind ; and without depreciating the instruction and amusement, *in its kind also*, which the book affords, we must consider the graphic part of it as claiming paramount approbation. The subject, indeed, which Mr. Egan has chosen, is certainly peculiar ; and if the exhibition will gratify many persons, especially the young and gay, it will have few charms for others, who are old and grave : while, in the opinion of the fastidious, some of the scenes intrude a little on decorum, and bring too much of low and vicious company before the eye.

A singular effect seems to have been produced by the dramatic representation of Tom, Jerry, and Bob: it has excited many thoughtless young men to imitate their follies; and the Magistrates of Bow-Street, Marlborough-Street, &c. have had an unusual increase of business in taking due cognizance of midnight irregularities, assaults on lamps, watchmen, bells, &c. So prone is man to suffer from allurements when he should profit by a warning!

Art. 30. *The Hand of Providence!* manifested in a faithful Narrative of real Facts; illustrative of its Punishment of Vice, and Reward of Virtue: interspersed with genuine Anecdotes and suitable Reflections. 12mo. 6s. Boards. Darton. 1821.

As it is gravely asserted, both in the title and at the commencement of this tale, that it is a narrative of real facts, the names only being disguised, we can make no remark on it, as a composition, on the score of probability or skill in combination. Its attraction for perusal and its moral are alone to be considered, and on both these points we can speak favorably: but it may be doubted how far the writer is borne out in the general and positive inference which he draws from the detail at the conclusion; viz.

‘Our young readers may hence learn, that the *watchful eye and hand of Providence* never forsake the truly *virtuous*; while *hypocrisy, treachery, and fraud* bring in the *end* inevitable *destruction* on those who continue to be guilty of them; this, by order of the Governor of the world, to convince it of his interposition in all its affairs.’

‘In the *end*,’ not speaking with reference to this world, ‘the *watchful eye and hand of Providence*’ will doubtless make an apportionment of justice to the virtuous and the vicious: but with regard to the present life, how often do we see the former suffering and the latter prospering?

CORRESPONDENCE.

When we have occasionally seen a Gridiron at Dolly’s chop-house, or perchance in our own little dwellings, we have always observed that it was very black; and we could never doubt that, when it had been some time on the fire, it would also be very hot. We beg to be excused, therefore, from either soiling or burning our fingers with the *Gridiron* which has been sent to us by a correspondent, though we may perhaps consign it to the cook.

‘*A Constant Reader*’ perhaps dreads too much from the pursuits to which he refers, and certainly expects too much from us in desiring us to interfere in the mode proposed.

A. B. C. apparently makes himself very merry: but, if he knows his alphabet well, which we rather doubt, we may certainly recommend to him a more intimate acquaintance with his Spelling-book and Dictionary.

*** The APPENDIX to this Volume will be published with the Number for May, on the 1st of June.



THE
A P P E N D I X
TO THE
NINETY-SEVENTH VOLUME
OF THE
MONTHLY REVIEW,
ENLARGED.

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

ART. I. *Mes Voyages aux Environs de Paris, &c.; i.e. My Travels in the Neighbourhood of Paris.* By J. DELORT. 8vo. 2 Vols. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 1*l*.

THESE excursions in the environs of Paris extend from Meaux in the east to Maullé westward; and from the forest of Montmorenci northward to Montlhéry southward; and in the course of them the writer gives not only a lively description of the towns, villages, and palaces within his circuit, but adds accounts of all the mansions of distinction, and notices of the celebrated men who have at any time lived within that circle, with *fac-simile* representations of the hand-writing of some, and unpublished literary relics of others. He has divided his work into six parts, each being occupied with an excursion into a portion of the limited district which he surveyed; and each being introduced by some lines in verse which we cannot but regard as in general below mediocrity. Verses, like those of M. DELORT, written in an easy ambling manner, with sounds adequate to satisfy the ear, and meaning just sufficient to keep the rhymes together, are of all others the most tiresome to read. Yet he has rather a favourable opinion of his own muse; and, besides these occasional preludes, he indulges himself in a flight whenever any thing very remarkable catches his fancy: petty incidents being sometimes contrived to introduce a poetical vagary, of which the

reader is likely to become heartily tired before he gets half way through it.

The book is not deficient in its descriptions of palaces and public buildings: but such subjects do not here, as in many French productions of the same nature, exclude all other information; and we have been agreeably surprized to find something more and better than the ten times repeated tales about the Louvre, and St. Cloud, and Versailles. If M. DELORT is reminded by the sight of the little Trianon of the unfortunate *Marie Antoinette*, he is not drawn into a long descant on her beauty and the splendor of the court, but mentions her patronage of the amiable and scientific *Jussieu*; and Malmaison revives the recollection of *Mirbel* as well as of *Josephine*. He seems to be an ultra-royalist, with something of the extravagance and of the bigotry of that class: but the effusions of party-prejudice escape only at times in the shape of notes; and the text bears the general impression of feelings natural to a Frenchman, when visiting scenes which have been hallowed by the footsteps of his country's greatest heroes or most virtuous citizens, and which recall the recollections of prouder times, when France was as formidable in arms as she was prominent in literature and science.

At Fontenay-aux-Roses, the author visited the house in which *Scarron* lived, and the following is his account of it:

‘ One of the prettiest houses in this little town, which is now occupied by the mayor, belonged formerly to *Scarron*, the first master of his day in burlesque. Although an invalid, and a martyr to pain from a very early period of his life, he never lost his gaiety, and to this spot his wit and humour attracted the most considerable characters of the court. My desire to see the inside of this house made me introduce myself to the owner, who is an eminent admirer of the fine arts, and who was so obliging as to express pleasure in gratifying my curiosity. He took me into the bed-room of this original writer: where the first thing that struck me was his portrait engraved in the form of a medallion, with this inscription,

“ *J'ai vaincu le douleur par les ris et les jeux.*”

‘ Beside it, I recognized a painting of *Mignard* by himself, which he presented to Madame *Maintenon*, at that time *Scarron*'s widow. From the bed-room, I passed into a gallery, where I found two geographical charts drawn by *Scarron*, the singularity of which it would be difficult to describe, as it would be to give a notion of the time and labor which must have been devoted to the execution of them.’

At Issy, the house still remains in which Cardinal *Fleury* lived and died. An anecdote which is related by M. DELORT,

as connected with the last illness of that minister, is scarcely credible :

‘ The health of the Cardinal was declining from day to day. With childish flattery, his adulators filled the news-papers with all the instances of extraordinary longevity, and pretended that they had discovered strange elixirs for prolonging life. The minister, however, became so extremely ill, that his physicians prohibited all exertion whatever : notwithstanding which the secretaries of state regularly visited Issy to receive his directions. One morning, *Breteuil*, the minister of war, after having been engaged some hours with his Eminence, was so ill at his departure that he seemed on the point of expiring : but the attendants of the Cardinal, fearing lest the event might make too severe an impression on their master, refrained from offering any relief to *Breteuil*, placed him in his carriage as well as they could, and in his carriage he breathed his last before he reached Paris. This act of barbarity did not help to prolong the life of the Cardinal, who died very shortly afterward, at the age of 80.’

The subsequent letters are curious, as shewing the restlessness and unsettled temperament of *Richelieu*, fifteen years before he became the premier. Every page of history acquaints us with the extraordinary talents of that wily minister ; who connected his own interest so strongly with that of the sovereignty as to guide the helm of France for nearly twenty years : triumphant in the midst of cabals and convulsions ; equally eminent for his sagacity and gravity at the council-board and for his intrepidity at the head of armies ; a Cardinal, the scourge of Protestants ; a General, the terror of his enemies ; and a premier, whose frown could banish from the court the kinsmen of his sovereign. These letters shew the petty cravings of his mind when engaged in a more contracted sphere, and before the grand career of empire had been opened to his ambition. They give also some slight indication of the disguises under which an insatiable spirit tries to veil from others, as it sometimes conceals from itself, the true nature of its own endless hankerings and incessant weariness. The first six letters are addressed to Madame de *Bourges*, and the seventh to his brother Monsieur de *Richelieu*, who was killed some years afterward in a duel..

‘ Letter I.

‘ “ Madam, — Having given permission to *Corbonnor* to take a journey to Paris about some business, I am very glad to have this opportunity of assuring you that, if I have been remiss in writing to you, it was not that I had forgotten my obligations to you, but because I have few opportunities of writing to you as I should wish : for, although we have daily posts, the mistake of only an hour destroys the opportunity of sending letters. I do not excuse myself

myself so entirely as not to admit a little laziness into the account: but this does not prevent me from acknowledging the obligations which I owe to you, or from making me wish for the power of returning them. Upon my word, I resolve every day to *marry Magdelene*: but neither *gentlemen* nor any body besides have either *money* or *clothing*. We are all beggars in this country, and I am myself the greatest, for which I am very sorry: but we must find a remedy if we can. Whatever I may be, I remain your servant, but so useless that I dare not take advantage of the title, if it were not for the desire of preserving myself ever,

“ Madam, your humble servant,

“ ARMAND, Bishop of *Luçon*.”

‘ Letter II.

“ Madam, — I have received the hoods which you sent me, and which arrived very opportunely: they are really beautiful, and have been received as such by the persons for whom I wanted them. I owe you a thousand obligations, not for this kindness only, as you may believe, but for so many good offices that my paper would not contain them. I am beloved in my district, and they wish me to believe in the whole world: but I know not what to say about it yet; for all beginnings are prosperous, as you know. I am not in want of occupation, I assure you: for every thing here is so ruinous, that some exertion is necessary to restore it. I am extremely ill lodged, for I have no place in which I can have a fire, on account of the smoke: so that you may imagine that I am in no great anxiety for severe weather: but there is no other remedy than patience. I can assure you that I have the most villanous, dirty, and disagreeable bishopric in France: but I leave you to judge of the merits of its bishop. There is no place in which I can walk, no garden, or path of any kind, so that my house is my prison. I quit this subject to tell you that we have not found among my clothes a tunic and dalmatic of white taffeta, which should have accompanied the ornaments of white damask that you bespoke for me; and this makes me fear that they have been forgotten. My late almoner said, that they were sent to you from Noysean to have the epaulettes mended, and that perhaps they might be overlooked by the ornament-maker. I beg you to ascertain the truth, that I may know whether the dress be lost or not; it is a part of the effects of the late bishop, for I have found no other ornaments that belonged to him. It has been requisite to bespeak others for the festival, as without them I cannot officiate. But, in the hope that nothing will be lost, I have chosen another colour, so that, if you recover the one that is mislaid, I may have one of each colour.

“ I must tell you that I have bought the velvet-bed of *Madame de Marconnet*, which I have had repaired, so that it is worth 300 livres. I have bespoken several other articles of furniture, but am in want of some hangings: if there were any means of exchanging the valances of the late bishop's bed, which are of silk and gold, for tent-hangings, similar to those that you have already purchased for me, it would be a great accommodation to me. There are still

at Richelieu some pieces of the tester of that same bed, which I will send to you. You see how I write to you of my household, which is not at present well arranged, but time will effect every thing.

“ I have engaged a gentleman as *maitre d'hôtel*, who serves me extremely well and in your fashion ; and without him we should go on very badly. But I have occasion only to look over the accounts, for whatever company I have to visit me, he knows very well what is his duty. He is young *Labrosse*, who was gentleman to *M. de Montpensier*. The truth will be seen in the end ; though nobody thought at first that he could do what he does, I assure you that he triumphs. All our proceedings succeed famously ; for they think in this country that I am a great personage. I could converse with you all day, but it is growing late, which obliges me to conclude, and to tell you that I am your very humble servant,

“ ARMAND, Bishop of *Luçon*.

“ I entreat you, Madam, to bespeak for me a muff made of half a martin's skin, from *M. le Commandeur*, covered with smooth black velvet, for it is cold in these parts. You may write me word, if you please, how much I shall owe him for the half of a skin.

“ *Madame Magdelene* will here perceive that I kiss her hands ; I fancy that she must be married by this time.”

‘ Letter III.

“ Madam, — This letter will assure you of my remembrance, and of the service which I would willingly have it in my power to render you ; and without more ceremony let me entreat you to give me again your assistance in my little purchases, about which I am anxious, although I am meditating a journey to Paris. I beg you to ascertain whether there be any means of finding a small bed-hanging, similar to the one which you took the trouble of buying for me when I was ill ; that is to say, of the same price : for I must not anticipate severe weather, my purse being very low : if you find one, you will oblige me by purchasing it, if you please, and I will send what is necessary to pay for it if it be procured before my arrival. As for the silver table-service, *M. de Bourges* knows my intention, which is to have one in case that I can regain the money which is due to me at Paris : but without that I can say nothing. As for a lodging, I know not what to do, having no furniture at Paris, and lodgings being so dear ; if I could find a reasonable one, I would take it. The inconvenience of furnished apartments being great, I look forwards every year with hope, but I must provide for present necessity. Write me word what you advise, for I must confess that I am a gainer by your counsel. I beg you also to send me the price of wine in Paris, by the hogshead ; and the rather because to bring it here would cost me seventeen crowns a pipe, when stowed in the cellar ; and in case you find that I ought to have it brought, write me word, if you please, whether they can find a place to deposit it. If

you give me good advice, you will oblige me much, for I am very undecided, especially about a lodging, from the apprehension of the quantity of furniture that may be necessary; and on the other hand, following my inclination, that is to say, being a little ostentatious, I should like not only to be more comfortable, but to make a better appearance in having a lodging to myself. What a sad thing is poor nobility, but there is no remedy; *contre fortune bon cœur*. I give you much trouble, for which I beg your pardon, and entreat you to believe that I am, Madam, your very humble servant,

“ ARMAND, Bishop of *Luçon*.”

‘ Letter IV.

“ Madam, — Taking up my pen to write to you, I send you from time to time what remains due to you for the expences that you have incurred for me; here are forty pistoles and twenty sols in cash, which make the hundred and forty-five livres that I owed you. I have been spending these last few days at Mezeray, where I learnt from my uncle the reverses that you have had in your affairs, and I sympathized in the anxiety which they must have occasioned you. Nevertheless, your contract having before been acknowledged by each party, I should hope that you would soon be rid of the uneasiness. I wish that I had power to assist in releasing you from it; most willingly would I make use of it; and, although my purse is not so well stocked as it ought to be, yet in offering it to you with the little that it contains, I beg you to dispose of every thing which belongs to me, as being, Madam, your very humble servant,

“ ARMAND, Bishop of *Luçon*.”

‘ Letter V.

“ Madam, — In sending a servant to Paris, I have desired him to learn some news of you, which I hope will be such as I should desire. I am rejoiced at your journey from Ardiliers, and hope before long to see you at my hermitage at Coussay, where you may command. I return you a thousand thanks for the trouble which you took in selling my hangings; you may judge from that circumstance of the misery of a poor monk, who is reduced to the necessity of selling his furniture, and of living a rustic life. Although I may not soon be able to quit this abode for one in town, yet, wherever I am, you may be sure that I wish you as much happiness as any one in the world, and remain truly, Madam, your very humble servant,

“ ARMAND, Bishop of *Luçon*.”

‘ Letter VI.

“ Madam, — Although my letters are only sources of importunity to you, I suffer no opportunity of writing to pass without assuring you of the grateful remembrance which I have of you, and to remind you of one who esteems you as I do.

“ I am sorry that I can prove to you by words only how much I am your servant; but upon my word I find myself

being, that my good wishes are but of little value, to those whom I desire to serve. On this account, I have to complain of my unfortunate circumstances, and I pray God to make me more happy in future ; when that happens, my actions shall prove what my words only can now express. I beg you, however, to send me two dozen of silver dishes, of as large a size as they make. I wish that they could be procured for five hundred crowns, for my means are not very great: but I know that for the sake of a hundred crowns you would not have me have any thing mean. I am a beggar as you know, so that I cannot make a show of opulence: but, when I have silver dishes, my grandeur will be much increased. When I have learnt their cost, I will send you five hundred crowns, if that sum will suffice, and I beg you to do me the favour to complete my household, as you have begun. I am very troublesome, but I know that you will excuse it, which makes me take the liberty, and which obliges me to remain, Madam, your very humble servant,

“ ARMAND, Bishop of Luçon.

“ I embrace Madame *Magdelene*, whom I now esteem in her household.”

‘ Letter VII.—To M. de Richelieu.

“ My Brother, — The bearer of this is going to practise his profession at Paris, and I cannot suffer him to go without carrying a few words from me, to tell you that I am anxious to hear of your reception in Paris; having heard no news of you since the arrival of M. d’*Auriac*, jun. I have been informed by this means of your health, for which I thank Heaven, praying that it may be continued to you. I wish you to send me a pony, a thoroughly handsome one if it can be. I wish likewise that you would send me two little pieces of jewellery, for a hundred crowns the two, to add to those watches and some other little ornaments that I wish to present in the quarter of which you are aware.

“ To explain to you what I wish is impossible; I can only say that it should be something suitable to my situation in life. I beg you will send me word whether you can extricate yourself from the business without a law-suit, and believe me, my brother, your very humble brother and servant,

“ ARMAND, Bishop of Luçon.

“ I have desired M. de la *Cochere* to remit you the money which you will want for the purchases I have begged you to make, in as much as it will be better to give nothing than to offer a shabby present. The present which I wish to make needs not be very magnificent, but it should be at least consistent in its several articles.”

The name of *Richelieu* cannot but remind our readers of his eminent successor *Mazarin*; and the present author gives us a droll epitaph, which was current at the time of his death:

“ *C’y gist l’Eminence deuxième,
Dieu nous garde de la troisième;*”

which may be thus parodied :

“ Low midst the dust and the dead bones are reckon'd
Cardinal the first, and Cardinal the second;
Should but a third Holy Premier arrive,
Heaven have mercy on those who survive.”

M. DELORT assures us that Louis XIV. sent to this great minister, when on his death-bed, a deed of gift conferring on him all the extraordinary emoluments which he had appropriated during his ministry, in order that he might be enabled to procure absolution before he expired; and he says that there are still in existence the minutes which the Cardinal kept in French and Italian, of the principal events of his own life. We are sorry that the author gives us no other account of the repository of such a document, than the vague description of ‘ *un de nos établissemens littéraires.*’ Another literary curiosity, which M. DELORT mentions as still in existence, is a history of Louis XI. by *Tillemont*; and it is much to be wished that the public may not be deprived of the result of any of the labors of so judicious and indefatigable an inquirer as that writer.

Among the monumental inscriptions contained in these volumes, the most impressive is the following, placed on a marble slab beneath a cross, sacred to the memory of the wise and venerable Chancellor *D'Aguesseau* and his lady:

‘ LA NATURE
NE FAIT QUE PRÊTER
LES GRANDS HOMMES
A LA TERRE.
ILS S'ÉLÈVENT, BRILLEN,
DISPARAISSENT. LEUR EXEMPLE
ET LEURS OUVRAGES RESTENT.

‘ CHRISTO SERVATORI
SPEI CREDENTIUM
IN QUO CREDIDERUNT ET SPERAVERUNT
HENRICUS FRANCISCUS D'AGUESSEAU,
GALLIARUM CANCELLARIUS,
ET ANNA LE FEVRE D'ORMESSON,
EJUS CONJUX.
EORUM LIBERI,
JUXTA UTRIUSQUE PARENTIS EXUVIAS,
HANC CRUCEM
DEDICAVERE
ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS
MDCCLIII.’

We read with some feelings of indignation the author's statement that not one half of the inscription on the tomb of
the

the unfortunate Mrs. Jordan, near Boulogne, is now legible, these words only remaining :

‘ M. S.
DOROTHEÆ JORDAN
QUÆ
.
.
. ARTEM.
UT RES EGENORUM
ADVERSAS SUBLEVARET
NEMO PROMPTIOR.
E VITA EXIIT
3 NONAS JULII 1816,
ANNOS NATA 50
MEMENTOTE,
LUGETE.’

The author is surprized at the effect of the atmosphere in so short a space of time : but we cannot help suspecting some wilful erasure, and fear that the defacement has been effected by bigotry and monkish prejudice.

On the whole, these volumes contain a considerable portion of agreeable anecdote, introduced in a pleasing manner. Some things, indeed, we cannot help marking as out of their place in this work, though they might be valued in productions of a graver cast ; and others occupy a considerable space here which do not merit preservation any where. Of the first sort are the wills of the celebrated *Budœus* and *Isabella of Bavaria*, the last of which fills two-and-twenty pages (vol. ii. from p. 233—255.) ; and a long account of *Turenne's* funereal procession. (Vol. ii. p. 7—18.) These materials may be serviceable to biographers or historians, but in such a compilation as the present are vexatiously tedious. Of the second sort are four pedantic letters by *Chapelain*, (vol. ii. p. 186—196.) and three by *La Harpe*. (Vol. i. p. 167—173. and p. 292—295.) Two letters from *Mezeray* are given as having never before been published : but, unless we mistake very greatly, they are old acquaintances of ours ; and one or two letters from *Rousseau* to *Madame d'Houdetot* are laid before us with the same pretensions to novelty, although they have not only been printed before but have been regularly translated into English. Our neighbours on the Continent may deem us very particular and precise for marking such petty inaccuracies and imperfections in a production of a popular cast : but we have an English antipathy to all artifice, and, even when noticing continental publications, we cannot divest ourselves of old habits.

ART. II. *Mémoires Historiques, Politiques, et Littéraires, &c.*
Count ORLOFF's Memoirs relative to the Kingdom of Naples.

[Article concluded from the Appendix to Vol. xcv. p. 542.]

HAVING followed Count ORLOFF through those portions of his work which are strictly historical, we propose now to enter into the remaining divisions of it; namely, the policy and jurisprudence of the kingdom of Naples, and the rise and progress of its literature. The field, however, is too extensive to allow of our giving more than a slight sketch and imperfect outline of this part of his distribution; and therefore we must not detain our readers with the government and jurisprudence of this part of Italy, under its Roman and Lombard conquerors. The feudal maxims were the necessary result of the invasion of the northern nations. Fiefs were indefinitely multiplied; every province or seignory was subject to its petty tyrant; and thus to the iron sway of the Romans succeeded a new despotism, still more rapacious and more oppressive. The people were considered to be only the property of the barons; slavery was reduced into a system; and from this chaos and confusion of minor sovereignties, resulted a state of the most hideous anarchy.

In these times of disorder and licentiousness, the ecclesiastics alone preserved in Europe some approximation to regular polity. The councils which were held after the reign of Charlemagne deliberated concerning the means of effecting a reformation of manners, and of putting an end to the calamities which desolated Europe, — exhorted the princes to concord, — and hurled their anathemas against those who fomented the disorders. About the eleventh century, the celebrated “Truce of God” was established; a suspension of hostility on certain days, during which the husbandman could till the earth, and pilgrims might travel from one place to another, without peril or molestation: — but it was not till the firm and vigorous pontificate of Gregory VII. that the turbulent excesses of the times began to be expressed: — excesses to which the Emperor Henry IV., by his tyranny and the general violence and rapacity of his character, had greatly contributed. The Pope, proceeding from remonstrances to menaces, at length excommunicated that refractory sovereign, and deposed him from the throne of his ancestors; — the first occasion on which this extreme act of papal power had ever been exercised. From this æra, the subordination of the temporal to the ecclesiastical power may be dated; and the whole political aspect of Europe was changed. In the eleventh century, Rome was the arbiter and mistress of the western

western world, and disposed of its destinies by a domination more stern and imperious than that of her antient greatness. Yet the papal sovereignty, though so exorbitant and overwhelming, was by no means unproductive of great and signal advantages; and *Leibnitz* remarks that their usurpation rescued Christendom from many and severe calamities. The Popes corrected the barbarous notions of jurisprudence, which so generally prevailed; the laws which protected life and property were more rigorously enforced; justice was more impartially administered; legal proof was substituted for judicial combat; and, with jurisprudence, civility and refinement also advanced.

In 1140, the Norman dynasty received, as it were, its finishing strokes from the genius of *Roger*, who abolished through the Neapolitan territory all subordinate sovereignties, and established as a fundamental law the inalienability of the royal prerogatives, and the exclusive right of the crown to grant or create fiefs. The constitution, which he abrogated, was a mixture of monarchy with feudal aristocracy: — a state of public warfare and private insecurity. He dismantled the baronial fortresses, put an end to seignorial jurisdictions, and, borrowing from the wisest institutions of Normandy, erected *camerari*, justicers, and other public functionaries, to render the administration of law impartial, and its execution prompt and decisive. In a government essentially feudal, commerce and agriculture were held in no estimation: but this able prince did not overlook many of the most useful maxims of political economy. Apulia rose into prosperity during his reign: Amalfi carried on a thriving commerce; and the first elements of maritime jurisprudence are derived from the code which regulated her navigation.

Still, though the founder of the Norman government effected much, the spirit of the times was adverse to any extensive reformation; and his institutions, founded on feudal maxims, nourished the germ of anarchy and disorder. Count ORLOFF proceeds to sketch the state of the Neapolitan provinces under the Suabian princes, and the gradual changes of Neapolitan jurisprudence that took place during their dynasty. Frederic of Suabia, intent on humbling the feudal aristocracy, admitted deputies from towns and cities into the national assemblies, which by the Norman constitutions had been open only to barons temporal and ecclesiastical. An important revolution in the frame of the government was the necessary result of this measure. If he did not abolish, he mitigated vassalage: he protected agriculture; and among the admirable constitutions of this prince is a maxim which we might be

led to think was taken from some of our modern works on political economy, "that the wealth of the subject was that of the state." Property was respected, and the advantages of a regular government began to be felt and appreciated. His chancellor, the celebrated *Peter de Vineis*, collected and systematized his laws, together with those of Roger and the two Williams, into a code, which was promulgated in 1231.

Before this able and enterprising monarch, the poor had no protection except under the banners of some powerful baron: but Frederic re-organized the public judicatures, and taught them to appeal for protection to a common and equal law. We should not do justice to this part of the subject, if we did not insert the author's summary of the benefits imparted by this prince to the polity and jurisprudence of the times.

' It is chiefly worthy of admiration in the laws of Frederic, that they displayed a spirit of providence and wisdom, a firm determination to reform abuses of every description; and the more we reflect on the manners and passions of the age, the more clearly shall we discern how difficult was the task of governing and of civilizing the people whom he had to rule. The provinces required considerable reforms in their administration, and Frederic began by awakening in the hearts of his subjects the love of liberty and order. The barbarous invaders of Italy had rendered that country a warlike nation; their successors had enslaved it: but the aim of Frederic was to exalt it by virtue, to bestow on it just laws and a temperate liberty, — in one word, to render it active and industrious. Influenced by this grand principle, he established it as a fundamental law that, twice in every year, a general court or parliament should assemble in certain places for eight days; or, if the public business required, for fifteen. That the laws may be carried into prompt execution, and be beneficial to the people, they must in some sort express the general will; and every just government will feel it to be its duty to collect this will. In a later age, the great Henry IV. said to the members of the national assembly held at Rouen, "That he had called them together not, as in past times, to oblige them to ratify his will, but to receive from them counsel and assistance, and to place himself under their protection." Frederic seemed to have been animated by the same sentiments.

' While he was thus opening to his subjects the dawn of civil liberty, he endeavoured to cherish among them the seeds of talents and of virtues, which render nations great and powerful, and which had heretofore been extinguished under the weight of feudal oppression. Having tried to soften their manners by the spirit of liberal institutions, he was solicitous to enlighten their minds, and to dissipate the darkness and barbarity of the age. He caused the works of Aristotle to be translated into Latin, and invited the most intelligent men to teach the Roman law, and other useful sciences,

‘ Discharging in all their branches the various functions of the legislator, he did not overlook the arts of industry and commerce. He established an uniformity of weights and measures, introduced the cultivation of the sugar-cane into Sicily, and opened new ports in Calabria.’

Under the Anjou dynasty, the national assemblies were discontinued. The princes of this house had chosen Naples for the seat of government; — a circumstance which occasioned great changes in the administration of the kingdom, and which was the origin of the disproportionate size of the capital, as well as one of the causes of the desolation and ruin of the provinces. Charles I. favoured the nobility, and was prodigal of privileges and exemptions. Intent only on consolidating and strengthening his usurpation, he neglected the first duties of his station, and oppressed agriculture and trade with vexatious imposts and tyrannical exactions; while his religion consisted in persecuting heretics and building convents. Such, however, was his profusion, that the people were ground down by imposts, and goaded to habits of rapine by extreme indigence. To repress the disorders which were the natural fruit of his policy, he had recourse to sanguinary laws: a theft was punished, if small in amount, with the mutilation of limbs; if of a considerable sum, with death: justice was openly sold; and tyranny in every shape and of every kind desolated the country.

Queen Joan II. augmented the political disorders and civil confusions of this beautiful country. ‘ It was not enough for the misery of the people,’ observes Count ORLOFF, ‘ to have received their laws from barbarians and popes. A new scourge fell on them during the reign of the house of Anjou; viz. the code of Justinian, which was introduced into their jurisprudence under the cloke of the canon law.’ The indiscriminate adoption of a system, framed for times and societies so differently constituted from those of Naples, rendered the whole body of its laws a chaos, and overturned the wise and politic system which had been established by the Emperor Frederic. The heterogeneous amalgamation of the Roman and the canon law with the old *customaries* of the country, the anarchy necessarily resulting from so many revolutions, the partial exemptions and privileges, and the numerous courts and jurisdictions, had already introduced into the science of law the uncertainties and perplexities, which have so long rendered Neapolitan jurisprudence a proverb for all that is anomalous and contradictory in that study.

Disputes with Rome and civil dissensions continued under the house of Arragon: but the nation respired awhile from its troubles

troubles under Alphonso. He protected literature and science: — but in the famous parliament of 1442, in order to procure from the barons a confirmation of his son's succession to the crown, he accorded to that powerful body the privileges and rights of their particular jurisdictions; — a fatal blow to the public justice of the kingdom. Ferdinand I. had considerable talents and information: he reformed the public tribunals, simplified the modes of procedure, subjected the party who failed in his suit to the payment of costs, and introduced other regulations equally consonant to justice. He conferred also on the vassals the liberty, of which they had hitherto been deprived, of disposing of their own property; — a valuable privilege, in as much as it had been an established custom to oblige them to sell the fruits of their own industry at a low price, and to purchase articles of necessity from their feudatories at their own valuation. These abuses pressed with intolerable weight on the cultivator, and were in the highest degree pernicious to agriculture. This prince would have proved himself in every respect a successor worthy of the illustrious Frederic, had he not been thwarted by the opposition of the Pope and the intrigues of his barons.

The Spanish dynasty by no means ameliorated the condition of this unhappy kingdom: but we cannot follow Count ORLOFF into the melancholy period of her civil history, when Naples was a province of Spain. Of the viceroys who successively scourged this devoted country, Peter of Toledo, whose administration commencing in 1532 lasted twenty-one years, is the only minister who is commemorated with any thing like eulogy. The form of government, which has existed even to the present time, was the work of this viceroy. To curb the power of the nobility, he extended that of the tribunals; — a remedy which produced a greater evil than that to which it was applied, by introducing into the kingdom what Count O. calls ‘*des habitudes querelleuses et chicanières.*’ Such was the multiplicity of laws on every subject, and so various and conflicting were the judicial determinations, that the simplest questions of jurisprudence became insusceptible of solution, and the viceroys were under the necessity of consulting the magistrates both on private and public affairs. It was this which invested that class of persons with the most extended authority, and made the profession of the law the only road to preferment and power. It may be supposed that its members profited by circumstances so favourable to their interests.

‘Législation (says Count O.) having no fixed principles, the decisions of the tribunals became arbitrary; all classes were influenced

fluenced by a spirit of oblique, and the mind of man was employed only in devising means to retard or evade justice, and to render the laws impotent and unavailing. A new logic, invented for the exclusive use of lawyers, raised innumerable questions, and threw uncertainty over the meaning and the sense of the plainest contracts between man and man: law-suits multiplied without end; and the faith of agreements being thus broken, property became perplexed and uncertain, so that scarcely a family could with any certainty calculate the amount or the duration of its wealth. This state of things still existed at Naples, at the time when the recent revolution of that country broke out.' —

' Thus the learning of the bar became, like the scholastic philosophy, the science of quirks and quibbles; and advocates were merely sophists, whose business it was to insure the triumph of fraud and injustice. Nothing was studied at the bar but the art of defending every proposition; and there was no right which could not be controverted, no property which could not be undermined, no title in which some fatal defect could not be discovered. Logic, morality, and decency, became useless and rare qualities in a profession of which the only instruments were adulation, imposture, and cunning; and more skill and intrigue were employed by a lawyer to gain a cause than were required by a General to gain a battle.' —

' A bar so constituted (a work worthy of the government of viceroys) had at the same time the greatest influence over the public mind. Every where else, commerce and civilization united the various classes of society: but at Naples they were split into the most odious rivalships and divisions.'

It was the policy of these ministers to aggrandize the metropolis at the expence of the provinces; and that city enjoyed, therefore, the most vexatious monopolies. In the viceroyalty of Count *Olivares*, (1598) it was prohibited, under pain of death, to sell two pounds of bread without the special warrant of the city. Naples contained an immense population, turbulent and seditious; and one of the chief anxieties of the government was to preserve tranquillity among 40,000 inhabitants, daily threatened with famine. All dealings in corn, within thirty miles of the capital, were forbidden; and in 1679, a maximum, the most hateful expedient of folly and oppression, was fixed on all the necessaries of life throughout the provinces. Thus, while the population of Naples increased to redundancy, the provincial towns of the kingdom were depopulated and ruined.

The elevation of Don Carlos (Charles III.) to the throne of the two Sicilies produced an important and happy revolution in public affairs. In spite of the long series of afflictions which had scourged this beautiful region, they were soon forgotten under the reign of a prince who actually
resided

resided among the people; and who brought with him peace, a brilliant court, great talents, and, above all, an earnest anxiety to heal the wounds of his adopted country. In 1738, an attempt was made to reform the tribunals, and to revise and amalgamate into an uniform and regular system the laws of the kingdom: but the maladies of the political body are not always susceptible of instantaneous remedy; and the time that should have been devoted to this arduous object was lost in idle debates whether the code should be compiled in Italian or Latin. Many important modifications of Neapolitan jurisprudence, however, were effected; and we refer our readers for minuter details to the elaborate work before us.

Count O. brings down the political and civil history of Naples to the epoch of the French invasion: but we must decline to pursue him into this wide field of disquisition, and hasten to a rapid and imperfect sketch of the remaining division of the subject, — the rise and advancement of Neapolitan literature.

We have our own idea of what a literary history ought to be, and we conceive that it is not exactly in unison with the theory of Count ORLOFF. As correct and adequate a view of the literary taste and habitudes of a country will be derived from a minute and chronological catalogue of authors, as of its military spirit and energies from the list of the rank and file of its army. A nation's intellectual advancement is better appreciated by a few great works than by many little writers; and the "*ignobile vulgus*" of literature, the herd of obscure chroniclers, of sonnetteers and *canzoni* poets, have so little to distinguish them from each other,

"Fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum,"

that they are scarcely worthy of a formal enumeration. We are not disposed, moreover, to concur in the arbitrary rule of classification, by virtue of which the Count claims, in behalf of Neapolitan literature, those illustrious individuals who happened merely to be born at Naples, or within her provinces; — and on the strength of which, he has swelled his work with detailed notices of orators, philosophers, and poets, who, during their whole lives, embellished the philosophy, letters, and poesy of other countries. Men of letters and genius must, in strict justice, belong not to the places where they first sprang into existence, but to those in which they expanded and blossomed, and received, as it were, into their stem and fibre the raciness of the soil that nursed and ripened them. Thus Count O. has deemed it quite enough that

Horace

Horace was born in Apulia, to throw his drag-net over the Venusian bard, and to assign him a conspicuous rank in his catalogue of Neapolitan poets. It is in vain that Horace has told him that he was sent almost in infancy to school at Rome; whence, having been duly chastised by Orbilius, he migrated to study philosophy and polite letters at Athens. Still, he was an Apulian or Lucanian by birth; and Count ORLOFF asks no farther questions, but proceeds to serve up the meagre materials of his biography for the hundredth time, and renews the threadbare criticisms on his odes and satires, with which every school-boy, who has reached the fourth form, is familiar. It would have been surprizing, therefore, that Ovid, who was born within the limits of the Neapolitan territory, should escape: — but Ovid received nearly the same species of education as Horace, having been sent at an early age to Rome, and having removed thence to Athens, for a similar purpose. It is obvious that the literary history of a nation, compiled on such a principle, must be endlessly voluminous; and, if Count ORLOFF proposed merely to make a book, he could not have adopted a more efficacious expedient to supply himself with materials.

Having made these observations, we shall proceed to extract a few of the author's notices and criticisms, disclaiming all intention of exhibiting even the most imperfect analysis of his labours. We must not, at the same time, forget to intimate that the Count's disquisitions, by reason of the vast extent of his plan, are frequently curtailed in many respects to a degree wholly disproportioned to the importance of his subjects; and that his defects are supplied with considerable judgment by his editor, M. *Duval*.

Statius was emphatically the poet of Naples. Its beauteous landscape, its coast, its Vesuvius, and the awful vicissitudes of its external aspect, occasioned by the convulsions of nature to which that region has for so many ages been subject; — these are the unfailing topics of a poet who has been, we think, unduly estimated by scholars and critics. Our grave Russian treads in the beaten path, and repeats the common-place observations on Statius which have been handed down from one commentator to another, till it has become the fashion to doubt whether he deserves the name of a poet, because he was not so elegant as Virgil or so tender as Ovid. It is with considerable satisfaction, therefore, that we insert a part of M. *Duval's* criticism.

‘ The *Silvæ* of Statius have not been fairly appreciated. There is not a piece in this collection which does not exhibit the utmost purity of taste, as well as the sweetest gentleness and sensibility

of heart ; and I willingly subscribe to the opinion of his last French translator, M. *Delatour*, who makes the following remark in his preliminary discourse : “ Let the reader peruse the *Silvæ* with attention, the critic with severity, and then say whether, in spite of the celerity, the momentary enthusiasm, and the poetic fury with which they were composed, these pieces, instead of being merely imperfect or unsuccessful attempts, do not present unity of subject, interesting details, and felicitous diction. What writer could give the epithalamium more voluptuous graces, elegy more plaintive sounds, more elegance to the epistle, more grandeur to the ode ?”

‘ What peculiarly pleases me in Statius (continues M. *Duval*) is the love which he feels for his country, to which he consecrates the greater part of his poetry. He was only fourteen years of age when the dreadful eruption of Vesuvius took place which swallowed up Herculaneum and Pompeii ; and this awful catastrophe seems to have left the deepest impression on his mind.

“ *Hæc ego Chalcidicis ad te, Marcelle, sonabam
Littoribus, fractas ubi Vesbius iras,*” &c. &c. &c.

‘ In a passage of one of his tenderest poems, addressed to his wife Claudia, inviting her to Naples, is an exquisite picture of this interesting country :

“ *Non adeo Vesuvinus apex, et flammea divi
Montis trepidas exhaust civibus urbes :
Stant populisque vigent. * * * *
Has ego te sedes, nam nec mihi barbara Thrace,
Nec Lybiæ natale solum, transferre laboro :
Quas et mollis hyems, et frigida temperat æstas :
Quas imbelle fretum torpentibus alluit undis.*”

After having enumerated the great ornaments of Neapolitan literature, philosophy, and poesy, during the period of the Roman power, (among whom Cicero, a native of Arpinum, occupies a distinguished rank,) the author exhibits the state of letters under the Goths, the Lombards, the Normans, and the Suabians. Peter *de Vineis*, the celebrated chancellor of the Emperor Frederic, is ably commemorated.

‘ A prince like Frederic would naturally give a powerful impulse to the genius of Italy ; and in this great enterprize he was considerably aided by Peter *de Vineis*, a man of extensive erudition, well versed in business, a philosopher, lawyer, orator, and poet. Born at Capua, of an humble family, he betook himself to Bologna, to cultivate the sciences in that city ; and Fortune threw him in the way of Frederic, who honoured him with his esteem and friendship. Admitted to court, he soon rose to the highest distinctions, and rendered himself every day more worthy of the confidence which was reposed in him. He negotiated more than once with the Roman pontiffs, and always won them over to the interests of his master : but at length Fortune grew weary of her kindness ;

kindness; and, having been deputed to the council at Lyons, he was unsuccessful in diverting the thunders which Innocent IV. hurled against Frederic and his throne.

‘ On a sudden, the chancellor was despoiled of his dignities and his employments, and cruelly deprived of his eyes by the hands of an executioner. In the dungeon where he was left to languish, he afterward put a voluntary end to his accumulated sufferings, and expired without breathing a murmur against the barbarity and ingratitude of his unfeeling master. The letters which he wrote, in the name of Frederic, are historic monuments of the thirteenth century, equally precious and interesting. Some authors have attributed to him a treatise on the Imperial Power, and a book intitled *De Consolatione*, in imitation of Boethius. He was also a poet; and *Allacci* and *Crescimbeni* have preserved some of his poetical productions. They prove, at least, the flexibility of his genius, and are specimens of some of the earliest attempts at poetry in Italy. One of his compositions deserves attention for its form and contexture; it exhibits the mechanism of the sonnet; — a mechanism of which the Provençal poets seem at that time to have been ignorant.’

Among the great men who adorned the succeeding æras of the Anjou and Arragon dynasties, are Barlaam, Leontius Pilatus, Panormita, Pontanus, Sannazarius, &c. &c. We need not observe that the resurrection of letters in Italy has conferred immortality on their names: yet it is remarkable that *Guinguéné*, in his literary history, makes scarcely any mention of Sannazarius. We extract, therefore, one or two of the present author's remarks on this poet.

‘ The writer who first presents himself to our notice is the celebrated Sannazarius, descended from an illustrious Neapolitan family, and born in 1458. His first poetic efforts obtained the admiration of Pontanus, who esteemed and loved him; and this connection was the means of his being introduced at court, where he was well received by Ferdinand I., and his two sons, who succeeded him on the throne. Sannazarius attached himself particularly to Frederic the younger; and, having been associated with his good fortune, he did not desert him in his adversity, but disposed of a part of his property to assist him. He cultivated at once Latin and Italian poetry, and excelled in each, both in beauty of imagery and purity of style. His *Arcadia* is a model of that taste of which Virgil was the sole inheritor from the Greeks, and which he had never till now imparted to others. Sannazarius was not the first who mingled verse and prose in the same composition, — a species of writing called by the Italians *Sdrucchioli*: but no author of that time infused so much sentiment and imagery into his verses. It is not, then, surprizing that the *Arcadia* has appeared in more than sixty successive editions, and has been closely imitated by *Garcilasso de Vega*, the most brilliant poet of the Castilian language.

‘Rising from pastoral to epic poesy, Sannazarius treated the mysteries of the Incarnation with the pomp and splendor of Virgil; and his poem *De Partu Virginis* is considered as the finest work of an age which was so distinguished for its literary triumphs, and so much embellished by the Latin muses. It is true that the dreams of paganism are in this poem associated with Christian mysteries: but, when Sannazarius flourished, no one deemed it possible to compose a poem without the aid of mythology. At a later period, this mixture of sacred and profane was properly decried: but at that time the defect was not felt, and two succeeding Popes officially expressed their approbation of the *De Partu Virginis*.’

COUNT ORLOFF devotes a long chapter to the literature of the sixteenth century; and, if we were permitted in the vast range of disquisition to make any more selections, we should extract the notice of *Torquato Tasso*. We are, however, admonished that any farther citation is impracticable; and, even if we could find space, the recent works of *Guinguéné* and *Sismondi*, in which the Count has been so fully and ably anticipated, would release us from the duty.

We have already intimated with sufficient plainness our opinion as to the plan of Count ORLOFF's literary history; and, concerning the general merits of the work, we shall only remark that we prefer the historical to the other divisions. We have observed also on the literary part of it, that, embracing so wide a space, it must be necessarily filled up with a barren enumeration of names, and catalogues of authors; and this statement will apply also to the juridical distribution, into which the author has crowded all the canonists and jurists of the Neapolitan annals. We are not quite satisfied with this plan of writing history; and even the learning and correctness of Dr. Henry were unable to vanquish the inconveniences of so defective, and, if we may use the phrase, so unnatural an arrangement. Civil and political history cannot be severed from the order of human events: but a distinct recapitulation may, indeed, after the example of Hume, and under the sanction of his authority, be reserved for the literature of a nation; because literature is not the common business of mankind, and no interruption takes place in the regular march and progression of affairs, in consequence of its being made the subject of a separate disquisition.

ART. III. *Journal Militaire de Henri IV., &c.; i. e. The Military Journal of Henry IV., after his Departure from Navarre, from the Original MSS. Introduced by an Essay on the Military Art of that Period. With Plates and a Fac-simile. By the Count DE VALORI. 8vo. pp. 412. Paris, 1821. London, Treuttel and Co. 9s.*

WELL may the name of *Henri Quatre* be dear to every Frenchman in whom one spark of national glory burns; since he presents the most sagacious and tolerant, the most heroic and amiable prince that adorns the page of modern history. As his illustrious cotemporary monarch, Elizabeth of England, sacrificed or subdued her own predilections in favor of the Catholic religion to the Protestant feelings of her subjects, so did Henry — the Protestant King of Navarre — when he had ascended the throne of France, and acquired the greatest military reputation by his successes against the Catholic League; after having defeated his enemies in a pitched battle under the walls of Yvrée, and increased his advantages over them in successive campaigns; — so did Henry renounce his own religious creed, and embrace the Catholic tenets, which were generally and pertinaciously cherished among his subjects. Every thing was in his mind subordinate to the public good; and, whatever theologians or moralists may think concerning the sincerity of Henry's conversion, the politician, at least, will acknowledge its effects in healing the wounds of civil war and assuaging the animosities of his kingdom.

The work before us, as the title-page expresses, is merely a journal of the campaigns of Henry; and the preliminary discourse on the state of the military art in his time is a dry narrative of the changes of discipline introduced into the army by him; of the state of the cavalry, infantry, and artillery, and the style of fortification; of the varieties of weapons used by the regular and the irregular corps; and of the various modes of attack, defence, advance, and retreat.

Henry had studied the military tactics of the ancients in the Commentaries of Cæsar, and in Plutarch's Lives; and he revived, says the Comte DE VALORI, the Carthaginian practice of introducing and preparing for a general action by skirmishes and affairs of outposts, in which he fatigued and harassed the enemy, pushed him back, or decoyed him to advance, till he had drawn him into the position most advantageous to his own purpose. His custom was to absent himself at a short distance from those petty actions, till the day intended for the great conflict: when, being informed by his couriers of the bursting storm, he entered the field of battle with the flower of his nobility and his most devoted adherents,

and, infusing into them by his presence additional courage, gave new vigour to their arms. On the eve of battle, also, when thus concealed from the spot, he would spread a report in order to deceive the enemy, that he was engaged in some insignificant affair, several leagues off; and then on a sudden, to use the Count's poetic imagery, he would make his appearance 'like the god of war just sprung from the arms of Venus,' terrible in onset, and with a presence of mind that often disconcerted his astonished enemy. Surely, however, this playing at bo-peep must have been a very hazardous game, and rarely to be adopted. Dim-sighted must the scouts be who could twice be deceived by such petty manœuvres; and if the Duke of *Mayenne*, governor of the League, could be thus tricked, the consummate skill and vigilance of the Duke of *Parma*, the greatest General of his time, was not so easily lulled asleep. — Yet the poetic language of the Comte DE VALORI is reducible to very sober and faithful prose: for it was from the arms of a Venus that this god of war did often rise, and plunge into the field of battle; and in her arms too did he rest, and sometimes slumber, after the perils of an engagement. The beautiful Corizande, *Diane d'Audouins*, had already twined her silken threads round the heart of the hero while yet only King of Navarre; and after the battle of Coutras, where he defeated the army of Henry III., under the two *Jayeuses*, instead of marching straight to Paris, he lost the fruits of his victory by leaving his army in order to enjoy the raptures of her society. These secret visits to his mistress, however, had sometimes their advantages. The Duke de *Mayenne*, while in Gascony, having been informed that the enamoured king was in the frequent practice of stealing to the retreat of his Diana, thought that it would not be difficult to surprize the royal lover, and accordingly distributed parties of cavalry to occupy all those places through which he conceived the Prince must pass: — but, whether Henry received information of the project, or the snares were unskilfully laid, the result was that *Mayenne* lost more than two months in this fruitless attempt, and enabled several towns, which had not before thought of their defence, to gain time and opportunity for effecting it. If this was a double ruse of the warlike and amorous monarch, a *ruse de guerre* and a *ruse d'amour*, it must be acknowledged that Mars and Venus could not have intrusted the management of their affairs to more willing hands, or hands more consummately dexterous in the execution of them. It was said that Henry became so much attached to *Diane d'Audouins*, as to have promised her marriage: but that he recalled his pledge at the pressing intreaty

intreaty of *D'Aubigné* ; — as the Duke *de Sully* twice interfered on similar occasions with respect to the Duchess of *Beaufort* and the Marchioness of *Verneuil*.

Henry IV., however, says M. DE VALORI, knew how to sacrifice his inclinations to the happiness of France, as he exposed his person a hundred times for the safety of the state. *Diane d'Audouins*, *Gabrielle d'Estrées*, and *Henriette d'Entraigues*, successively seduced his noble heart, which was so much inclined to gallantry : but their impassioned sighs could not stifle the voice of a more imperious mistress, — France herself. Of all the objects of his affection, the beautiful Diana contributed most to the advancement of the King's affairs ; she supplied him with succours of men and money, and was made the confidante of his military measures. At the end of the ' Journal ' is a collection of letters from Henry, the first series of which is addressed to this favorite mistress, and relates the military operations which he was pursuing from the year 1588 to the death of Henry III. They are brief, sprightly, full of love and war ; generally written at night, informing her of the events of the day and the projects for the morrow ; and blowing a thousand kisses, with assurances of untainted and unalterable fidelity ! — The second series is composed of letters to private friends : they are very easy, unaffected, and familiar even to playfulness. Several scraps also occur, addressed to Monsieur *Harambure*, who was blind in one eye, having lost it at the taking of Niort. Henry generally begins his letters to him, "*Borgne*," and at the close of one announcing his expectation of an engagement, he says, " Mind your eye ; you will be quite blind if you do not." At another time, he exclaims, "*Harambure*, go and hang yourself, because you were not by my side in an engagement which we have just had with the enemy, &c. I will give you all the particulars when we meet, and come as soon as possible, for I am anxious to see you. — Adieu, *Borgne*." * To Monsieur *La Gode*, he says, " They tell me that you do not love me, *La Gode*, and Le Sieur *Emery*, the bearer of this, confirms me in the story ;

* Precisely in the same terms, as our historical readers will recollect, Henry wrote to *Louis de Crillon*, on the capitulation of Amiens :

" *Brave Crillon, pendez vous de n'avoir point été ici près moi Lundi dernier, à la plus belle occasion que se sois jamais vue, et qui peut-être se verra jamais. L'ennemi nous vint fort furieusement, mais il s'en est retourné fort honteusement. J'espère Lundi prochain être dans Amiens, où je ne séjournerai guères, pour entreprendre quelque chose. Adieu. Au camp d'Amiens, le 20 Septembre, 1597.*

" HENRI."

if that is the case, I disown you, and will cut your throat the first time I see you. Adieu, *La Gode, ma mie.*"

We find also a very beautiful and touching letter from the Marquise de Verneuil to Henry on his marriage, dated January, 1601, which we should translate if its length did not forbid. The sighs of the Marchioness, however, were not inaudible to the royal ear; and several letters, breathing the warmest vows, were many years afterward transmitted to her by the too susceptible monarch. — In this second series, are a number of letters written in a style which do great credit to the parental feelings of Henry, addressed to Madame de Montglat, who was the governess of his children. In one of these he says, "I am half angry that you did not let me know you had whipped my son; for I wish and command you to whip him as often as he is obstinate, or does any thing that is wrong; well aware from experience that nothing in the world will do him half so much good, for I know that it was of the greatest use to me. When I was his age, I was often flogged, and smartly too; and for that reason I request you to do the same by him, and make him understand that it is my wish." Henry, who was fond of his children, and never suffered them to call him by any other designation than "*mors père,*" or "*papa,*" was sensible of his obligation to Madame de Montglat for her assiduous care and instruction; and in this collection is a letter addressed to her on the death of her husband, in which the monarch observes; "I sincerely participate in your affliction for his loss: but we must bow with submission to the will of Providence. Console yourself with the assurance that if God has withdrawn from you one good husband, he has also given you another, and moreover has left you a good king and a good master. My son will in future be your husband, and I your good king and good master," &c. &c.

It remains to say a few words as to the genuineness of these memoirs. The manuscript-letters and journal are stated to be in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, and it is singular that such materials should have been overlooked by the inquisitive eye of historians: but these historians, it must be presumed, did not believe that the MS. was the actual journal of Henry IV., although it is so called in the oldest catalogue. It has, however, all the internal evidence which great minuteness of detail can give, not only as to the incidents of the battles described, but as to the preliminary manœuvres of the army and the particular movements of different officers. There is indeed a *vraisemblance* about the journal; a fullness of anecdote which makes it evident that it was written on the spot. The Comte DE VALORI tells us that, after much research, he has been able

able to fix on the person to whom was intrusted the task of compression; viz. a "*sergent de batailles*," named *Guy d'Hermy*, afterward secretary to Henry IV.: to which individual the King, in his leisure moments, is supposed to have dictated the recital of those petty preliminary actions which so generally led to the most important victories.

ART. IV. *Campagne des Autrichiens contre Murat, &c.; i. e. The Campaign of the Austrians against Murat in 1815.* By V** C** DE BR., an Eye-witness. 8vo. 2 Vols. Brussels. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 1*l.* 1*s.*

THIS is not an uninteresting book, though one half of it is made up of shreds and patches, odds and ends, which have no more to do with the campaign of the Austrians than with the retreat of the 10,000, or the march of Hannibal across the Alps. An exact description of the physical features of a country which is the scene of military operations, its hills and passes, rivers, fastnesses, and ravines, doubtless facilitates an understanding of the movements of the armies engaged: but it is curious that such descriptions are here given subsequently to the narrative of the campaign itself; the latter being detailed in the first volume, and the former being allotted to the second. Not satisfied with these particulars, the author, inspired by the classic air of Italy, carries us into the catacombs of Naples, the grotto of Pausilippo, the tomb of Virgil, and the temples of Augustus, Serapis, Diana, Neptune, and Apollo: he even ventures fearlessly across the Acheron, and safely lands us in the Elysian fields. — Besides a description of the theatre of war, we are indulged with an account of Herculaneum and Pompeii; and, as an appropriate appendix to the irruption of the Austrians into Italy, and the fall of *Murat*, we have a description of Vesuvius pouring over the desolated plains her fiery lava. Even the modern palaces, museums, theatres, churches, galleries, &c. are not omitted: in short, the author has taken great pains to please the taste of *some* among the multitude of readers; and it would be hard indeed to have altogether failed in so laudable an effort.

Joachim Murat, first Grand Duke of Berg and afterward King of Naples, was born at La Bastide Fortunière, March 25., 1768. His family, who were cultivators of the soil, lived in easy circumstances; and he was destined from his infancy to the church, in order that he might succeed one of his uncles, who enjoyed a benefice. The impetuosity of his character, however, soon displayed itself: he spurned the restraints of
scholastic

scholastic discipline, joined the gayest of his comrades in every party of pleasure, and testified an invincible opposition to the views of his friends. Having left the College of Cahors, he was sent to graduate at the University of Toulouse: but, feeling himself more free than ever from restraint, he yielded to the effervescence of his passions; and, when he found his money exhausted, he enlisted as a soldier with a quarter-master, named *La Rocheblin*, of the regiment of Ardennes. His family, grieved at the circumstance, released him from the engagement: but he did not enjoy his liberty; and the military ardor rekindling within him, he soon returned to *La Rocheblin*, engaged himself a second time, and joined the regiment. In the year 1791, *Murat* and *Bessières*, afterward Duke of Istria, were elected into the *Garde du Roi*, which was dissolved on the 30th of May in the year following. He immediately obtained a sub-lieutenancy in a regiment of chasseurs; and on various occasions he displayed such bravery and talent, that, when *Bonaparte* assumed the command of the Army of Italy in 1796, he took *Murat* with him as *chef-de-brigade* and his first *aide-de-camp*. The campaigns of this and the following year developed those military talents for which he afterward became so remarkably distinguished. Pursuing the enemy at the battle of Roverido, he crossed the Adige with a detachment of chasseurs, each man taking a foot-soldier behind him; at the battles of Bassano, Rivoli, and at the passage of the Tagliamento, he successively increased his reputation as a warrior; and, having been sent on various diplomatic missions to the courts of Genoa and Turin, he executed these also — backed by a conquering army — with great energy and success. He had now acquired the entire confidence of *Bonaparte*, whom he accompanied in his expedition to Egypt in 1798. The French became masters of Alexandria on the 2d of July, and defeated the Mamelukes at the battle of the Pyramids, which opened to them the gates of Cairo. Greedy of plunder, the soldiers furiously, and without control, precipitated themselves wherever it was to be obtained. *Murat* had just entered the house of a rich Mameluke, when a party of soldiers burst into the harem and scattered terror among the females: but they all made their escape, except one unfortunate victim, who was on the point of being sacrificed by these savages. At the sight of a lovely female, only sixteen years of age, throwing herself at his feet, in terror and in tears imploring his protection, the heart of the General melted within him, and he ordered the soldiers to retire: but they despised his commands; their passions were on fire, and riot was let loose; he used force; they resisted; and one of them, with uplifted arm, threatened to murder

his General if he persisted. *Murat* struck the soldier with his sabre, and prepared to attack the others: who were intimidated, fled, and left the lovely Egyptian fainting in the arms of her deliverer. Desperately smitten, *Murat* did not separate from her till the expedition into Syria: at that time she remained at Cairo: but, during his absence, a captain of artillery saw her, became enamoured of the widowed beauty, — and carried her away. “*L’amour fait passer le temps,*” says the French proverb, “*mais le temps, aussi, fait passer l’amour !*”

When *Bonaparte* left his army in Egypt, *Murat* came with him to Paris, and contributed not a little by his presence of mind to the success of the revolution of the 10th November, 1799; when, for the moment, being startled at the danger of his own situation, *Bonaparte* was rallied and restored to confidence by the courage of his friend, who entered the Hall of Deputies at the head of 60 armed grenadiers, and with a firm voice exclaimed, “Let all good citizens retire: the Council of Five Hundred is dissolved!” The First Consul rewarded the fidelity of his brother-warrior by bestowing on him in marriage his youngest sister, *Marie-Annonciade-Caroline Bonaparte*, and creating him Commander of the Consular Guard. In May, 1800, hostilities recommenced in Italy between France and Austria. The capture of Milan by *Murat*, and the passage of the Po, were preliminary to the decisive battle of Marengo, where that General commanded the French cavalry, and, aided by the bravery and skill of *Dessaix*, essentially contributed to snatch the victory from the Austrians; who had considered themselves as conquerors till the evening of the day, and who lost the battle by their confidence of winning it. *Murat* was intrusted with the provisional government of the Cisalpine Republic in 1801. He returned to France in 1803, was named President of the Electoral College of the department of Lot, where he was born, became a member of the Legislative Body, and was appointed Governor of Paris in 1804, with the full rank and honours of General in Chief and Marshal of France.

Soon after the victory at Austerlitz, where his skill and intrepidity were again eminently conspicuous, the *Emperor Bonaparte* conferred on this officer, whom he had before raised to the rank of *Prince*, the entire property of the duchy of Clèves and Berg; and he took possession of his territory with the title of Grand Duke, which was immediately recognized by all the powers of the Continent! The battles of Eylau and Friedland were followed by the treaty of Tilsit: but *Napoleon* had cast his eager eye on Spain; and *Murat*, being appointed

pointed Commander in Chief of the Army of Invasion, entered Madrid at the head of his troops, March 23. 1808. The insurrection of the 2d and 3d of May was punished by a dreadful slaughter: 30 rounds of cannon among a crowd of 20,000 people, together with repeated charges of cavalry, sword in hand, soon cleared the streets of living insurgents, and choked them up with dead! *Murat* enjoyed the plenitude of royal authority at Madrid as Lieutenant of Charles IV.; and, on the advancement of *Joseph Bonaparte* to the throne of Spain, he was elevated by the gratitude of his Imperial master to that of Naples, where he arrived in September, 1808, and was received with the customary demonstrations of loyalty and devotion.

Here we shall leave him, for a time, apparently in secure if not quiet possession of his throne. So secure, indeed, he felt, as not only to furnish *Bonaparte* with a contingent of 12,000 men and a part of his guard, on the Emperor's march to Moscow, but as to determine also on accompanying him in that disastrous expedition. As at Waterloo, so was it at Moscow,—“*Sauve qui peut* :” *Bonaparte* abandoned his army in both these emergencies, and fled to Paris. *Murat*, foreseeing the changes which must take place in Europe from the utter failure of the Russian war, prudently returned to his own dominions, that he might be on the spot if it were necessary to open negotiations with England and Austria. Perhaps *Napoleon* suspected that the fidelity of his royal brother-in-law was not impregnable, from some unguarded expressions or movements of the latter; certain it is that he gave the command of the army to *Eugene Beauharnois*, and no longer concealed from *Murat* the disgrace into which he had fallen. This rupture excited in other cabinets the hope of detaching *Murat* altogether from the French alliance: but, when *Bonaparte* re-appeared at the head of another army on the plains of Saxony, *Joachim* could not remain a passive spectator, and, forgetting all his injuries, rendered new services to his Imperial friend in this bloody campaign. The battle of Leipzig in October, 1813, having again changed the face of affairs, he returned to Italy almost alone, bought a miserable voiture at Milan, and with this humble equipage proceeded to Naples.

Anticipating the fall of *Bonaparte*, who had grievously offended him; and who, he well knew, had taken a resolution to dethrone him whenever such a measure might be deemed essential to his own interest or security; *Murat* entered into a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with the court of Vienna, which was effected on the 11th of January, 1814, by
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the Comte *de Neipperg*, who had been sent to Naples for that purpose. England acceded to this treaty, by which not merely the integrity of his states was guaranteed to the King of Naples, but an addition of territory in the march of Ancona and in Romagna; he engaging, on his part, to furnish the allies with 30,000 troops. The British Minister did not yield his *written* concurrence to this treaty, but Lord William Bentinck gave in a note, stating that, if the Neapolitan government would rely on the word of a British Minister, he assured them that he was authorized to accede to the treaty on the part of his government. At the conferences of Chatillon, too, when some arrangements were proposed by *Talleyrand* on the part of France, in relation to Italy, it was distinctly stated by all the four Ministers of the Allies, "that Italy then formed no part of the question; the coalition having already resolved to re-establish the antient governments of Italy, *except at Naples*, where the title of King *Joachim* had been recognized, by virtue of a treaty which Austria had concluded, and to which England had acceded." To "make assurance doubly sure," Lord W. Bentinck soon afterward communicated to *Murat* an official dispatch from Lord Castlereagh, stating most explicitly "that it was only from motives of delicacy towards the King of Sicily, that the English government was induced to delay for a moment the conclusion of a special and particular treaty of alliance with the King of Naples; the British government being desirous that a treaty of indemnity to the King of Sicily should go hand in hand with the treaty of alliance with King *Joachim*."

It is not to be imagined for a moment, we presume, that *Murat* was really very anxious for the success of the Allies: he did not wish to see his native country conquered by foreign arms, nor did he desire to dethrone his brother-in-law: but he was anxious to secure the stability of his own throne, and for that purpose it was necessary to extricate Italy from the influence of France, and to be on good terms with the coalition. His avowed object in joining the Allies was to confine *Bonaparte* within the boundaries of his own country: but he does not appear to have entered into those ulterior views which they entertained, of invading France, and deposing the Emperor; and this may be one reason, perhaps, for the perfidy which was afterward exercised towards him: for the British government subsidized the King of Sicily, while that court was occupied in measures for expelling *Murat* from Naples, and while England itself was a guarantee for the integrity of his dominions. This, we believe, has never been denied.

Murat, resting on the word of honor which he had received from an accredited English Minister, set his army in motion without waiting for the ratification of his treaty with Austria, advanced to Bologna, and engaged a detachment of the French under the walls of Reggio. The services which he rendered to the Allies by his movements in the north of Italy were fully appreciated by the Austrian commanders, and the whole of his conduct was conformable to his first demonstrations: the result is well known: the French were defeated, *Bonaparte* was sent to Elba, and peace was concluded. *Murat*, however, was environed with difficulties. Generosity, frankness, and confidence the most indiscreet, were natural traits in his character, and, united with indifference to personal danger, formed his *virtues*: not untarnished by those military vices which more particularly may be expected to accompany the career of a coarse, uneducated, uncontrolled, mere military adventurer; viz. impatience of opposition, restlessness, and prodigality of human life. He could not at first give way to his doubts: but he received a letter from Vienna informing him that the French plenipotentiary, *Talleyrand*, was using, and with every appearance of success, his utmost exertions at the Congress to dethrone him: even his own ministers there, the Duc *de Campo-Chiaro*, Prince *Cariate*, and General *Ambrosio*, and his Minister at the Court of St. James's, reiterated to him their cautions to hold himself on the defensive, and not to pass his own frontiers, but to preserve a firm, resolute, and even menacing attitude. These things at last roused the languid suspicions of *Murat*, who appears to have now renewed his intercourse with *Bonaparte* at Elba, and to have been made acquainted with the measures successfully adopted for his escape. A remarkable conversation is reported to have taken place between *Murat* and a M. de J* * *, from whom the author of the work before us says he personally received the particulars. We must abbreviate the dialogue.

March 2. 1815, at five in the morning, a footman came to M. de J* * *, who possessed the entire confidence of *Murat*, and requested him to attend on the King without a moment's loss of time. On reaching the palace, he found *Joachim* already dressed, and prepared to mount his horse. With a smile on his countenance, he said to him, "You will not doubt my intelligence, however it may surprize you; — the Emperor is in France, or will be very soon: he left the Isle of Elba on the 26th or 27th of February, and I am in momentary expectation of the news of his arrival. I have just received this information by the private secretary of the Princess *Paulina*, whom she dispatched to the Queen, and
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who arrived only two hours ago. What would you do in my situation?" — "I would instantly dispatch messengers to the cabinets of London and Vienna," replied M. de J***, "to assure them that I should remain faithful to my engagements with them, uninfluenced by that event." — "What you advise me to do," said the King, "I have already done: I dispatched couriers to these courts an hour ago: but, in holding to my treaties with Austria, I have a right to expect great compensations. Whatever be the issue of affairs in France, you must immediately depart for Italy; and prolong your stay in those cities where you judge your presence to be most necessary. I was thinking of appointing you Counsellor of State before your departure: but, on reflection, it seems to me that such a nomination would not suit you: for, in travelling over Italy, wherever you go you will meet Austrians, and the title will be more burdensome than useful. On your return I shall be most happy to acknowledge your services. Depart, then, as early as possible: but as soon as you learn that the Emperor has reached Paris, go thither, and watch over my interests. I will immediately acquaint Austria with my projects: *if she does not oppose my views respecting Italy, I remain her ally; if she does thwart them, I shall be at the head of an army in a week, and open the campaign.*"

Murat's suspicions of Austria are here very clearly expressed: but whether they were well founded or not is another question, in the discussion of which we are not now called to engage. The news of *Bonaparte's* landing at Cannes, and of his unobstructed progress to Paris, spread over Europe with the rapidity of day-break; and it was necessary that *Murat* should immediately decide to join the coalition, to remain neuter, or to march against Austria. M. de J*** proceeded to Rome, where he had frequent interviews with *Lucien Bonaparte*; and the advices which they had both received as to the force and movement of the Austrian troops were communicated to *Murat* by a courier extraordinary, assuring him that he would be attacked on his own territory if he did not immediately conclude a treaty of alliance, or did not himself commence hostilities. While he was hesitating which course to pursue, he received a letter from *Joseph Bonaparte* at Paris, which announced the continued success of the Emperor; spoke of the amicable disposition of Austria towards France, and the expected return of Maria Louisa and her son; and urged him to join his forces to those of *Napoleon*, as the only security for his political existence and his throne. This letter fixed the wavering resolution of *Murat*. He began his measures by demanding of the

Count of *Bellegarde*, Governor-general of the kingdom of Italy, a passage for 80,000 troops, to march, as he said, against the usurper of the throne of the Bourbons: expecting thus to rouse the spirit of revolt against Austria which had already begun to display itself in different parts of Italy, to get possession of Piedmont, and open a communication with Marshal *Suchet*, who commanded the army of the Alps. This preposterous demand was, of course, rejected.

King *Joachim* left Naples on the 12th March, 1815, and arrived at his head-quarters at Ancona on the 15th. By most extraordinary efforts, he had collected an army of 70,000 men, well equipped, and in good condition. It was composed of six divisions; three of which were commanded by the King himself, comprehending 33,250 infantry and 2400 horse; and the other three were led by Generals *Livron*, *Pignatelli*, and *Pignatelli-Cerchiara*, comprehending 30,750 infantry, 1100 horse, and a reserve of 2500 men. Without any formal declaration of war, *Murat* marched with his three divisions on Catholica, where he found the first Austrian posts: the other divisions penetrated into Tuscany. General *Steffanini*, who commanded the Austrian forces *in the Marches*, was of inferior strength, and acted on the defensive: indeed, the troops which Austria had in Italy at this time were insufficient to cover Piedmont against France, to occupy the numerous fortresses and large towns of Italy, and at the same time successfully to oppose the Neapolitans. As reinforcements were coming up, Baron *Frimont*, who commanded the Austrian cavalry, judiciously confined himself to the protection of the citadel of Ferrara, and the *têtes-de-pont* on the Po, the Occhiobello, and the Borgo-forte. After some slight skirmishing of outposts, the Neapolitans took possession of Bologna, and advanced to the Panaro, which was defended by the Austrian Lieutenant-General *Bianchi*. The passage was obstinately disputed, but the Neapolitans had 16,000 men engaged, and they succeeded: this was on the 4th of April, and was the commencement of actual hostilities. A few days afterward, they were checked at Pistoja, and at Carpi, which was taken by the Austrians, April 11., as Ferrara likewise was on the 13th. The concentration of the Austrian forces which had been brought up was also effected before Bologna, on the 16th and 17th of April: from which time till the 3d of May no operations of much importance took place, otherwise than as they led to the decisive battle of Tolentino, in which the Neapolitan army was utterly routed and dispersed, near to Macerata, which fell into the hands of the Austrians. General

ral *Bianchi* followed up the victory by a pursuit of the flying foe within his own territories.

Tolentino is situated on the left bank of the Chienti, and at no great distance from the coast of the Adriatic. On the *evening* of the 4th, the Neapolitans still had possession of San Guisto and Civita Nuova; and it was of the utmost consequence that they should maintain this latter position, as the greatest part of the Neapolitan General *Carascosa's* division was yet on the left bank of the river. On the *night* of the 4th, the Neapolitan army was in full retreat, and soon the fury of the elements contributed to render its rout and dispersion complete: for at night-fall a dreadful storm rose on the sea-side: the waves, violently driven by the tempest, covered the road which runs along the coast, rushed into the mouths of the rivers, destroyed the bridges, and swelled the smallest rivulets to such a height that the passage of them could not be attempted but at the peril of life. Rain fell in torrents, darkness augmented the terror and the danger, and the passage of the Chienti became frightful. Entire ranks of soldiers, and a multitude of carriages with women, children, sick, and wounded, were washed into the sea by the fury of the waves. The shrieks of these miserable wretches resounded along the banks of the river, but in vain!: no one thought of any but himself; all the links of subordination and even of affection were burst asunder. The morning of the 5th broke indeed with something of diminished horror, but it exhibited in full view the utter disorganization into which the army had been thrown. Troops of different divisions were every where intermixed: each individual pursued his own route: orders for arrangements were either not given or not obeyed; and the passage of the Tenna, of the Leta, of the Aso, of the Monocchia, and of the Tesino, was effected only under the most appalling difficulties. On the evening of the 5th, the exhausted fugitives, after a painful march of almost twelve leagues, reposed themselves near San Benedetto; the road which they had passed from Porto de Fermo being covered with stragglers, and a great many having dispersed among the mountains. General *Carascosa*, who led the rear-guard of this shattered army, took his position near Fermo, on the right bank of the Tenna, with about 3000 men, two pieces of cannon, and a few hundred cavalry. On the morning of the 5th, the Austrians marched into Civita Nuova and San Guisto.

The Austrians also entered the Neapolitan territory on the 12th of May. The retreat and the pursuit continued as far

as the Volturno, which was reached on the 20th; and at this time the army of *Murat* may be said to have been annihilated. He had himself gone to Naples, and a military convention was settled at a house on the Volturno, called Casa Lanza, by which all the citadels, fortresses, arsenals, and ports were ceded to the Allies, to be restored to Ferdinand. This treaty was ratified by *Carascosa* on the one side, and by the British Minister at the court of Tuscany, and *Bianchi*, on the other. It had been preceded by another on the 13th between Prince *Cariati*, on the part of Caroline Queen of Naples, and Captain Campbell, of the Tremendous English man-of-war, then lying in the gulf of Naples, who had threatened the city with a bombardment. The Lazzaroni had broken out with great exasperation against the government of *Murat* after his defeat at Tolentino; and the Queen, being in much personal danger, now sought shelter under the protection of the British flag: she and her four children accordingly went on board the Tremendous, and were carried to Trieste, under a solemn engagement not to return either to France or Italy, except with the permission of the Austrian government.

Possession of Naples was given to the Austrians on the 22d. *Murat* had left the army and gone thither three days before; and having taken leave of his wife and children, disguised in a grey coat, and with his hair cut close, he left his palace on foot on the 21st, and, going on board a boat with two or three officers, he escaped to the island of Ischia. Here he remained three days in disguise; and walking on the sea-shore, on the fourth morning, he saw a small vessel under full sail, belonging to the Duke *de la Rocca Romana*, his grand equerry, who with his aide-de-camp the Marquis *Giuliano* came to join him. They immediately steered for France, and *Murat* landed at Cannes on the 29th of May, without an army, without money, without power: but, being no longer of any use to *Bonaparte*, he could not obtain from the implacable Emperor even permission to proceed to Paris.

From this time, *Murat's* adventures would adorn the wildest pages of romance. He remained a few days at Toulon, and then secreted himself in a country-house, not far from Lyons: but, as soon as the news had reached him of the destruction of the French army at Waterloo, he resolved to proceed unknown to Havre de Grace, and implore the protection of the Allies. With this view he freighted a vessel at Toulon, and his suite, consisting of those friends who came with him from Ischia, his baggage, and all the property that he had brought away, were put on board: but, by some fatal accident, the vessel

vessel set sail without him, leaving him in a state of such entire destitution that he had not even a change of linen. Alone, on the sea-shore, as he strained his aching eyes after the distant vessel, he saw a fishing-boat; this he hailed, and threw himself into it with the hope of rejoining his friends: but the wind freshening he was obliged to abandon the pursuit, and return to shore. In despair, hungry, and exhausted, he bent his steps as chance suggested; wandering about the woods and vineyards, unsheltered, and with scarcely any sustenance, for several days and nights; till at length, overcome with fatigue, he entered a farm, the master of which was absent. The old woman of the house, taking compassion on his situation, was preparing an omelet, when the farmer returned home: he had never seen the King, but he had remarked his portrait in the Marshal's saloon at the Tuileries, and on the Neapolitan coins. Impressed with the resemblance, and having likewise heard that he was somewhere lurking in the vicinity and that his place of concealment was the object of keen search, he immediately challenged his guest as being the royal fugitive in disguise: adding at the same time that, so far from taking advantage of the discovery which he had made, his house, person, and fortune were at the King's disposal, and should freely be risked for his protection. *Murat* remained here several days: but, having reason to suspect that he was discovered, he was obliged to quit this hospitable asylum for another. Here he was soon hunted out. On the night of the 13th of August, a detachment of 60 men, headed by one *Mocau*, the avidity of whose search was stimulated by a report that the King had an immense amount of gold and jewels about his person, silently and under favor of midnight-darkness approached his retreat. The house was situated on an eminence, and here again he was saved by the vigilance and fidelity of an old woman, who brought his provisions. As usual, she was keeping a sharp look-out while *Murat* slept, when she observed a light which the party had imprudently brought with them, moving along the hill that led to the house; and she instantly awakened the King, who was sleeping in his clothes with his fire-arms beside him. He snatched his pistols, slipped out at the back-door, and concealed himself within thirty yards of the house among the thick foliage of the vines. The troops examined every hole and corner of the house and garden; and *Murat* frequently heard them pass and repass him, venting their disappointment, and expressing their murderous hope that they might yet have the pleasure of cutting him to pieces and dividing his plunder.

As this sort of life was intolerable, he now resolved to escape to Corsica, and departed with three faithful friends in an open boat on the 22d of August: on the 24th they were overtaken by a storm which threatened their destruction; and on the following day they hailed a Corsican packet-boat, which they had scarcely boarded when they saw their own frail vessel sink to the bottom. Arrived at Bastia, he immediately proceeded to the village of Viscovato; where the mayor, having received no instructions to the contrary, allowed him to reside. The commandant of Bastia, however, proclaimed him to be an enemy to the King of France, and required his surrender at the head of a strong detachment of soldiers: but, to his surprize, he found *Murat* defended by 600 men in arms, to whom 200 veterans, chiefly officers who had formerly served under him, soon joined themselves. This circumstance contributed to the fatal delusion which he entertained, that, notwithstanding his late disasters, he was adored by the Neapolitans; and he quitted Bastia, went to Ajaccio, and purchased five small vessels, with an abundance of arms and ammunition. While making these insane preparations for war, his old acquaintance and aide-de-camp, Captain *Macerone*, landed in Corsica; stating that he was charged with a mission on the part of Austria, and authorized by the Emperor to offer *Murat* an asylum in his dominions, provided that he would take the title of the Count of *Lipona*, as his wife had already taken that of the Countess. He was at liberty to choose for his residence any town in Bohemia, Moravia, or Lower Austria: but he was to engage his word of honor not to quit the Austrian states without express permission, and to live in obedience to the laws. This note was given at Paris, September 1st, 1815, and signed on the part of the Emperor by Prince *Metternich*. After having contemplated the offer, *Murat* replied, "That it had come too late: that his destiny was cast: that he had waited in the midst of peril and distress, during three months, for the decision of the Allies; and that he had now resolved, by force of arms, to re-conquer his kingdom or perish in the attempt." On graver reflection, however, he acquiesced in the proposals, and in consequence received an Austrian passport for Trieste, that he might rejoin his late Queen, now the Countess of *Lipona*. Weakly vacillating, however, and trusting to his good fortune, he returned to the mad resolution which he had just before abandoned.

On the night of the 29th September, he accordingly embarked with 200 armed men and about 30 officers in six gondolas,

dolas, with the design of landing at Salerno, about ten leagues from Naples : but a tempest dispersed the little fleet, and exposed him to the danger of being captured by some Barbary corsairs which were cruising in those parts. However, on the 6th of October, he landed with General *Francichetti*, one colonel, and about 150 men, a very short distance from Pizzo, at the mouth of the gulf of St. Euphemia, some 50 leagues from Naples. He was received with acclamations, and encouraged to proceed to Pizzo, many of the inhabitants saluting him as King, and offering to share his fortunes. The Podesta of Pizzo he knew to be one of his most zealous adherents ; and, as he was absent when *Murat* landed, the latter had sent to inform him of his arrival. In the mean time, marching with his little band on Monteleone, he met a colonel of gendarmerie, named *Trenta Capelli*, who was going to Pizzo. Him *Murat* saluted, and invited to join his standard : but the officer respectfully refused the invitation, and, pointing to a town with his finger, said, “ That he knew no other sovereign than him whose flag was flying on that castle.” *Murat* committed the unaccountable blunder of suffering this officer to proceed on his route : for no sooner had the Colonel reached Pizzo, which *Murat* had just left, then he assembled a numerous party of peasantry, put himself at the head of it, and marched in pursuit of the invader. The latter, seeing a body of men coming up to him, thought that it was his friend the Podesta whom he expected with a reinforcement to join him before he reached Monteleone, and accordingly prepared to receive him. How great was his consternation and dismay, when a shout of “ *Viva il Re Gioachimo!*” from his own party was answered by a discharge of musketry, which killed some and wounded others of them. At first he put himself on the defensive, but, finding that he was on the point of being surrounded, he endeavoured to regain the vessel from which he had landed : as however it was anchored too distant from the shore, he threw himself with about a dozen of his followers into a small boat, by means of which he hoped to reach the other in safety. This boat likewise was at anchor, and the fisherman to whom it belonged, fearing the loss of his property, seized the helm, while one of his comrades endeavored to secure the person of *Murat*. *Trenta Capelli*’s detachment, having now come up, seized their unhappy prisoner, and conducted him without delay to the Governor of Monteleone, General *Munziant*e, who shut him up in the citadel. *Murat* now shewed his Austrian passport for Trieste, and unavailingly demanded his liberation. The intelligence of his capture was transmit-

ted by telegraph to Naples, and in two hours the military commandant at Pizzo received, by the same means, an order to summon a court-martial instantly for the trial of the prisoner. On the 13th, he was brought before a council of war; — the proceeding was very short; — he was condemned to death, and shot on the same day at four o'clock, in the trenches of the citadel.

Thus perished *Joachim Murat*, an intrepid soldier and a skilful General: but the crown of Naples was to him a crown of poppies, and its sceptre a torpedo: the decision of his character was lost, its vigour extinguished, its genius quenched. He was a Frenchman by birth, and a Frenchman also in his heart: but, when he became King of Naples, if the interest of his adopted country interfered with the interest of that which merely gave him birth, his line of duty was palpable and not to be mistaken. When Austria, united with the great powers of Europe, was marching on France, it was impossible for the King of Naples — for *Murat* at least — to be neuter: their failure or their success was equally his destruction: whichever party prevailed, it would dethrone him for his neutrality. He made his election reluctantly, not heartily, and joined the Allies. The momentary success of *Bonaparte* unsettled him: his old connections, feelings, and friendships revived: neither party trusted him: he hesitated, temporized, and was destroyed. There was something base and unmanly in presenting the Austrian passport at *Monteleone* for his liberation, after he had obtained that passport surreptitiously, under false pretences, and had broken the terms on which it had been granted by a mad appeal to arms against the power which gave it; and his life was the forfeit of his folly.

Although the work, from which we have collected materials for the greater part of this article, appears to have been written by some person connected with the Austrian army, we do not perceive that it manifests more partiality than we should expect, and for which we should make allowance under such circumstances. Maps, coarsely lithographed, are appended to the volumes, and enable the reader to witness the operations of both the armies with safety in his arm-chair by the fire-side.

ART. V. *Recherches Géographiques sur l'Intérieur de l'Afrique Septentrionale, &c.; i. e. Geographical Inquiries respecting the Interior of Northern Africa; comprizing a History of Travels undertaken or executed, down to the present Time, in order to penetrate to the Interior of Soudan; an Exposition of the Geographical Systems which have been formed relative to that Country; an Analysis of various Arab Itineraries to determine the Position of Timbuctoo, and an Examination of the Knowledge of the Antients concerning the Interior of Africa. Followed by an Appendix, containing various Itineraries translated from the Arabic by the Baron *Silvestre de Sacy* and *M. de la Porte*; and several other Relations or Itineraries also translated from the Arabic, or Extracts from the most recent Travels. With a Chart. By C. A. WALCKENAER, Member of the Institute. 8vo. pp. 540. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 14s.*

THE curiosity of the French nation has now been roused, though not so early as our own, yet perhaps not less powerfully, towards the *terræ incognitæ* of Africa: but their own travellers in those regions have been few, if we compare them with ours; and as our language, though now much studied abroad, is yet far from being universally understood among the literary circle of Paris, so that our books have not a pervading circulation there, the French people must still, with a few exceptions, be considered as much more in the infancy of their knowledge of African discovery than the reading part of the English community. In proof of their increasing curiosity, however, we find that many of the journals of our travellers have been translated; that the society of such of our countrymen as are able to throw light on this interesting subject is greatly in request among our neighbours; and that they are now beginning, as we perceive especially in the work before us, to reduce into methodical order, in their own language, the information which has been already obtained, as a sort of basis and resting place on which the engine of discovery may be fixed, when they call on their own citizens to exert its powers.

Arabic scholars in France have not, in the mean time, been idle in translating and digesting such itineraries as have been transmitted by European consuls on African stations, or have been obtained through other means; and those of the publications of our own travellers, which have been circulated abroad, have not been merely read as sources of amusement, but have been rather closely examined and criticized by the learned individuals who are engaged in these researches. Mr. Murray's valuable work, comprizing the labours of Dr.

Leyden, has been very lately published in French ; and it will not only be highly useful abroad, as affording a summary of accounts which have not fallen under the general view there, but it may also be expected rather to sharpen than satiate the appetite for the fuller details afforded by the travellers themselves.

The present compilation by M. WALCKENAER partakes much, in some of its parts at least, of the nature of Mr. Murray's volumes : while in others it forms a very useful appendix to them. Commencing with a digest of discoveries in one portion of Africa, it proceeds to apply them to the purpose of rectifying the geographical delineations of that region ; and it is as difficult a task to blot out errors, and get rid of old names and divisions of territory, which exist only in imagination, as to compare accounts of the situation of places, and by such comparison to dispose them afterward according to the most approved testimony. Including the matter which has been thrown into an appendix, the book may be said to consist of five parts. In the first, the author takes a survey of our knowledge of the interior of north-western Africa, from the settlement of the Mohammedans there to the present time ; paying a close attention to such accounts as afford routes to Timbuctoo, or describe that place. In the second, he examines the use hitherto made of these relations, and the degree of care with which information thus acquired has been at different times applied to the science of geography. We have accordingly a comparison of maps of different dates, and formed consequently under circumstances admitting of more or less accordance with truth. In this as in the preceding division, Timbuctoo forms the prominent object of inquiry, because a comparison of the routes assigned for an approach to it offers the only means of ascertaining its real position. The third portion is employed on a less extensive field, purporting to give a geographical analysis of three manuscript itineraries ; — the first describes a route from Tripoli to Timbuctoo by an Arab Sheyk named Hagg-kassem, who had acted as guide to different caravans : which has been translated into French by M. *de la Porte* : — the second MS., derived from the same authority, purports to describe a route from Tripoli to Cachenah ; and the third also commences from Tripoli and ends at Timbuctoo, but by a different line from the first, as it passes by the way of Haoussa. This last was translated by M. *de Sacy*. The fourth division of the work before us contains the translations of these itineraries themselves, together with another performed in 1787 from Fez to Tafilet, which is necessarily, therefore, of minor importance.

importance. Lastly, a number of documents, from which citations have been made in previous parts of the undertaking, are thrown together at the end.

The chart attached is very unpresuming. It is founded on the principle laid down in the second division, and therefore represents the routes and distances to Timbuctoo, &c. as drawn from different authorities; with some other notices of the country bordering on the Niger. Our readers will consequently remark that Mr. Bowdich's new chart, in his late *Essay on the Geography of North-western Africa*, (see our last Appendix,) which is formed on a very similar plan, affords almost a regular continuation to the one now before us; except, indeed, in those countries which lie very far to the west. In Mr. Bowdich's chart, the different lines proposed for the Niger, while flowing from west to east, may be generally said to form the northern boundary, while to the south it extends to the line. The southern boundary of M. WALCKENAER's chart therefore touches the northern one of that of Mr. B.; so that the two, taken together, with some not very important omissions in their connection, present a continuous chart of N. W. Africa from the Mediterranean to the line, founded on itineraries procured partly from Moorish traders and partly from European travellers. Some similarity also necessarily prevails between Mr. Bowdich's *Essay* and the present more detailed work. The former is a kind of explanatory commentary on the chart which accompanies it; — the latter, a history of discovery under particular limitations, subsequently applied to illustrate geography in the manner which we have already stated.

In his first division, M. WALCKENAER has not gone back to the Greek historians, or their successors; and, indeed, however correct the short notices of Herodotus seem to be, they can be of no great use in settling the points here more immediately under discussion. His history of discovery then embraces four æras; — 1. From the Mohammedan invasion of Africa, which extended itself along the shores of the Mediterranean, in the latter end of the first century from the Hegira, or the seventh century with us, to the fall of the Moorish empire in Spain. 2. From that period to the publication of the celebrated work of Leo Africanus, A. D. 1525. 3. From this last epoch, which is by no means unimportant as it concerns this subject, to the formation of the African Association in 1788; and 4. From the commencement of the labours of this useful Institution to the present times.

A slight sketch of the two former of these æras may not be uninteresting: but the two latter, as they depend essentially

on the accounts of English travellers who have before passed under our review, either separately or in works compiled from different authorities, may be as well passed over for the present.

The introduction of the camel into Africa, by the Arabs, was to that quarter of the globe what the mariner's compass has been to the civilized world. We cannot compare results, indeed, but we may compare the acquisition of the means of prosecuting discovery adapted for use on different elements. No very precise time, we imagine, can be stated from which we may date the earliest expeditions performed by this people over these "*mers de sable*;" but the first, as the present author says, were through Fezzan and by Agadeg, as the greater number of oases were found in that direction, and possibly were more extensive and numerous than they are in the present times, because the increase of the Desert in some parts at least is now a matter of notoriety. The next expeditions of which we read, by a different route, after the modern empire of Morocco had become subject to the califfs, were nearer to the western extremity of that continent, by Suz, Darah, and Tafilet; and, according to Leo Africanus, it was about the end of the tenth century with us when the Mohammedan traders, colonists, and missionaries first established their power and their faith in the countries south of the Sahara. The unsettled state of northern Africa subsequently rendered these emigrations more frequent; and it is probable that, before the close of the twelfth century of our æra, the Mohammedan power was widely extended on the banks of the Niger and the neighbouring countries, partly over a population formed of their own fellow-settlers, and partly over the original Negroes, some of whom were converted to their faith. The city of Timbuctoo is supposed, on the authority of Leo Africanus and others whose accounts he knew, to have been founded very early in the thirteenth century, and to have become then the capital of a very considerable Mohammedan state; and its latitude and longitude are to this day the most interesting subjects of inquiry in the geography of interior Africa, as are the routes by which it may be approached. The rise and decline of other states, more or less distant from this place as a centre, have been likewise handed to us by similar detached historical notices: but it is not perhaps possible now to ascertain to what degrees of credibility they are intitled.

The work of the celebrated Arab geographer Edrisi became known in Europe before the close of the twelfth century; and the "thirst of gold," acting probably with more power than either curiosity or ambition, inflamed Christian princes with

the desire of becoming participators in the riches which were said to flow from the Arab governments and dependencies south of the Desert: more especially from *Wangara*, a name now associated with the idea of a plentiful supply of the most precious metal. We have no notices, however, (at least we know of none,) of any direct intercourse with these states from Christian Europe before a much later period. The name of Timbuctoo is said first to have appeared on a chart about the middle of the fourteenth century, when so rude was the science that the extent of the Desert was abridged to nothing, and this city itself was placed near the south-eastern extremity of the modern empire of Morocco; on the confines of which was extended what we now call Soudan, then more generally known as Guinea, — a name which we have subsequently misapplied, and attached to that district of Africa exclusively on the borders of the Atlantic which is now generally so called.

It was about this same period that the travels of Mohammed-Ibn-Batouta, a native of Tangiers, who journeyed in the earlier parts of his life to the most extreme countries of the East, and after his return from those regions to the interior of Africa, were written by him in the Arabic language. They are said now by some to be only partially extant. *Burckhardt* for a long time suspected that these travels were spurious, and that their author (whoever he might be) had never visited the scenes which he described: but a more careful examination of them subsequently caused him to embrace a totally contrary opinion. He states, likewise, that he knows that a copy of those travels still exists at Cairo, but that he never saw more than the abridgments, of which there are two in Arabic. The sketch given by Mr. *Burckhardt* justifies his observation, that Ibn Batouta is probably “the greatest known traveller of any age, as far at least as relates to the quantity of ground travelled over.” * M. WALCKENAER has analyzed the account of this very remarkable person, briefly, but with care; and his observations are very important, because he is the first traveller in the interior of Africa (which he explored in two directions, from north to south, and from the east again to the north-west,) whose journal has descended to us, and a very general coincidence prevails between his reports and those of modern investigators. It may be observed that Ibn Batouta places Timbuctoo on the Nile, or near it, (that is, the Niger or Nile

* See *Burckhardt's Travels*, Appendix iii. p. 534., where a general sketch of these peregrinations, with some account of their author, will be found. He wrote in the year 755 of the Hegira. A. D. 1354.

of the Negroes,) the course of which he describes; and ultimately, after it has watered Dongola, the capital of Nubia, he brings it into the Egyptian Nile at a point near to the second cataract. It appears from this author that the commerce of the interior of Africa, as far at least as it related to all countries bordering on the Great Desert, was far more flourishing in the fourteenth century than we have any reason to suppose it to be now; and that Mohammedanism was probably much more widely spread in that direction. The discoveries of the Portuguese in the latter half of the fifteenth century, after they had formed establishments on the western coast of Africa, were not unimportant, but the intelligence obtained by them relative to the interior was acquired from the intermediate channel of the traders with whom they dealt; which, although it confirms the notions derived from an earlier source, does not much add to the extent of them.

In the year 1550 appeared, for the first time, the researches of the traveller who, according to the fashion of latinizing modern names, or assuming Latin denominations, styled himself Leo Africanus. His manuscript had been completed, and translated into Italian by himself, more than twenty years before: but it seems to have been either lost or unknown, until it saw the light again in the above year in the collection of *Ramusio*, printed at Venice, at the Junta press, intitled, "*Itinerario de varii rinomati Viaggiatori nelle parti dell' Africa, Asia, ed America.*" Leo was born in Spain, at Grenada, and retired into Africa towards the time of the capture of that city. He died about 1526, having abjured the faith of Mohammed and embraced Christianity, under the protection of Leo X. It was at this period that a great revolution took place in the political state of Soudan; and, by the revolt of a Negro who had a high military command, the Moorish power was not only shaken off from many of these countries, but a Negro dynasty was established at Timbuctoo, the first king of which line was reigning when Leo Africanus was there in 1500. It has been, we believe, the opinion of many, founded on the different accounts of Moorish traders, that the Negroes have retained the sovereignty of these countries ever since, although the religion of the Koran has continued in some of them to be predominant; and we apprehend that no doubt exists on this point at present. The work of Marmol, who was also a Moor of Grenada, and only a few years later than Leo, does not add much (it is said) to the descriptions of his predecessor. It was first sent to the press in 1573, and in the course of a century appeared in three other European languages, besides the original Spanish. The great treatise on the Geography of
Africa,

Africa, by Livio Sanuto, a Venetian, succeeded that of Marmol very rapidly, and indeed was published before the former was altogether completed. It is chiefly drawn, says M. WALCKENAER, as Marmol drew also, from Leo Africanus, who is frequently cited: but it presents several new ideas, and the maps were designed by the author himself. Sanuto is said to have been a man of great industry and ambition, aspiring to the honor of being considered as the Ptolemy of his age; and his projects in geography were certainly on a scale that might intitle him to expect the compensation of a name, had he lived to fulfil them. Purchas styles him "one of the exactest dividers of Africa."

This succession of publications forms an æra in the knowledge of Africa, beyond which we do not propose to pass on the present occasion. The curiosity of the more improved nations of Europe was now entirely awakened, and the commencement of the seventeenth century was a period at which it was not likely to be allowed to slumber again. From the time when the African Company was chartered by Elizabeth, in 1588, to the establishment of the African Association in 1788, several attempts were made by Europeans to penetrate to Timbuctoo, and more especially by the English: but it is a question whether any one of them ever accomplished his purpose. It is supposed that *Paul Imbert*, a Frenchman, about the year 1670, did actually visit that city more than once, as a slave in his master's suite: but it does not appear that any relation written by him is extant, his remarks being given at second-hand by a person named *Charant*, who published them as received from him. He reckoned the distance from the city of Morocco to that of Timbuctoo at four hundred leagues, and the time then required by caravans in traversing it at two months. It may therefore generally be stated, with the foregoing probable exception, that during this period the travellers, setting out from different points, but usually from the Senegal and Gambia, advanced a certain way into the interior, always falling very far short of the object of their researches; and, consequently, that all notices which they give of countries more in the interior were derived from Moorish traders, who are not always very disinterested in their reports, which must be taken, therefore, at a *quantum valeant*. An account of some of these travellers will be found in our review of Mr. Murray's work *, and all of them in that publication itself.

* See Rev. for March, 1821.

From 1788 to the present time, the number of persons who have sacrificed all the comforts of life, and risked the loss of it, most of them fatally, with the hope of penetrating to Timbuctoo, is very considerable indeed. The majority, by far, and the more celebrated adventurers, have been Englishmen, from the first attempt made by Mr. Ledyard, in 1788, to the death of Mr. Ritchie, in 1819; comprehending about fifteen expeditions performed by our countrymen, from different points, with the view of reaching the kingdoms situated on the Niger: out of all which we know only of four who have returned, and no one has been able fully to effect his object. If Adams, the American sailor, really did visit Timbuctoo involuntarily, which we have never seen sufficient reason to disbelieve, he is the first Christian on record (excepting probably *Imbert*) of whom so much can be said; but for any beneficial purposes regarding science he might as well have remained at home. In this last period, therefore, we can say no more than that a much greater impression has been made on the outworks: the Niger has at least been seen by Europeans; its course has been re-ascertained; and a very great increase indeed has been given to the mass of details procured from traders and natives, together with an enlarged knowledge of the manners and dispositions of some of the Soudan nations. These materials afford the means of comparisons, and these comparisons lead us to probable truths; beyond which point we have not yet advanced.

We now turn to the second general division of M. WALCKENAER's volume. Modern geography may date its origin from the year 1508, when appeared the first chart of the known world, as founded on modern discoveries at that time made. The first engraving of charts, indeed, was thirty years earlier, but was confined to copying the MS. delineations in the Greek and Latin editions of Ptolemy; and, although a few of these were so far improved as to give some new notices of Europe, the rest of the world was as imperfectly and ignorantly delineated as ever. *John Ruysch* is rescued from oblivion by M. WALCKENAER, as the author of "*Universalior cogniti orbis tabula ex recentibus confecta observationibus*;" and now, for the first time, Africa was allowed its just dimensions, it having been previously always cut short in a line beginning from Cape Bajador at the west, and consequently terminating at least five-and-twenty degrees north of the line. As Arab travellers had brought intelligence of the existence of new countries beyond the Desert, the earlier geographers had inserted the names of such places in their designs; but, as they had previously established, according to

Ptolemy, an ultimatum for Africa, whatever might be its contents, all such places were necessarily marked down immediately to the south of Atlas, or, if farther to the east, in the same line, because otherwise they could have had *no* place. When Africa had become thus extended in the sixteenth century to the geographer, he was, if possible, still more at a loss how to dispose of his names of countries and cities: the knowledge of their existence had been drawn from Arabs, who usually calculated by journies, and other unscientific means; and, as the improved mode of Ptolemy had now come into use, viz. that of reckoning from the equator and a meridian, it was very difficult, in a map founded on the latter principle, to place the discoveries which were arranged by so very fallacious a mode as the former. Editions of Ptolemy continued, for some years, to be the usual mode of publishing charts of the earth; and the present author has noticed those of *John Scott*, Strasburg, 1520, who left the interior of Africa nearly a blank; — of *Phrisius*, *ibid.* 1522; — and of others, up to the last by *Servetus* in 1541. In all of these, more or less of the details were taken from the Arab geographers: but, as far as the interior was concerned, the existence of places, and not their situation, may be deemed the only additions of any value. When maps began, at the end of the sixteenth century, to be engraved separately for distinct countries, the illustrations of Ptolemy ceased to be a matter in which geographers farther concerned themselves; and, although he had been a wonderful schoolmaster to the science, it was high time that it should now be set free from his trammels, and acquire an independent character.

The first map of Africa, singly, which the present author appears to have seen, accompanies the work of *Leo Africanus*, in the collection of *Ramusio*, edit. 1550; and he observes that it is the more worthy of notice, because in it will be found nearly all the errors which were perpetuated down to the publication of *Delisle* in 1720. It was, indeed, in some of its parts, a marvellous compilation; and, by combining rather than comparing authorities, it exhibited an arrangement of rivers and lakes on its surface on a plan altogether different from any that it has usually pleased nature to adopt. There were three distinct classes of authority: — the Arab geographers, of whom we consider *Edrisi* as the father; — the system of *Leo Africanus*; — and the Portuguese discoveries on the coasts. First, then, the Nile had several sources in the mountains of the Moon; which, sending their waters in the same direction, caused as many streams subsequently to unite in a large lake. From this lake the Nile proper took its course to the north, and the
Niger,

Niger, or Nile of the Negroes, to the west; which latter, having passed through another lake, threw itself into *la Mer ténébreuse*, wherever that may be,—probably the Atlantic ocean. Edrisi also admitted the existence of another river, which fell into the Niger, but in what direction M. WALCKENAER does not state. The Niger, according to him, therefore, flowed from east to west.

Leo Africanus noticed only one river, and it is remarkable that he considered it as running in the same direction which Edrisi had given to it. He describes it as issuing from a lake in eastern Africa, flowing to the west, and subsequently falling into the sea. He also speaks of an idea that the Nile and the Niger had a communication, the former being said to supply in a great measure the lake from which the latter issues. Such, we know, was for a long time supposed to be the course of the Negro river; and the Portuguese, and subsequently other Europeans, conjectured that it emptied itself into the Atlantic ocean by the rivers Senegal and Gambia, which were in fact nothing else than the mouths of the Niger forming a vast delta. The map in *Ramusio*, then, was constructed on all these ideas together. There was one vast lake at 60° east longitude and 5° south latitude from Cape Verd, from which flow three rivers; the Nile, to the north,—the Cuama, to the east,—and the Zaire, to the west: the course of the second, as it falls into the Mozambique channel, being of considerable extent. Near to this lake was a smaller, from which issued the Niger, first flowing to the N. W., subsequently to the west, and reaching the sea through the Gambia, Rio Grande, and other rivers, its supposed mouths. Timbuctoo was made to stand in 16° north latitude, nearly corresponding with modern notions, but almost five hundred miles more to the west than it is now conceived to be. The Senegal being then considered as a branch of the Niger, Timbuctoo was placed near the junction; which seems to us to agree very well with the ideas formed from the account of Adams, and some other persons, that the city is situated not on the Niger, but on a tributary river flowing south to join it, and near the junction: such river, of course, having nothing in common with the Senegal. The names of Negro states were arranged along the banks of the great Soudan river, the majority of them being to the north, and all being placed on the authorities above mentioned.

Such was the chart of Africa, as it relates to the more doubtful parts, in 1550, and we may say “*hodièrque manent vestigia*” of it in very modern maps;—the taste for designing lakes in the interior of Africa has been a long time in going out of fashion.

The Atlas of *Ortelius*, intitled "*Thesaurus orbis terrarum*," appeared in 1570, and here modern geography is allowed to walk alone without its elder brother. Of Africa, however, it gave little that was new: but subsequent editions of this Atlas presented the singular sight of one scheme of interior Africa in the general map of the world, and another in the map bearing the specific name of that quarter of the globe. The general map makes the Nile and the Niger quite distinct: but the great Wangara lake, to which the modesty of modern geographers seldom assigns definite bounds, appeared as the source from which the Niger flowed; and that river was traced much in the line in which we now usually see it, but made to enter the Atlantic as in the former case. In *Ortelius's* general map, also, Timbuctoo obtained an advantageous shove to the east, which in the particular map it had not. — The next chart which varied considerably from the above was that of *Livio Sanuto*, in 1588: but we confess that we have become so utterly puzzled by his system, as detailed for us by M. WALCKENAER, that we have no hope of being able to put it on paper: nor have we been more successful in the attempt to comprehend the author's observations on it. His Niger, likewise, it seems, made a delta, for this appears to have been considered as indispensable in an African river; the north line of which was formed by the Rio Grande, and the southern by a river usually expressed on a small scale in our maps, the Sestro or Sesteri. This is very intelligible, though, as we know, very false: but we are surprised to read in M. WALCKENAER that the ideas of *Livio Sanuto*, including of course what we have cited, have, in many points a conformity with the observations of modern travellers, especially Mungo Park and Mr. Bowdich. It certainly appears to us that, the nearer the source of the Niger may be proved to be to either of the rivers, Mesurada or Cestos, the less is the probability that it can reach the sea by them, because the course which it takes is altogether different: but either we or our French guide have fallen into some confusion here, from which we cannot escape. It has struck us, however, as remarkable in more than one place, that, where M. WALCKENAER has spoken of the tracing of the Niger on any old map as similar to the line on which it is traced in modern maps, he has no where added (as far as we have observed) the necessary exception of the difference of the course. The mere line on paper may run between the same parallels of latitude, but the similarity is of very little importance if in the one case the course of the river is supposed to

be altogether contrary from that which is given to it in the other.

Nothing more was done for African geography until *Delisle* published his improved maps, (his earlier attempts being of little value,) in 1720—1722; which remained for thirty years the only work of authority on the subject, and constituted the source from which all others were either confessedly or secretly drawn during that period. The similarity of many names of countries and waters in the interior, which were first introduced into African charts by *Delisle*, (and which correspond very closely with many that Mr. Bowdich procured from different informants, when he was at Coomassie in Ashantee,) indisputably proves that *Delisle* must have laid in a store of materials for his work from sources not previously known, and have been in communication with persons who were anxious to procure new lights on this subject. The chief improvement introduced by this map, into the part of Africa with which we have been engaged, was the alteration of the course of the Niger; disencumbering it from its deltas and communications with other rivers, and giving its course first to the N. E., and subsequently to the east, until he loses it in the lake of Bournou, about 12° west of the nearest branch of the Nile, but without communication with it. Timbuctoo is placed by him under the meridian of Paris, and in 15° north latitude. This agrees very nearly with our common modern maps: but we observe in the new chart of M. WALCKENAER, that, on the strength of itineraries, &c. he sets it down about 3° more to the west, or nearly under the meridian of Greenwich, and about as much farther to the north.

D'Anville appears to have been too much convinced of the unstable foundations on which most of the dispositions of countries in the interior rested, to give them the sanction of his name by introducing them in his charts. These are too generally known to need any description here; and his map of Africa, as well as many others, has undergone very few alterations: indeed, till the labours of Major Rennell commenced, in digesting the information obtained by the African Association, and in prosecuting his own researches in the same line, we do not know nor does the present author speak of any memorable deviations. The improved map of Major Rennell, in 1802, includes the discoveries of Park, Hornemann, and Brown; and the site of Timbuctoo, which had been varied in his former chart, is replaced nearly at the point where it was left by *Delisle*.

In drawing this brief and hasty sketch of the improvements
in

in African geography, as they are to be found in engraved maps, we have almost entirely followed M. WALCKENAER's notices; simplifying them by the omission of all parts of Africa not connected with the main question of his work; and more particularly by wholly leaving out the different positions and relative distances assigned at periods more and less remote to the Negro states, of which the names at least, with a few changes of letters, have undergone much less alteration than their sites. We must refer such of our readers as are interested in the subject to M. WALCKENAER's analysis of the itineraries, of which we have apprized them in the earlier pages of this article: but, previously, it would be advisable for them to refresh their memory with Major Rennell's observations on the travelling pace of the camel in caravans, which the French author has taken as some of the data for his subsequent argument, and to which he affords ample references. It is needless to observe how essentially all geographical improvements, that are to be deduced from itineraries, where the calculation is kept by the journies of each day, depend on our entertaining correct notions on this point. As to the general credibility of the accounts given by Moorish traders, it is certainly very difficult for us to speak: but experience seems indeed to have proved one thing, that we have no other resource. If we do not know our road, we must inquire for it of those who do; and the chances are that, even if they have interested reasons for deceiving us, such motives will not operate equally on all; or, if they did, such deceit proceeding from various quarters will never be consistent with itself, and falsehood may be detected by comparison, though truth cannot always be elicited. The eagerness with which all our agents in the African states and dependencies, who have an inquisitive mind, avail themselves of opportunities to add to their knowledge of the interior by inquiry, proves at least that, though they do not probably receive the answers without suspicion, they do not conceive that so organized a system of false intelligence exists as to render such inquiries useless. With regard to ourselves, we are far from either rejecting or approving *en masse*. We should deem it little short of folly for a traveller, who had studied all the countries and the reputed distances from place to place that were procured by Mr. Bowdich at Coomassie, and subsequently put into some order by him, to think that he had any thing worthy to be called a guide, or to attempt any route with a dependance on that information solely:—but we conceive it to be highly advantageous that such a register of replies to geographical

queries, as that to which we allude, should be kept; since, by little and little, every stage of it may be either established by great concurrent testimony, or excluded as it may prove unfounded, till at last the European will have a clue through the labyrinth. It strikes us that the itineraries of caravans, such as those which are published by M. WALCKENAER, although necessarily liable to error, especially as to the direction of places, are not to be treated with suspicion of bad faith: for, if it can be proved that these itineraries, in our modern phrase, were “never intended for publication,” but were really the work of a person engaged in merchandise for his own convenience, (and doubtless such papers might sometimes be procured where these facts were certain,) we have to contend against error only and not ingenuity; and though the error might be so great as to render it impossible to map a country from that sort of itinerary, why should it prevent those from reaching the object of their research who might subsequently arrange these matters more scientifically?

It seems rather generally allowed, now, that the most practicable way of penetrating to the countries of Soudan must be from the north; and, if so, this can hardly be done but in company with the caravans: in some directions, necessarily not. A Moorish informant of Mr. Ritchie placed the distance from Tripoli to Timbuctoo at eighty days; agreeing with the first itinerary in the present volume from the same point to the same with such exactness, that the difference is only one day, the route being identical. Here are strong grounds for confidence; — and a few more such coincidences, not in distances only but in other matters of useful information for the traveller, will contribute very much to open the way. So many valuable lives have been already sacrificed in this service, that we are inclined to wish that future attempts by Europeans may be postponed till they can see their path before them with a little more certainty; and the time will not be lost, even with a view to African discovery, if it be sedulously employed in procuring information from the Moors, and ascertaining, with the utmost possible attention, the character of the individuals by whom it may be given.

ART. VI. *Voyage aux Alpes Maritimes, &c.; i. e.* Travels in the Maritime Alps ; or the Natural, Agricultural, Civil, and Medical History of the Country of Nice, and the conterminous Districts : augmented with Notes, illustrative of their Comparison with other Countries. By FR. EM. FODERÉ, Professor of Forensic and Epidemical Medicine to the Faculty of Strasburgh, Physician of the Royal College of that City, Associate of the Royal Academy of Medicine of France, of that of Madrid, &c. &c., and formerly Professor and Member of the Board of Public Instruction, of the Committee of Health, and of that of Agriculture at Nice. 8vo. 2 Vols. About 400 Pages in each. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 15s. sewed.

ATTENTIVE and discriminate reviews of particular portions of our habitable planet are not merely subservient to the gratification of vague and restless curiosity, but they enter into the elements of our most valuable speculations on the present and the future condition of our race. In most cases, too, they may be expected to embrace certain local or special points of discussion, which are not devoid of strong attraction to particular classes of readers. The title of the work which we have just announced involves at once general considerations both of a physical and moral complexion, and observations more appropriate to the range of territory described. The author, who is advantageously known on the Continent by his treatise on Medical Jurisprudence, and by various contributions to the Dictionary of Medical Sciences, here sustains throughout the character of an intelligent, zealous, and philanthropic traveller ; and, while his statements furnish the materials of wide and important reflection, they likewise present useful suggestions to those whom reduced health, or other circumstances, may prompt to visit the south of Europe.

The book is inscribed, in a few tender and pathetic sentences, and in language “with which a stranger intermeddleth not,” to *Josephine* — not the *ci-devant* partner of *Napoleon*, but the humble and heroic companion of the author’s misfortunes ; who, alas ! was not permitted to share his prosperity. About 20 years ago, Dr. FODERÉ appears to have been commissioned by the French government to prepare a statistical report of the Maritime Alps ; which would long since have been consigned to the press, had he consented to transfer the credit of the execution to another. ‘ But the public,’ he tells us, ‘ have lost nothing by the delay. Since that period, I have seen and studied much ; and I have been enabled, by curtailings those parts of my work which had become superfluous, to render it useful and agreeable to men of every country ;

country; the only recompense which I presume to solicit.' In the midst of the difficulties and dangers attendant on the performance of his ill-requited engagements, the Doctor was kindly aided in his researches by some eminent men of letters, naturalists, and lawyers: but we are somewhat staggered at the intimation that he is acquainted with the writings of his own pupil and fellow-labourer, *Rizzo*, only by their titles; for no person who undertakes to elucidate the natural history of the country in question, or to treat of the culture of the olive or the orange tree, should overlook such respectable sources of information. We may moreover infer, from a few incidental passages, that Dr. F. maintained no regular correspondence with his Alpine friends, after he quitted their territory; and that, consequently, he has been very imperfectly apprized of the tenor of public occurrences since 1803, the period at which we presume his report to have been concluded: so that, if we would appreciate his pretensions to accuracy, we should carry our recollections back to the state of the Maritime Alps under the French *regime*. His performance, though less strictly methodical than we could wish, is distinctly divided into sections, chapters, and articles; the titles of which may be seen at one glance, at the close of the second volume.

In the first section, our attention is drawn to obvious symptoms of the sea having, at one period, covered the present hilly regions, and of its subsidence and retrocession from west to east and from north to south: but other portions of the soil have evidently undergone the action of fire. — The foundation of Νίκη (*Nice*) is ascribed, like that of Ἀντιπολις (*Antibes*) to the Phœcean colony of Marseilles: but *Cemenellon*, *Cemenetion*, *Cemellum*, &c., the modern and degraded *Cimier*, appears to have been a place of more consequence, and embellished with an amphitheatre, temples, baths, and aqueducts, of which vestiges may still be traced. The fall of Marseilles entailed the declension of its subsidiary colonies: but Cimier, the favorite retreat of Roman families of distinction, who courted a genial residence and repose, enjoyed certain public privileges; and Nero extended the right of Latin citizenship to the inhabitants of the Maritime Alps, who, after some obstinate struggles, had been subdued by the arms of Augustus. A triumphal monument, which the senate and the Roman people caused to be erected in honour of the last-named Emperor, still exists, though much dilapidated, at *Turbie*, within four short leagues of Nice. In adverting to the ferocious manners of the aboriginal inhabitants, 'let us not, however, forget,' says the author, 'that on these shores between Nice and Monaco was born the Emperor, Helvidius Pertinax,

Pertinax, the son of a slave; who, from a private soldier, successively rose to all the offices, merited the esteem of **Marcus Aurelius**, (a prince dear to every heart,) and united the suffrages of the senate and the Roman people for the empire, which he accepted with extreme reluctance. Already the times of the **Antonines** seemed to have revived, when the combination of so many virtues caused him to be massacred by the soldiers, after a short reign of three months. **Julius Capitolinus**, who has transmitted to us his laws, notices the following, among other expressions in his harangue to the senate: "Senators, poverty is more desirable to the republic than the greatest wealth acquired by dissensions, perils, and infamous extortions." Pure and undefiled morality is of every country, and of every age; and the proudest prince of Christendom needs not blush to adopt the maxims, and to cherish the example, of this heathen emperor.

During the middle or darker ages, the **Moors**, or **Saracens**, occupied the **Maritime Alps** for nearly three centuries; and they do not appear to have been finally expelled till they encountered the victorious career of **Otho the Great**. Yet there is reason to presume that they left the natives undisturbed in their profession of Christianity, and in their civil allegiance to the courts of **Provence**. The system of feudal tenures was partially introduced among them by the **Carlovingian** kings, and propagated by the dukes of **Burgundy**. Next, petty chieftains of **Liguria**, availing themselves of the remoteness or the misfortunes of those who passed for the legitimate sovereigns, sprang up, and ruled each his district with despotic sway. In consequence of having espoused the cause of **Pope Urban VI.**, **Nice** had nearly fallen into the power of the house of **Anjou**, and gladly put itself and its territory under the protection of the counts of **Savoy**. The capture of the city by the **Turks**, under **Barbarossa**, in 1544, and its subsequent destinies, are events of comparatively modern date. In a subjoined note, **Dr. F.** renders ample justice to the **Moors** for that portion of civilization and embellishment which they infused into different portions of Europe; referring to their history as furnishing a notable exception to the popular doctrine of *Montesquieu*, which would identify conquest with the natives of northern climates.

The author next proceeds to a minute geographical analysis of the subject of his survey, through which it would be tedious and superfluous to accompany him: but we may remark, in passing, the singular and abrupt contrast of temperature and vegetation on the southern and the northern sides of the hills, and the prevailing tendency of the population to fix on the

former, although frequently at the risk of a serious privation of water. Towns and villages are usually perched on eminences : but some are scattered along the banks of rivers, in the principal valleys. The highest and primary mountain-ranges generally stretch from west to east, and the subordinate chains from north to south ; and the *Sarsa Morena*, the most elevated of the groupe, is still inferior to the line of perpetual snow, its summit being divested of its white attire for two or three months in the year. As to the general basis of the hills, it consists of granite : but, in some situations, calcareous rock, sand-stone, and schistus, are also conspicuous. Of the strata, the most ordinary inclination is from north to south : but the anomalies are sufficiently numerous to baffle all attempts at a consistent theory of the appearances. ‘ In a sketch of the mineral structure of the environs of Nice, read in the beginning of the year 1817 to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, *Sir T. Alan, esquire*, [Thomas Allan, Esq.] stated that the country is entirely calcareous, and that the stony strata are disposed in irregular beds, and contain shells analogous to those that exist in the sea which washes its shores. The reader will perceive that these assertions are remote from accuracy ; and it is not the first time that I have had to regret the incorrect notions which English travellers have carried home of objects transiently observed, and too lightly considered.’ A marked feature of the calcareous and still more of the schistose peaks is their gradual degradation, when stripped of wood and herbage, and exposed to the influence of the solar rays. Some striking instances of this phænomenon are particularized, and the common people express its effects when they say that *the sun melts their mountains*. The romantic accidents of towers, pyramids, and grottoes, exhibited by the calcareous tufa, occur on the descent from Sauze into the valley of Guillaumes, on the ascent from the same valley to the gorge of Turbie, and thence as far as Pêaune. In the valley of Tinée, the traveller encountered blocks of what he terms a violet granite, and others of a dark red, extremely hard, yielding a ringing sound when struck with iron, and which appeared to him of the nature of basalt. Some of the specimens which he collected had their surface coated with fused iron, like the red slate in the neighbourhood of Lanciours. This last-mentioned circumstance derives additional interest from the concurring testimony of tradition, and from a manuscript-narrative of earthquakes and subterraneous fires which nearly destroyed the villages of Lantosca, Bolenæ, Belvédère, &c. on the 1st of August, 1564. The learned *Peiresc* likewise relates that, in his time, the mountain of

Vasson,

Vasson, situated between Guillaumes, Péaune, and Beuil, emitted flames during several days, and that he procured specimens of the lava. These particulars are the more deserving of attention, because the Alps have been very generally supposed to be destitute of all traces of volcanization. In the valleys of Briga and Tende, are found considerable quantities of a beautiful green serpentine, adapted to the purposes of architectural decoration. Besides marble, porphyry, jasper, and rock-crystal, other mineral substances, subservient to the arts and accommodations of life, are not wanting; as red and white gypsum, fullers' and potters' clay, gun-flints, sand fit for the manufacture of glass, whet-stones, &c.

Among the more remarkable caverns in the lime-stone rocks, is that of *Rata Pignata*, or the *Bat's Cave*, so called from being frequented by these animals; which is formed in the semblance of a vast hall, or rotunda, having the vaulted ceiling supported by eight wreathed columns, gradually tapering to the top, and the whole sparkling with crystals, or enlivened with the most fantastical figures. Behind, is a smaller apartment, which has been compared to a Turkish cabinet, leading into a third, the depth of which had not been ascertained in 1803. — The detailed geological notice on other mountains includes a remark on which the framers of worlds would do well to ponder; namely, that the miscellaneous groupe of rocks which composed St. Gothard are confusedly blended, the heaviest not being always the lowermost, and the arrangement being no where adapted to the principles of any system. Again, opposite to Hirbelsfeld, in the canton of Uri, the black and white shell marbles lie *under* enormous blocks of granite.

With regard to the result of the author's investigation into the state of mines in the Maritime Alps, it is far from encouraging. Some seams of pit-coal, generally deficient in quantity or quality, have been pointed out. Lead has been successfully worked in the valley of Valauria; and it contains the unusual proportion of from three to five per cent. of silver, which is accordingly separated from it. The same metal, copper, and iron, likewise occur in various other situations, but not in a very workable state. In the valley of Blora, however, and at San Salvador, carbonate of iron might be extracted with apparent advantage, as might the sulphuret of arsenic at Luceram. Mineral waters, both hot and cold, especially those that are impregnated with sulphureted hydrogen gas, and others of a ferruginous, saline, aërated, or simply thermal character, are also particularized: but the most singular occurrence of this description is that of natural
projections

projections of water, very hot in winter, and very cold in summer, which issue from elevated and perfectly detached points of rock.

On the wretched condition of the roads, with the exception of that which leads from Var to Nice, and from Nice to the Col de Tende, (a monument of the munificence of the kings of Sardinia,) the author makes the following reflection :

‘ The military system of great powers has been, from time immemorial, to establish highways over all their frontiers ; whereas that of petty states has been to oppose their neighbours by the difficulties of communication ; but experience has proved the impotence and nullity of both these systems : for the military ways of the Romans, and those of the audacious conqueror who has just succumbed, no more secured the duration of their empire than the horrible roads, purposely left unrepaired by the republic of Genoa, prevented the French armies from penetrating into Italy. The love and gratitude of the people, if the history of past and of present times be not fallacious, form the best bulwark of states, and the firmest support of the throne. Under this point of view, good channels of communication, made and maintained with care, are greatly to be preferred to magnificent routes that are undertaken merely for the purpose of conquest.’

The want of such accommodation, in a country situated between France and Italy, and the industry of whose inhabitants might partly compensate for the infertility of its degenerate soil, while it contributed to extinguish petty local animosities, and to convert its few remaining forests to the benefit of the state, is deeply to be deplored : but the author's proposal of enforcing *corvéeism*, on an extensive scale, ill accords with the spirit of enlightened philosophy which generally pervades his pages.

The destruction of the tall forests, which once overshadowed these Alpine regions, appears to have altered the aspect and physiognomy of the inhabitants ; for Pliny, Strabo, and the ancient historians, describe them as of high stature, and fair complexion, with very long hair ! whereas now they are low and brown, with short and frequently crisped hair, like other tribes who are much exposed to the heat of the sun. The most serious waste of the forests may be traced to the ravages of contending armies, and to the inconsiderate and extensive conflagrations of tracts of timber, in order to increase the quantity of arable land. The ashes yield a fair crop in the first year, but are swept off with the soil in the season of the rains ; and, when nothing is left but the bare rock, recourse is again had to the devouring element. Besides, the young trees are often indiscriminately felled with the old, and flocks
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of goats are permitted to browse on the tender shoots. In the less accessible quarters of the country, however, much fine larch and other fir still exists; which, under provident management, might be rendered available for various important uses. The chesnut and walnut trees thrive abundantly in some of the hilly districts; and the grafted mulberry and the olive are generally cultivated.

Of all the sea-ports enumerated, and cursorily described, the road of Villefranche is the most extensive and secure, being capable of receiving forty-eight ships of the line, and as many frigates. — The sea-water, off the coast of Nice, is less strongly impregnated with salt than we might have anticipated. — Such is the distribution of lakes and springs over the country, that the inestimable comfort of fresh water might, with a little attention, be much more equally diffused, for the purposes both of household economy and irrigation; and the fragments of aqueducts still attest that the antients were not neglectful of such an important consideration. At present, the rain-water, collected, and allowed to stagnate in cisterns, is not unfrequently the cause of intermittent fevers. Seven rivers, whose respective courses are traced by the author, furnish eels, barbels, and occasionally trouts; and they are of essential service in driving many grain and oil mills. The sea-fish are by no means plentiful, a circumstance here ascribed to the reduced saltiness to which we have alluded; but on this point we could have wished for a little more discussion; and some account might have been given of the tunny-fishery, and of the extraordinary depth to which the lines of the fishermen are occasionally let down. The lists of plants and animals indigenous to the soil might also have been easily extended: but still they will be found acceptable to those who study the comparative productions of different countries.

At Nice, the extremes of heat and cold correspond to 25½ of Réaumur's thermometer, during ten or twelve days of the month of August; and to zero, during five or six days in the month of January. Hence the residents in the town and neighbourhood who are thinly clothed, and especially such of them as happen to be of a sickly constitution, are extremely susceptible of the abrupt and considerable mutations of temperature: which are occasioned, particularly in winter, autumn, and spring, by changes of the wind, and by the coolness and humidity of the mornings and evenings. The sea-breeze, in summer, tempers the heat of a southern exposure, and mollifies the cold of winter: but different degrees of dryness and moisture prevail within very short intervals of one another,

other, according to the circumstances of shelter and the greater or less humidity of the soil.

‘ In proceeding along the coast, from west to east, we experience a warmer, drier, and at the same time a more equable temperature ; I say drier, because the country in the immediate neighbourhood of Nice is furnished, as we have formerly seen, with many springs, which diminish in number as we recede from it. The temperature of the atmosphere at Villefranche, which is only half an hour’s walk from Nice, already possesses the three qualities just mentioned, because that small town is screened from the north and the west winds by *Montgros* and *Mont-Alban* ; and, in course, its territory admits of lemon-trees in the open air, which are rare at Nice, because they require more heat than the orange-tree. The lemon-tree continues to thrive as far as Mentou, where the thermometer rarely descends lower than eight degrees above the freezing point. The atmosphere of Mentou is warmer, milder, and more balmy than that of Roquebrune, Monaco, and Villefranche ; and therefore I would prefer to order hither consumptive patients, who particularly require a steady heat. The same temperature prevails throughout the valley of the Nervia, as far as Pigna.’

We state these particulars less with a view to the elucidation of meteorological facts, than to furnish such of the natives of our own country as unfortunately labor under phthisical symptoms, and may be induced to try the effects of a warm climate, with the dispassionate opinions which an intelligent practitioner had an opportunity of forming ; and, if in the sequel we may be tempted to recur to the subject, the same promptings of humanity must plead our justification. For the present, we shall be contented to observe that the author rebuts, with considerable felicity of argument, the supposition which is as popular at Nice as elsewhere, that the quantity of heat has decreased, and that the climate has undergone a marked deterioration. The prevailing winds, in spring, are from the east and south ; in summer, from the south and south-east ; in autumn, from the east, west, and north-east ; and, in winter, from the north, west, east, and south. The season of heavy rains is in the autumn, and the beginning of winter. Snow, which accumulates to such alarming quantities in the Alpine heights, is rare in the country of Nice : but, when it does happen to fall, it is apt to break the branches of the olive-trees with its weight. Destructive hail-showers are of more common occurrence in the hilly districts than in the plains. Cool and copious dews are produced almost every evening, and a moist sea-fog not unfrequently hovers over particular tracts, but more rarely over the plains of Nice. The position of the latter town is likewise supposed

supposed to protect it against much injury from lightning, which usually falls on the sea, or else is attracted by the mountain-peaks.

M. FODERÉ dilates, not without interest, on the summer and winter pasture-stations of the shepherds, who still retain many of their rude and simple usages, and are chiefly occupied in tending flocks of sheep and goats.

‘ During the late wars, when demolarization had reached its height, the peasants mercilessly put to death every Frenchman who happened to travel alone: but I know not an instance of such an act of cruelty having been perpetrated by one of the professional shepherds, notwithstanding their gloomy and savage deportment. A peasant would go forth to plough his fields, armed with a musket, which he laid in a furrow; and, if a stranger happened to pass, he left his plough to snatch the deadly weapon, and aim at a distance, across a hedge, at the passenger; if the latter fell, he ran up to strip him; if not, he again put his gun in the furrow, and continued his work, without the traveller so much as suspecting whence the shot proceeded. These atrocious facts were related to me by the parties themselves. Compelled to combine personal security with zeal, I chose for my escort those very *brigands*, too well known by the name of *Barbets*; who coolly shewed to me, at every narrow pass, the spot where they had interred any of their victims.’

Some valuable discussion ensues concerning the melioration of the breed and the fleece of sheep, the produce of herds of cattle, &c., which we cannot prosecute without exceeding the limits that we are obliged to assign to a work like the present, almost every chapter of which might serve as the text of a protracted dissertation. The arable portions of the soil scarcely amount to a sixteenth part of its whole extent; and even this proportion is considerable, when we reflect on the hilly and rugged character of the country, its scanty population, and the trouble and expence of supporting artificial terraces: the walls and vegetable mould of which are often broken down, or carried off by the heavy rains, or impetuous gusts of wind. By multiplying the means of irrigation, however, the agricultural produce might be considerably increased. Where the plough, which in these regions seems to be still assimilated to that of the Romans, cannot be advantageously used, recourse is had to other instruments, which, with various implements of husbandry, Dr. FODERÉ has patiently described. Excrementitious animal manures are in high request, and eagerly purchased at advanced prices by the growers of hemp, wine, and oil: but the box, lavender, and other vegetables, are also destined to the same purpose, although their effects are less powerful. The different varieties of wheat, barley, &c.

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with their appropriate qualities and adaptations to particular descriptions of soil, next pass in review. Owing to a long established routine of preposterous practice, the ears of corn are often reaped in the first instance, and the straw afterward cut at leisure. In the country of Nice, wheat has sometimes been known to yield eighteen-fold; but, as the farms are generally frittered down into very limited portions, and each occupant is desirous of having corn, vines, olives, and various fruit-trees in the same field, the utmost return even in the best soils seldom exceeds six for one. The author's apparent hostility to a more extensive use of the potatoe is, we apprehend, unfounded; for what finer race of men are to be seen than such of the Irish as feed chiefly on that root? At the same time, we entertain no doubt that the introduction of the mountain-rice, and some other grain, mentioned in the notes, might be adopted with advantage.

Dr. F. enumerates sixteen varieties of the vine, which are cultivated with greater or less success, but which require more frequent renewal than in many other countries. Of their produce, the wines denominated *Braquet* and *Bellet* are the most esteemed; and the latter is in highest condition when from six to twelve years old. The next in respect of quality are, Aspremont, Cimier, Cros d'Utelle, Massouin, Villars, Clans, and Tournefort. Some excellent observations occur in the chapter relative to the culture of the olive, and other fruit-trees indigenous to the Maritime Alps: but these we must for the present overlook, to make way for matters of greater interest to the general reader.

The population of the districts in question amounted, in 1790, to 101,759; yet, in this moderate assemblage of human beings, a considerable diversity prevails in aspect, physiognomy, and disposition, according to the nature of the soil and the habits and employments of individuals. The sketch of the Niçard character, in particular, we have reason to believe is drawn with impartial discrimination. Most of the lower orders in the plains principally subsist on a vegetable diet, to which fish, either fresh or salted, is occasionally added; and they consume more beans, potatoes, and dried figs, than bread: but they are somewhat choice in regard to their drink, which consists of wine of the best quality that they can afford. The mountaineers indulge more copiously in animal food. The bread used by the common people is made of rye, or barley, and baked with very sour dough: but even this sometimes fails, and is replaced by pounded medlars, and other fruits, mixed with some rye-flour; or by potatoes, chesnuts, dried figs, beans, lentils, &c. The inhabitants of southern countries,

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it is properly remarked, require a much smaller quantity of aliment than those of the west and north of Europe. 'I have seen,' says the observant traveller, 'the Alsatian peasants at their meals, and I am convinced that one of their repasts would serve a ploughman from Marseilles, or from the mountainous region of the Maritime Alps, for three days. The soldiers of the allied troops ate twice as much as the peasants of Alsace; and I would not advise the Germans and Russians to tarry long in Lower Provence, or in the Maritime Alps, unless they can chew their shoes and sword-belts, as the former were compelled to do in 1799.'

Want of regular employment drives a certain portion of the mountaineers to migrate from home.

'The shepherds lead along with them their flocks, that they may find pasture for them in the plains of Liguria and Lower Provence. They who have no flocks offer their services as shepherds, domestics, or day-labourers. A great many of these emigrants are employed about Nice, Mentou, Ventimiglia, and San Remo, in gathering the olives.

'To exhibit the marmotte, brush shoes, sweep chimneys, or fulfil other petty vocations appropriate to those who descend from the mountains of Barcelonnette, Savoy, Auvergne, &c., is here unknown: but the inhabitants of the upper valley of the Tinée possess another and much more agreeable talent; for they learn early in life to play on the cymbal, and other musical instruments, with which they repair to the towns in France, to perform that perambulating minstrelsy which often delightfully breaks on the repose of the night. From infancy, their ears are familiarized to harmony; and the children may be seen to leap for joy on perceiving a cymbal in their father's arms. I happened to be at Saint Dalmas le Sauvage, on the eve of the departure of the caravan. The mayor, a venerable old man, with whom I lodged, had made a signal to his children, and to all the youths who were prepared to march;—in the middle of dinner, my ears were struck with ravishing music, (if I may use such an expression,) executed by a great many instruments, which refreshed me after all my fatigues, and made me forget the snow that was falling in large flakes, and the horrible situation of the village. Next morning, none but the old men, women, and children remained. The departure usually takes place on the first of November, and the return on the first of May.'

This practice is supposed to date from a remote period; and the number of annual migrants is computed at nearly 2200.

With respect to the number of births, marriages, and deaths, and the proportion of individuals from sixty to eighty years of age, the Doctor's researches have supplied him with some useful and interesting results, but which the political economist would possibly desire to see corroborated on a larger scale of data.

data. His nosological statements are still more circumstantial; and, as they manifest much diligence and acuteness of observation, they well deserve the attention of gentlemen in the medical profession. In the whole range of his survey, he found 40 persons blind from birth, or infancy; 39 deaf and dumb; 144 lame; 196 affected with *goître*; and 146 *cretins*. The prevalence of ophthalmia and blindness, in particular districts, he is inclined to attribute to the acrid influence of the sea-fogs. *Goître* and cretinism seem to be chiefly limited to low and humid valleys; the former depending on the state of the atmosphere in such situations; and the latter induced, or at least aggravated, by the carelessness and stupidity of parents in rearing their infant offspring, since, with the adoption of a more considerate and improved course of training, the complaint already begins to yield.

The endemial disorders are hernia, cutaneous affections, scrofula, epilepsy, hysteria, intermittent fever, obstructions of the viscera, dropsy, asthma, and pulmonary phthisis. The rarer maladies are insanity, calculus, rheumatism, gout, chlorosis, and sterility. In the course of his peregrinations, the Doctor reckoned not fewer than two hundred cases of inguinal hernia; and he found it most prevalent in the hot and moist valleys, in which the constitution of the atmosphere naturally induces a relaxation of the animal fibres. Among the more formidable of the cutaneous distempers, are a genuine anthrax and leprosy; the latter having been propagated from former times by the infected, or their immediate descendants, having been permitted to marry. Scrofula, though far from unfrequent, is principally limited to those tracts in which the combination of heat and moisture contributes so materially to relax the system. Epilepsy is mostly confined within the range of the sea-fogs. 'On the other hand,' observes Dr. F., 'I have noticed in the cold valleys many hysterical women, which surprized me the more because these females lead a very active and a very temperate life. I had subsequently occasion to observe the same peculiarity in Provence; a convincing proof that hysterical affections * cannot always be attributed to the luxurious manners of cities, or to

* This term, *hysterical*, derived from the Greek word corresponding to *uterus*, is one of the most deceptive in the medical nomenclature; being employed to designate the nature, seat, and cause of a malady which attacks women of the coldest constitution, and who are unconscious of the existence of an uterus; as also even men, in which last case the morbid affections cannot be deduced from the presence and state of that viscus.'

the reading of romances.' Intermittents, which are far from uncommon, appear to be generated either by the miasmata from stagnant water, or by the sea-fog.

The importance of the ensuing remarks will, we trust, vindicate the insertion of them in our pages :

' It has uniformly excited my astonishment that the antient physicians (and we are often merely their apes) should send their consumptive patients to the sea-shores ; for, in our days, medical observations, instituted in districts of that description, irresistibly prove that the air of the Mediterranean is unfavourable to such invalids. I have seen a great many of them sink under their complaints at Marseilles ; and I am persuaded that the too dry and too sharp air of that city was their greatest enemy : but the warmer, softer, and more moist air of Nice is not, in such cases, more beneficial : all patients attacked with hereditary ulcerous phthisis die there, as well as at Villa-franca, in early youth. Here the disease is not chronical, as in Swisserland, on the banks of the Saône, and in Alsace : but I have very often seen it terminate in forty days ; and a physician of the countries which I have just named would be surprized at the rapidity with which the hæmoptysis recurs, the tubercles suppurate, and the lungs are destroyed. The English know this, every year, by their mournful experience ; and their burial-ground, situated at the marble-cross, attests the fact. The cause, it is true, may be ascribed to the abrupt changes which take place in the atmosphere of this country : but in what countries do not such changes occur, and in what medical treatises are they not assigned as the origin of diseases ? Yet this rapid progress of pulmonary consumption is rather rare every where else ; and in inland situations, in regions somewhat cold and humid, without ever inducing solid hopes of a cure, the progress of the disorder may be for a considerable time suspended. Hence we are warranted to infer the existence of some other noxious principle on the shores of our Mediterranean ; and I can discern it only in some one of the elements of the muriatic salts, which analysis abundantly reveals in all the vegetables of these districts ; namely, either the muriatic acid gas itself, or one of its compounds, developed in the atmosphere by electro-chemical agency.

' I believe it to be contrary, therefore, to the dictates of observation and experience, to convey those who labour under ulcerated lungs to the sea-shore. Whence, then, the invariable habit of sending them hither ? Was any cure, in such circumstances, ever effected ? If so, I am ignorant of the particulars, and it can only have been in cases of phlegmatic subjects, or of spurious and mucous phthisis.'

For a long and judicious note on the same subject, we must refer our readers to the original.

The appearance of gout is restricted to those individuals at Ventimiglia who make free use of the excellent but strong wine

of that part of the country; and the detection of this striking fact suggests the tendency of the Rhenish wines to produce gravel. In many of the sequestered villages of the Maritime Alps, small-pox remains unknown for a long series of years: but, when the contagion is introduced, it is apt to prove extensively fatal.

As to the medical code of the natives, it is composed of some mountain-simples, bleeding, purging, and rigid abstinence. Phlebotomy, to which they are very partial, produces, according to circumstances, very salutary or very pernicious consequences: but English practitioners, who accompany their consumptive patients to Nice, are said to indulge with too little reserve in the exhibition of stimulants, and of the sulphuric acid, under the impression of consolidating the ulcerated portions of the lungs.

In adverting to the characteristic dispositions of the inhabitants of the Maritime Alps, Dr. F. particularly alludes to their quarrelsome and litigious propensities; which, however, had been kept in check by the wholesome enactments and regulations of the government, until the disorders consequent on the French Revolution unhinged the state of society, and multiplied both the perpetration of crimes and the proceedings of the civil tribunals. Few, comparatively, can read or write; and even the head-magistrates of small towns were frequently found destitute of such accomplishments, so that they were incapable of promulgating the instructions directed to them from their superiors, and very discreetly kept them snugly locked up in their repositories. Among the females, at the period at which the author made his observations, the mystery of reading was revived for the more opulent orders; and even they conversed in a rustic jargon, and could seldom elevate their discourse above the topics of the sermon which they had just heard in church, or the merits of their confessors or admirers. Rich and poor are more attached to the pomp and formalities of worship than to the morality of religion, and some shocking instances of depravity are adduced in confirmation of this remark. The condition of the people, however, was by no means improved by the introduction of French infidelity; though the author does not dissemble that the establishment of hospitals, and other charitable foundations, sufficiently attests that the sentiments of piety and humanity must have existed, and diffused their soothing influence over the sufferings of life.

The details of the civil condition of Nice, Monaco, and some other towns, and of their industry and commerce, form a desirable addition to analogous statements in various books
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of travels: but the consideration of these, and of divers general matters so judiciously treated in the notes, we must be contented to waive. We rise, however, from the perusal of the whole under the most favourable impressions of the writer's earnest desire to obtain and diffuse accurate and useful information; with true cosmopolitism "*casting his bread on the waters,*" that it may be "*found after many days.*"

ART. VII. *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos, &c.; i.e. Constantinople and the Bosphorus, typographically and historically described.* By JOSEPH VON HAMMER. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 600. Pesth. 1822.

THIS work is dedicated to the Duchess of Parma, is illustrated with a plan of Constantinople, and with a chart of the Bosphorus, both carefully corrected on the spot, and contains, either engraved or printed with the appropriate characters, one hundred and twenty Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, or Turkish inscriptions. The text, though printed in Hungary, is composed in German, and supplies the completest and best description of Constantinople and its neighbourhood that is extant in any European language. To the geographer and to the antiquary it is equally valuable; and at a time when Europe is intent on the Turkish nation, and likely to witness its dissolution, these volumes, which we can now do little more than announce, will perhaps preserve from oblivion monuments which are destined to be crumbled by the cannon of warfare, and of which the ruins will form the melancholy mausoleums of extinguished empire.

At Leyden, in 1632, appeared *Gytlis de Constantinopoteos Topographiâ, libri iv.*, which described the then condition of the city, with a learned reference to the past; and that excellent work has been the model of the present author, who approaches his topic with an erudition still more various, and an excursiveness still more indefatigable. His book opens with a catalogue of inscriptions; the Greek and Latin being given first, and the places indicated where they occur, and a German translation of each being annexed. A second section is allotted to Turkish, Persian, and Arabic inscriptions, with similar comments.

The author next proceeds to an outline of the city, beginning with the various panegyrics of the ancients on its site and beauty, in the order of their antiquity: he then notices the situation and the environs, translates a modern poem in its praise, and describes generally the sea, the islands, the rocks, the rivers, the haven, the bays, the promontories, mountains, vallies,

vallies, and forests, with a perpetual reference to the plan attached. Next occurs a section on the climate, which concludes with an enumeration of earthquakes. Natural history succeeds; and the game, the birds, the fishes, the trees, flowers, and esculent plants in use, are enumerated, with the minerals. Then follows the topography of the city in all its detail. The town, the suburbs, the Bosphorus, the neighbourhood, the walls, the gates, and the haven, pass in review; then the places and streets, the temples and monuments, the old and new palaces, and the buildings consecrated to public institutions, with which the first volume concludes.

Vol. II. begins with a detailed description of the suburbs. The European shore of the Bosphorus fills one section, and the Asiatic shore another; after which come Scutari and its neighbourhood. The concluding chapter takes a survey of the living population, first of the Turks, then of the Arabs, Persians, Jews, and Armenians. We quote the section concerning the Greeks.

‘The Greek, notwithstanding the pressure of his chains, and the progressive degeneration of centuries, preserves the free spirit of his ancestors, like holy fire under the ashes. His character is a mixture of glittering qualities and dusky weaknesses, as may be observed throughout the history of the Byzantines and Hellenes. Taste, and fine feeling, have descended to him, an undiminished patrimony; and much of the accusations of cunning and perfidy is to be ascribed to the dulness and want of penetration in the observers, who, without the acuteness to perceive what was not meant to be concealed, are frequently disappointed by conduct which they ought to have foreseen. The dark side of the character of the modern Greeks, English travellers have especially delighted to pourtray; and none more than Mr. Thomas Hope, who, in his “Memoirs of Anastasius,” has caricatured the hero of his novel after the manner of a Rembrandt.’ (Vol. ii. p. 392.)

M. VON HAMMER is certainly a good-natured critic, and a laborious enumerator of every possible object of attention: but his superfluity is apt to fatigue, and the opulence of his learning sometimes degenerates into pedantry.

ART. VIII. *Histoire des Français, &c.; i. e.* A History of the French, by J. C. L. SIMONDE DE SISMONDI, &c. &c. 3 Vols. 8vo. Paris, 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 1*l.* 10*s.*

NOT only is this learned and accomplished writer sufficiently known to the European public, but his productions are so numerous, extensive, and frequent, that as reporters of them we follow him *haud passibus æquis*; and now, when we sit down to give an account of the volumes before us, we receive two others,

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detailing the author's travels in Switzerland, which must be the object of future attention, if "life and labor still remain our fate." His elaborate *History of the Italian Republics* was noticed with merited applause in our seventy-eighth, seventy-ninth, and eightieth volumes; and he now undertakes the more majestic topic of French history. France has so long been a great country, and was so early civilized, that its internal and external relations have exercised a powerful influence over all the states of Europe; and, next to its own domestic history, every nation has a greater interest in studying that of the French than of any other European people. Yet, says M. DE SISMONDI, the annals of that country do not inspire so warm a participation as we might expect, considering the research, the eloquence, and the speculative spirit which have been applied to their elucidation. This coldness he ascribes to a want of frankness in historiographers, who have mostly had personal or party-purposes to serve by the coloring which they have given to events. Another cause might have been found in the absence of unity of purpose which has characterized the successive rulers of France, and which has stamped its public proceedings with a semblance of versatility and vacillation. The constant tendency of Rome to pursue dominion gives a drift and wholeness to its national march, which modern monarchies have in general wanted. Represented France will perhaps acquire a public spirit, a definite collective tendency, and become worthy to concentrate a steadier attention.

M. DE SISMONDI promises to examine, from the commencement of the French monarchy, the effects of the despotism of the conquering army on the manners, the wealth, the population, and the tranquillity of the conquered country, and on the character of the people: he will then inquire what was the influence of the clergy which succeeded to the rights that were acquired by the sword; and, finally, he will discuss the nature of the ascendancy of that feudal aristocracy, which broke loose from the trammels of ecclesiastical discipline only to inflict on the nation a more oppressive sway. He will then trace the people annexing themselves, under the guidance of the clergy, to a crown which by absorbing was to annihilate inferior despotisms, and at length to restore to the nation the regular exercise of its rights by means of elective institutions. — He remarks:

' We shall have to relate atrocious crimes, which never brought on their authors their merited punishment; and to describe a state of suffering, of misery, and of despair, from which in a fictitious narrative we should hasten to avert our eyes: but a friend of the human race ought to approach history with the firmness of one who studies surgery or medicine, in order to relieve his fellow-

creature. He must not turn aside from the spectacle of suffering humanity, disgusting as it may be; because he can make no progress in the healing art without learning what human nature is when left to itself, and how it is modified by each of the institutions which different rulers have devised. What would be said of the physician, who, having poisons among his remedies, should refuse to know the pains and fatal consequences which they have produced; and who should oppose the publication of his experience, in order to spare the sensibility of his readers, or to save the credit of aconite and corrosive sublimate?

'In the social system, likewise, the statesman has poisons to employ. The absolute power of a single man, or of an assembly of men, is a poison; — the absolute power of the multitude is a poison; — fanaticism and superstition are poisons, — and so is incredulity. Are any one of their effects, then, to be disguised from those to whom these poisons may be offered as medicines?'

Those writers who composed the annals of France before the press was free could not act with the purity of purpose which is now practicable, but often were compelled to avoid that philosophical examination which refers a result to its true cause, and to pursue the favor or the protection of authorities in alliance with the censorship; and they frequently aimed at giving to their narratives a romantic interest, by a picturesque eloquence imitated from the poets. Brilliant periods have been selected for display, and family-heroes been set up to distinction: but the condition of the people has often been forgotten, in order to rivet attention on their leaders. *Mezerai*, *Hénault*, and *Velly*, are the three French historians who retain most popularity; and concerning their relative merit we gave our opinion in vol. xciii. p. 535.

When Louis XVI. ascended the throne of France, the Roman dominion had ceased in Gaul for thirteen hundred years. So long a period of independence had formed the French nation, and imparted to it that spirit and character, those prejudices and reminiscences, those regulations and institutions, which its lawgivers are bound to study, in order to give stability to its present advantages. These thirteen centuries exhibit a long series of internal fermentations, and almost every generation has witnessed some great change of equilibrium between the powerful bodies of the state; but these incessant revolutions have been so much eclipsed in importance by that which our own times have witnessed, that they may now be contemplated with calmness: distance has reduced them to proportion; comparison will view them with indifference; and indifference will assist impartiality.

Two parts of M. DE SISMONDI'S work are now before the reader; the first of which treats of the Merovingian dynasty,
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and is divided into thirteen chapters; the second includes the Carlovingian dynasty, and is composed of fifteen chapters. His plan of composition is on every occasion to consult the original authorities, which are indicated at the bottom of the page; and to abridge their testimony in his own way, without appearing to consult the epitomizers who have preceded him in this career. His inferences are his own: they are the result, not the cause, of his investigations; and in this respect he resembles *Müller*, the annalist of Switzerland, who advised him thus to proceed.

Chap. i. Outline of the Events of which Gaul was the Theatre, before the Invasion of the Barbarians in the Fifth Century. ii. State of Gaul under the Roman Dominion until the Fourth Century. — Here M. DE SISMONDI observes:

‘Every city was governed by a *curia*, and the *curiales*, presided by *duumvirs* annually elected, formed a municipal senate analogous to that of Rome. This political body belonged to the province, not to the empire. It was instituted to defend the interests of the city, and was gradually made responsible for them. Owing to the want of diets, the municipal magistrates exercised an authority which they held from the people: not that they were strictly elected by them, because the *curiales* only formed the higher class of citizens, the first order of inhabitants, and were probably selected by the amount of their taxation. It appears as if all housekeepers of this order voted in the senate, and chose the *duumvirs* from among one another. Besides the *curiales*, the cities contained many inferior classes of inhabitants, whom the calamities of the country drove to reside in towns. The progress of luxury, by increasing the profits of commerce, had given more dignity to that profession; and the small proprietors, who could not acquire an independence by cultivating their narrow inheritance, and disdained to be confounded with the slaves of their richer neighbours, took refuge in cities, and sought to augment their ease by some industry. The numerous class of freedmen exercised almost all the arts and trades: but it possessed no recognized authority, and was subject to vexatious regulations. The emperors, instead of letting society organize itself, fancied themselves obliged every where to substitute law for private interest.’ (P. 67.)

The authorities quoted for this account of the origin of corporations are *Notitia dignitatum Imperii sub Valentino*, and *Codex Justinianus*, lib. x. and xi. That of the slaves, or vassals, is also investigated with much care and learning.

Chap. iii. General Invasion of the Barbarians. Establishment of the Visigoths and Burgundians in Gaul. iv. Termination of the Western Empire. Conquests of Clovis. Gaul divided between the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Visigoths. v. Close of the reign of Clovis. vi. Reign of the four

Sons of Clovis. vii. The Sons of Clothair I. to the Death of Sigebert. viii. From the Death of Sigebert to that of Goutrand. ix. From the Death of Goutrand to that of Brunehault.

Vol. II. continues the narration of what may be called the heroic age of France; which is perhaps adapted to supply the epic poet or the dramatist with themes, but which can little instruct the civilized man in the theory of legislation, or the practice of government. At all times, however, and in the bosom of the most polished nation, a set of men may be found as cruel and ferocious as the domineering class of these heroic ages; and if, through a want of foresight in the mass of the nation, such persons attain to ascendancy, (which happened during the assemblage of the French Convention,) the crimes of barbarism may be renewed even in the very lap of refinement.

Chap. x. Reigns of Clothair II., Dagobert, and Sigebert III. xi. Government of Ebroin, and civil Wars until the Battle of Testry. This section contains many good reflections on the state of literature in the dark ages.

‘The epoch at which we are now arrived presents a remarkable contrast; it is one of the poorest in national historians, but one of the richest in national monuments. During eighty years, not a Frank thought of transmitting to posterity the contemporary events; and during the same period not a king, nor a duke, nor any considerable person omitted to build temples for a remote posterity, and to found masses to perpetuate a name which he did not otherwise know how to preserve from oblivion. This contrast can be explained only by the growing ignorance of the people, and the loss of every rational notion of religion. The provinces, which the barbarians had invaded, preserved for some time after their eruption the remnants of Roman civilization; the schools had not wholly been given up; and the masters had transmitted to their scholars, for some generations, the same lessons which they received from their predecessors. But every science retrogrades when it does not advance; and every doctrine which is consecrated, that is, which is withdrawn from new examination, and from new meditation, loses its virtue. With its founders, it was the result of deep thinking: but, to preserve it, every new thought is prohibited; and thus a submissive apathy is substituted for a creative adherence. Nothing is farther from the genius which inspires models, than the pedantic faith of the masters who hold them forth to imitation, or the servility of scholars who only copy them; and such masters are the true enemies of the antient traditions of which they declare themselves the defenders.’

Chap. xii. Growing greatness of the House of Pepin, until the Submission of Neustria to Charles Martel. xiii. Government of Charles Martel, and of his Sons, down to the Deposition

tion of the first Race of Kings. Whenever the French shall become a poetical nation, and produce a native Ariosto, it is probable that Charles Martel will be selected for the hero of the national epopea.

The second part undertakes the History of the Carlovings, and begins by lamenting the loss of various sources of intelligence, for want of which it is not easy to account for the elevation of Pepin to the throne of France, 'by the authority and command of the holy Pope Zacharias, and by the election of all the Franks.'

Chap i. Reign of Pepin. ii. Beginning of the Reign of Charlemagne, to the Victory of Buckholz, and the Conquest of Saxony. As the wars of Charlemagne against the Saxons drove many persons of that nation to seek an asylum in this country, and seem to have founded that hereditary hostility between the Franks and the Angles of which the consequences still remain, we shall extract a portion of the author's narrative:

'About this period, began the long and terrible war which Charlemagne waged against the Saxons during the greater part of his reign; a war which developed his military talents, rendered him dear to the nation and to the soldiery, accustomed the Franks again to consider themselves as a single people, and induced them to correct in their political constitution any impediments to rapid and vigorous decision.

'The Saxons, whom Pepin and Charles Martel had already combated, and whom Charlemagne was still to combat for a long time, were divided into Eastphalians, in the east, Westphalians, in the west, and Angles, in the middle. Their northern frontier stretched to the Baltic, and their southern abutted on the territory of the Franks. Like the other German nations, and like the Franks themselves at the time of their conquest of Gaul, they were not obedient to a single master, but acknowledged as many chiefs, or kings, as they had cantons, or villages. They held yearly on the banks of the Weser a general diet, where they discussed their public affairs. In one of these assemblies, probably in 772, the priest Saint Libuin presented himself to them, and exhorted them to embrace the Christian faith; announcing to them at the same time an approaching attack from the greatest king of the West, who would soon lay waste their country with fire and sword, if its population was obstinate in refusing obedience to him. The assembly of the Saxons was on the point of massacreing the priest for these threatenings: but an old man took him under protection, and represented to his countrymen that this priest was the ambassador of a strange and perhaps of an inimical god, but that they ought to respect in him the rights of a public herald. The Saxons abstained from punishing the provocations of Saint Libuin: but, from hatred to the new god thus announced, they burnt the church of Daventer which had recently been constructed, and massacred or dispersed all the Christians who attended there.

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‘ During these proceedings, the comitia of the Franks presided by Charlemagne assembled at Worms, and, considering the massacre of the Christians at Dauter as an insult, declared war against the Saxons. The assembly of the field of May was at the same time a deliberative diet and a review of the army. That of Worms decided instantly to begin the campaign, and to follow Charlemagne into the country of the Saxons, which was ravaged with fire and sword. Charlemagne took in this campaign the castle of Ehresburg, in the bishopric of Paderborn, and overthrew there an idol which the Saxons called Hermansul. This idol, worshipped at Merseburg, seems to have been a column in honor of the German nation; it was covered with defensive armour; in its right hand was a flag bearing a rosè, and in its left a balance; on the shield was a lion ruling the other animals, and at his feet a flowery field. All these emblems have been explained to describe the pleasure and the frailty of military glory. The army employed in destroying this colossus was for three days afflicted with thirst, when a stream of water was discovered: from which occurrence a miraculous interference of the Deity was presumed, and the army returned to the Weser with twelve hostages, satisfied that it had done service to God. Eginhart says of this Saxon war that Charlemagne, having defeated those who resisted, removed ten thousand persons who inhabited the banks of the Elbe, and distributed them with their wives and children in different parts of Gaul and Germany. The Saxons then renounced the worship of demons, and the ceremonies of their fathers, embraced the Christian faith, mingled with the Franks, and formed henceforth the same people.’ (P. 233.)

Other particulars of this Saxon war, which was successively conducted by Hesso and by Wittikind, are collected from the life of Saint Boniface, and from the German antiquaries. Many popular traditions may be traced to these conflicts.

Chap. iii. Continuation of the Reign of Charlemagne, until the Suppression of the Duchy of Bavaria. iv. Continuation of the Reign of Charlemagne, to the Revolt of the Romans against Pope Leo III. v. Renewal of the Western Empire, and Conclusion of the Reign of Charlemagne. vi. Commencement of the Reign of Louis the Debonnair, to the Civil Wars.

Vol. III. opens with general reflections on the state of feudal property, with the method of recruiting armies, and proceeds to narrate the civil wars which occurred during the latter part of the reign of Louis the Debonnair. Chap. viii. Civil Wars between Lothair, Louis; and Charles II. The ravages of the Normans were facilitated by this internal anarchy. ix. Progress of Sacerdotal Power, and the deplorable State of the French Empire, to the Death of Lothair the Younger. x. End of the Reign of Charles the Bald. — The three divisions of the empire of Charlemagne, says M. DE SISMONDI, in this chapter,

chapter, had not experienced a similar fortune : France, under Charles the Bald, had fallen beneath the power of the bishops, the nobility languished, the army was without vigour, and the rural population was almost annihilated. Italy, under Lothair and Louis, had not conceded so much authority or territory to the prelates : but powerful dukes had established there vast and rich governments, which they had nearly rendered hereditary in their families ; and, although the country did not prosper during their administration, they had maintained under them in the castles a free and military population, and some opulence in the cities. Finally, under Louis the Germanic, Germany had preserved more military spirit than the other two divisions, a population more numerous, and more freemen in proportion to that of slaves : so that France was then a theocracy, Italy a federation of princes, and Germany an aristocratic republic.

Chap. xi. Rapid Declension of the Carlovingian Race, Reigns of Louis the Stammerer, of Louis III., of Carloman, and of Charles the Fat. xii. Reign of Eudes : Commencements of Charles the Simple, and the Establishment of the Normans in Neustria. xiii. End of the Reign of Charles the Simple. Reigns of Robert and of Rodolph. xiv. Reign of Louis IV. xv. Reigns of Lothair and of Louis V., and Termination of the second Dynasty.

‘ At this period,’ says the author, ‘ the language of the country had acquired a sort of uniformity : it had been taught by the conquered to their conquerors ; and it now formed a national bond of union. The Latin was still the language of the church and of the law ; the German was that of the kings, and perhaps of the army : but French was become the language of the people, and with language begins national identity. We cannot conceive the hereditary transmission of family honors, or of the reminiscences of rank, nor take a very lively interest in the actions of our ancestors, while family-names do not exist, and these were not yet invented. Still the want began to be felt of distinguishing genealogies, less for purposes of vanity than to ascertain claims and rights. The confusion of individual names, far from permitting those researches into antiquity which began some centuries later, scarcely permitted the definition of questions of inheritance, or of marriage within the forbidden degrees, which now appear so obvious. It was to remedy this disorder that surnames were adopted ; and thus the feudal nobility revived the use of family-names, which had been abandoned since the time of the Romans.’

We look forwards with eager curiosity to the continuation of this excellent history ; which is conducted with research, proportioned with judgment, narrated with propriety, illuminated by wise reflections, and animated by a liberal spirit.

ART. IX. *Histoire Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne, &c. ; i. e.*
 An Universal History, Antient and Modern. By the Count DE
 SEGUR. 4 Vols. 8vo. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel
 and Co. Price 2l. 2s.

A FORMER work by the Count DE SEGUR, which displayed some imagination and much garrulity, was noticed in our eighty-eighth volume, p. 476. He now undertakes the more serious and responsible task of an historian. Without lofty pretensions or original research, he professes to abridge, for the use of young persons, the more voluminous native writers of his country relative to antient history; distributing the various information thus compiled into four volumes, of which the first contains an account of the people of Ægypt, Asia, and Persia; the second, of Greece; the third, of Sicily, Carthage, and the Jews; and the fourth, of Rome down to the period of the death of the Gracchi. Other volumes are in preparation, to complete the author's plan. This arrangement is in one respect faulty; viz. by not classing the nations in the order of the antiquity of their written monuments, we come to the life of Alexander before we reach that of Abraham.

Antient history has never yet been surveyed by a philosopher of erudition, and all the received statements abound with glaring errors. *Bossuet* and *Rollin* purposely mislead, because they wish to protect the interpretations of Scripture assumed by the church of Rome; and they violate chronology, in order to misdate their documents. *Anquetil*, and even *Volney*, have turned with excessive contempt from the Jewish writers, and have not examined skilfully, or learnedly, the oldest records of the human race. *Eichhorn's Welt-geschichte* is the best European manual of primæval history; yet even he generalizes too much, and has not critically sifted and reconciled the numerous parallelisms of sacred and profane annalists. The Count DE SEGUR has probably not sought, and has certainly not found, a clue, by means of which he may walk without deviation through the labyrinth of early incident. He repeats the detected errors of his predecessors, less tediously perhaps, but not less rashly; and he as coolly enumerates Sethos among the Ægyptian kings, as if *Michaelis* had not demonstrated that this prince is no other than the Hezekiah of Jewish chronicles.

Concerning Ægypt, and its early chronology, geography, religion, and history, we spoke at considerable length in our seventy-ninth volume, p. 463.; and we refer the author to that commentary on his predecessor *Champollion*, for many corrections of the accounts which he has adopted,

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We translate, as a favourable specimen, the entire reign of Nechao; preserving the somewhat peculiar orthography of the proper names.

‘ Year of the World 3388, and before Christ 616.

‘ The reign of Nechao was justly celebrated for his military and commercial enterprizes, and for his great public works. His projects were bold, and his administration wise. By his order a fleet quitted the Red Sea, with Phœnician sailors on board, and made the tour of Africa, returning to Ægypt through the gut of Gibraltar. He was less fortunate in another enterprize: wishing to join the Nile to the Red Sea, by a canal, one hundred and twenty thousand persons perished fruitlessly in this undertaking.

‘ Jealous of the power and ambition of the Babylonians, Nechao marched towards the Euphrates to combat them: but Josias, king of Juda, refused his alliance, and opposed his passage. The Jews were cut in pieces at Megiddo, in a great battle, and the king of Juda died of his wounds. Nechao beat the Babylonians, and seized many strong cities. Having learned that the Jews, without his leave, had placed Joachas on the throne, he sent for this prince, bound him in fetters, and had him carried into Ægypt, where he died. Nechao then came to Jerusalem, gave the sceptre to Joachim, the son of Josias, loaded the Jews with an annual tribute of a hundred talents of gold, and returned into Ægypt, after a glorious campaign of three months.

‘ At the latter part of his life, fortune deserted him. Napolussar, king of Babylon, gave the command of his army to Nabuchodonosor, who retook from Nechao all his conquests, and snatched Palestine from the Ægyptians. Nechao died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis succeeded him.’

It is not advisable to date from the year of the world, because it is an epoch necessarily doubtful and unascertainable; for, as Professor *Eichhorn* observes, “The period from Adam to Noah, according to the Hebrew chronology, consists of 1656 years: to this the Greek opposes 2262, and the Samaritan 1307 years. Now, although the Hebrew may be comparatively preferable, it cannot be assumed as historically correct; for it reposes on an undemonstrated extraordinary length of life of the primæval men, and on pedigrees which are full of chasms. It is moreover linked on sagas, which do not usually contain exact chronology.” In other respects, the relation of the present author is happily condensed, and sufficiently full: but in point of criticism it is somewhat defective, while a want of references diminishes the utility of the chronicle and the confidence of the reader. The fate of Ægypt is continued through the reigns of the Ptolemaic dynasty, down to that of Cleopatra, when the country became a Roman province.

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The history of Assyria and of Babylon follows. Nimrod and Ninus are here made two distinct sovereigns, contrary to the opinion of the Orientals. The Phoenicians, Armenians, Phrygians, Trojans, Scythians, and others, are separately considered in short chapters: but their occasional independence of the Parthian empire scarcely justified such distinct distribution. Under the head Persians, an analysis of the *Zend-Avesta* is introduced, as if that book, which is of the times of *Ferdoosi*, (see our account of the *Shah-nameh*, vol. xciii. p. 455. and 456.) were sound evidence of the religion of the antient Persians. However, if Hyde has been allowed to infer from the *Sadder*, which is still newer than the *Zend-Avesta*, the state of primæval worship in that empire, it may be as excusable to rely on the similar authority adopted by the Count DE SEGUR. The life of Cyrus, an important and ill-understood period, is here given after *Rollin*, who trusts in Xenophon's romance intitled the *Cyropædia*, as if it were historically true; and this is confronted with the native accounts of the modern Persians, which are as destitute of probability, and are preserved in the *Jehan Ara*. Herodotus and the Jewish Scriptures form the original sources of information concerning these times: they have been used in composing the life of Darius, but not with all the acuteness requisite to reconcile them; and the important transaction, termed by Herodotus *the Magophonia*, and supposed by many critics to be identical with the massacre narrated in the ninth chapter of the book of Esther, is not even mentioned. The series of Persian sovereigns is continued to the conquest of Alexander; and afterward, in a very cursory way, to the time of Mohammed.

Vol. II. treats of Greece, and is much better composed than the first: indeed the French writers have examined Greek history more elaborately than oriental history; and hence the Count DE S. could easily provide himself with a respectable text-book, from which he might epitomize his summary.

The following section neatly recapitulates the fortunes of Greece:

‘ We have seen Greece in its three periods, shining in the bloom of youth, displaying the strength of maturity, and at last exhibiting sad marks of age and melancholy presages of decay.

‘ Powerful by their virtues, rich by their industry, and invincible by their love of liberty, all the Greek republics, rivals in glory, and united by their devotion to a common country, braved and defied the greatest Asiatic monarchs; proving that they contained more heroes than Susa, Persepolis, and Babylon contained satraps, courtiers, and slaves.

‘ All was legitimate in the cause, all was great and pure in the triumph: but the pride of victory gave rise to ambition. Athens
and

and Sparta, no longer finding themselves obliged to act on the defensive, conceived the desire of domineering. Discord, jealousy, and hatred, destroyed public spirit; and riches, the result of conquests, corrupted morality. The Greeks not only permitted but invited the interference of the common enemy in their internal differences; and the kings of Persia, by intrigue and corruption, gained victories which their arms could not have accomplished.

‘Nevertheless, talents, the sciences, and the arts, made a rapid progress: but they contributed to the effeminacy of manners; and, as the manly virtues of the good old times grew daily weaker, duties were sacrificed to pleasures, and the competition was no longer for glory but for luxury. Vanity took the place of pride; and the passion for public games and theatres became so strong, that the maintenance of armies and the wants of the state were sacrificed to the cost of idle amusements. The *love of country* was a topic introduced in the harangues of orators, but the citizens no longer marched eagerly in its defence.

‘When the Macedonian monarchy rose all at once into eminence, and threatened the independence of Greece, jealousy prevented a confederacy of the free cities. The iron of Philip incurred few obstacles, while his gold found partizans everywhere. A recollection of the antient glory, indeed, and an impatience of oppression, suggested some partial efforts: but a single defeat discouraged the descendants of the heroes of Salamis, of Marathon, of Platea; and all Greece, after having submitted to the dominion of Alexander, received with transport that semblance of liberty which was bestowed by a vain decree in exchange for independence.

‘While the conqueror of Asia was over-running the East, the Greeks of Europe enjoyed a profound repose. Sparta for a moment raised the standard of freedom, but abandoned it as speedily. Greece, during the reign of the Macedonian hero, was a peaceful theatre of arts and sciences, games and pleasures.

‘This last portion of the third period was still brilliant. Power had disappeared, but fame remained. There was less greatness, but more repose. Greece had ceased to excel in arms, but nations flocked thither to enjoy its pastimes, to admire its poets and artists, to consult its philosophers, and to carry home its illumination. Thus this fortunate country prepared a new sort of empire, which long survived her ruin; she became the preceptress of the world, the centre of instruction and civilization; and the Greeks were as admirable for their urbanity, their philosophy, their eloquence, and their master-pieces of art, as they had formerly been for their virtues and their exploits.’ (Vol. ii. p. 479.)

An enumeration follows of the more celebrated writers: but, as these are well known, and as nothing peculiar distinguishes the appreciations of the present author, it is needless to transcribe his critical catalogue.

The third volume begins with the history of Sicily, and passes on to that of Carthage. It is here asserted (p. 75.)
that

that 'Dido was the great grand-daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre, the father of Jezebel; and that she fled from the tyranny of her brother Pygmalion, in the reign of Joas, king of Judah.'

The Jews next pass in review: but the Count professes to abridge *without discussion* the narratives of the sacred books, and thus avoids any collision with the censors on points liable to different theories of interpretation. According to the book of Ezra, (ch. vii. v. 8.) the seventy years' captivity of the Jews terminated in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. They passed therefore in captivity seven years under Artaxerxes, twenty-one years under his predecessor Xerxes, and thirty-six years under Darius the First. Now, as Darius dated his accession from the death of Cyrus, not recognizing the intervening sovereignty of Cambyses and Smerdis, the remaining six years of captivity must have been passed under Cyrus the Great; and this agrees exactly with the account of Baruch, (ch. i. v. 2.) that in the fifth year after the taking of Jerusalem the vessels were restored to the Temple by Cyrus, under a condition indeed of recognizing henceforth the sovereignty of the Babylonians in the public prayers. Count S., however, strangely antedates the Captivity, or calculates from the captivity of Manasses.

From this volume we extract the twenty-fifth chapter, which narrates the reign of Herod the Great:

'Herod having collected a numerous army, and being assisted by the Roman General Ventidius, after some skirmishes, in one of which his brother Joseph was killed, came to besiege the holy city. During the investiture, he consolidated his rights and his power by marrying, at Samaria, Mariamne, the daughter of Alexandra, grand-daughter of king Aristobulus, and a niece of the high priest Hyrcanus. After this marriage, Herod entered Jerusalem, and made a great carnage. Antigonus, beloved by the people, had retired into a tower, but his courage forsook him, and he wanted the firmness to render his adversity respectable. He threw himself at the feet of the Roman General Sosius, who expressed contempt by calling him Antigona, and sent him a prisoner to Anthony. Herod, fearing the escape of this captive, who might renew his pretensions, and endanger a novel throne, sent presents to Anthony, who connived at his being put to death.

'History gives to Herod the name of *Great*, because he was able, brave, fortunate, and powerful; and men have always been inclined to bestow on the favorites of fortune a title which ought to be reserved for eminent virtue. This monarch, by connecting himself in marriage with the family of Aristobulus, did not forego his hatred to the race; and the fear of seeing it remount the throne
was

was a continual source of alarm to him, which tempted him to crimes that render his memory execrable.

‘ The high priest Hyrcanus had taken refuge among the Parthians : but Herod, fearing the legitimacy of his claims, desired to have him in his power. To succeed, he made professions of friendship and gratitude, and deceived him by promises. The friends of Hyrcanus foretold to him the fate which awaited him : but he thought that Herod, notwithstanding his mutilation, would restore to him the high priesthood, and he set off for Jerusalem. The King received him with magnificence, and shewed him in public great respect, from deference to the people who valued his family : but he kept strict watch over him, and gave the priesthood to an obscure person, named Anael. This choice displeased the Jews, as Anael was not of the families who had returned from the captivity.

‘ Mariamne, the wife of Herod, Alexandra, the mother of young Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus, soon began from these acts to anticipate their ruin. Alexandra having sent deputies to Cleopatra, the queen of Ægypt, to solicit her protection, Salome, the sister of Herod, and an implacable enemy to the whole race of Aristobulus, informed the King of these intrigues : when Alexandra, alarmed, endeavored to escape into Ægypt with her son, but was arrested and confined to Jerusalem. All the Jewish nation, however, exhibited so lively an interest in the family of its former sovereigns, that Herod was obliged to yield, and to confer the high priesthood on Aristobulus. When the young prince offered his first sacrifice, the celebrity of his name, and his singular beauty, made great impression on the people, and the air was rent with acclamations. Herod, enraged, secretly determined on the ruin of the prince, but concealed his intentions beneath the mask of friendship. Some time afterward, he invited Aristobulus with his family to his villa near Jericho, and gave splendid entertainments in honour of a guest whom he meant to assassinate. At the close of a repast, he took his party to a pool, in which the young men invited Aristobulus to bathe with them. He accordingly entered the water, when they began to wrestle, and to duck each other ; and agents of Herod, during this scuffle, managed to keep Aristobulus under water until he was drowned. The King affected great sorrow for this event, and honored by a magnificent funeral his unfortunate victim. The court perceived the treachery : but the fictitious grief of the tyrant deceived the multitude. Such complaints, however, travelled to Anthony about this crime, that Herod was obliged to go and justify himself ; trusting, at his departure, the public affairs to Joseph, the husband of his sister Salome.

‘ All the sentiments of this monarch were exaggerated and furious : he detested the family of Aristobulus ; yet he adored the queen Mariamne with a jealousy so violent, that he ordered Joseph, in case he should be condemned by Anthony, to kill the Queen, lest any other should possess her after him. His skill and his presents having justified him in the mind of Anthony, he returned to Judea ; and, in spite of the efforts of Salome to excite his jealousy

against Mariamne, his love prevailed : so that, to punish Joseph for having extorted the barbarous order against the queen, he was now put to death, and Alexandra into prison.

‘ Meanwhile, Queen Cleopatra came to Jerusalem. This princess, as ambitious and cruel as Herod, vainly endeavoured to inspire him with love, for he knew and detested her. She had obtained the grant of a part of his kingdom, and it was thought that, but for the fear of Anthony, he would have revenged this spoliation by the murder of Cleopatra. To Anthony he faithfully paid the agreed tribute, and accompanied him into Ægypt. He afterward offered to that monarch his assistance against Augustus : but Anthony advised him to make war on the Arabs. When he was about to give them battle, an earthquake occurred, which terrified the superstitious Jews, who fled : but Herod, as skilful as courageous, managed to rally them, pursued the enemy, defeated them, and imposed a tribute.

‘ About this time, the battle of Actium decided the destiny of the world : Anthony was conquered ; and Octavius, afterward called Augustus, became master of the empire. As Augustus might have ruined Herod, and have given his throne to the family of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the King, in this critical position, set off for Rome. Before his departure, having detected a correspondence between the Arabs and Hyrcanus, he put this venerable old man to death, shut up in a fortress Mariamne and Alexandra, and renewed to his brother Pheroras the inhuman order to execute the Queen, in case of his not succeeding with the conqueror.

‘ Once more the spirit, the eloquence, and the presents of this barbarian king had a complete success : his magnificence, his exploits, and his address, soon conciliated the friendship of the new emperor ; and he returned triumphant to Jerusalem.

‘ His love for Mariamne always resisted the base intrigues of Salome : but the Queen, irritated against him, received his passion with coldness, and revived his former suspicions. A butler, bribed by Salome, accused the Queen of tempting him to poison her husband ; and Herod, indignant, had her tried and condemned. Alexandra, the mother, fearing a like fate, basely affected to believe the accusers of her daughter : but the King still hesitated to order the execution of the fatal sentence ; until Salome, having excited an uproar among the people, told Herod that the Jews were meditating to bestow the throne on Mariamne ; and he then sent to the scaffold a queen as celebrated for her misfortunes as for her virtues and her beauty.

‘ Love and remorse soon avenged her, for Herod fell sick, and his life was in danger. Alexandra, informed of his condition, endeavoured to seize the fortresses : but the King heard of her attempt, and put her to death. Contrary to expectation, his health was recovered, and he now let loose on his people an insane and desperate cruelty ; condemning to the scaffold relations, friends, and a croud of innocent victims. He also violated the law of Moses by establishing at Jerusalem games, theatres, and feasts, in honor of Augustus. The multitude, shocked at these profanations, revolted

revolted and broke the images that were exposed for adoration. Herod punished the authors of the sedition, but the informers were massacred by the Jews.

‘ Agitated by a thousand fears, the King felt obliged to fortify his palace, and to make a citadel of it. A little while afterward, Judea was afflicted by pestilence and famine : when the activity of Herod, in providing for the wants of the people, appeased the public hatred. Wishing to drive away the memory of Mariamne, he married the daughter of a Levite named Simon, and conferred on the father the high priesthood.

‘ Herod knew that kings, by the splendor of their actions and the magnificence of their monuments, dazzle the people, and blind them to injustice. He therefore re-constructed and embellished the temple of the Lord, built for himself a stately palace, and, in order to evince his loyalty to Augustus, founded the city of ~~Ca~~sarea in honor of that monarch. His two sons, also, Alexander and Aristobulus, were sent to Rome to be educated under the eye of the Emperor.

‘ The reign of Herod was now settled, and became tranquil for some years. He visited Rome, and brought home his children : but, after his return, the quarrels of his family broke out with more violence than ever. Salome, fearing the vengeance of the ~~sons~~ of Mariamne, persuaded the King that his children were conspiring his death : but Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, who had given his daughter Glaphyra in marriage to Alexander, reconciled the father and the children.

‘ The third son of Herod, Antipater, excited by Salome, united with her to destroy his brothers, and gave so much probability to his denunciations, that the King accused them before Augustus, who interfered to obtain their pardon. At this time, the Emperor published an edict honorable to the Jews, in which he praised their courage and fidelity, and confirmed to them the privilege of governing themselves, and of retaining their customs and their kings.

‘ Herod now undertook and pursued with success a new war against the Arabs. Exhausted of money by the expenses which he had incurred to embellish Jerusalem, and to preserve the friendship of the Romans, he secretly opened the sepulchre of David, hoping to find there great riches : but Josephus relates that flames burst from the tomb, which destroyed two laborers, and compelled the King to relinquish his sacrilegious enterprize.

‘ Sylleus, a Roman on good terms with Salome, occasioned some coolness between Augustus and Herod : but the Emperor, convinced that he had been deceived, removed Sylleus ; and, yielding to the complaints which Herod was continually making against his sons, he appointed a tribunal to be held at Berith for judging the case. There Herod attended, and in his furious way accused his own children : Antipater and Salome had gained the great officers of the crown, who deposed against them ; and the princes, being found guilty, were strangled by the order of Herod at Sebaste

The King next commanded the massacre of three hundred persons, who were said to have been engaged in the conspiracy.

‘Antipater, delivered by the death of his brothers from competition for the throne, was in his turn eager to occupy it, and formed a plot to poison his father: but Herod had him tried by Varus, and he paid the penalty of so many crimes.

‘Herod, overcome with chagrin, fatigue, and remorse, was now attacked with a disgusting disease, which covered him with ulcers, corroded his entrails, and bred worms in every part of his body. His sufferings, however, only increased his cruelty; and he ordered Salome to celebrate his funeral by surrounding the Hippodrome with soldiers, and slaughtering many of the principal Jews who were to attend.

‘A new revolt troubled his last days. The high priest Mattathias, and Judas, at the head of a band of zealots, threw down a golden eagle, which Herod had consecrated at the gate of the Temple: but this courageous action entailed a bloody punishment.

‘Herod had pointed out Antipas for his successor: but he changed his will, and gave the throne to Archelaus, a son borne to him by a woman of Samaria, and who had married Glaphyra, the widow of Alexander. He bequeathed a thousand talents to the Emperor Augustus, and five hundred to the Empress Livia; and he ended his life, five days after the death of his son Antipas, in the year one.

‘Augustus confirmed the will of Herod: but, soon afterward, on the complaints made by the Jews against Archelaus, he banished this prince to Vienne in Gaul, and then re-united Judea with Syria. Thus terminated the kingdom of the Jews, which henceforwards became a Roman province.’ (P. 429.)

The events narrated in the Gospel are related with respectful propriety, and the history of Jerusalem is continued until the final siege, which reduced it nearly to ruin.

Vol. IV. begins the history of Rome with its kings, and conducts it to the destruction of Carthage. All these facts are familiar, and need no recapitulation: — but the concluding reflections may deserve translation:

‘The finest period of Roman history commences with the invasion of Pyrrhus, when manners began to lose their grossness without incurring impurity. It finished with the third Punic war. While the Romans had to fear for their existence, they were obedient to the principles of religion and the laws of justice, and private interest operated among them consonantly with the general welfare. Then this astonishing nation, united and passionate as a faction, inspired not less admiration than fear: — but, when Carthage was destroyed, Spain conquered, Italy submissive, Greece subjected, and Asia acquired, the Roman public was delivered from every danger; its passions had no longer a bridle; the dikes were broken down; and the torrent flowed at large. The citizens, who had long fought to defend themselves, and then to conquer, now employed

employed their arms only to dispute with each other the spoils of conquest and the luxury of dominion. In vain a few virtuous men endeavoured to impose morality on luxury, patriotism on ambition, and justice on sovereignty ; — their voice was lost amid the storm of passions.' (P. 434.)

Some portions of this work may deserve to be transplanted into our elementary books, but in general it adds little to our existing knowledge.

ART. X. *Œuvres Complètes de Mad. la Baronne DE STAEL, &c. ; i. e. The complete Works of the Baroness DE STAEL, published by her Son ; preceded by a Sketch of her Character and Writings, by Madame NECKER DE SAUSSURE. 8vo. 11 Vols. Paris. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 4l. 19s.*

TO this collective edition of the works of Mad. DE STAEL is prefixed the *Sketch of her Character and Writings*, which, when separate, was mentioned in our xciiid volume, p. 243., and to that article we may refer our readers, for a sufficient biographical outline of the moral and literary history of this deservedly celebrated lady. We pass on therefore to the works themselves ; specifying, with cursory remarks and occasional extracts, the various contents of the volumes, in the order in which they are here arranged.

Vol. I. *Letters on the Writings and Character of J. J. Rousseau*, first published in 1788. — These compositions have rather the form of eulogy than of criticism, and paint with eloquent admiration what *Rousseau* was, without attempting to inquire in what he might have been better. His passionate love of nature, his hatred for all that man has added, his pious confidence in the benevolence of the Deity, his deep feeling, his sympathy with all that is generous and heroic, and his disdain of inequality and every tyranny, are well sketched. He is, however, too emphatic and impassioned a writer, approaches common concerns with a degree of excitement not justified by the occasion, and often neglects to provide those intervals of repose which prepare the reader's mind for fresh agitations of interest. Mad. DE STAEL thus comments on the new *Eloisa* :

‘ Had he painted two lovers whom a propitious destiny has united, and whose whole life is composed of such days that even one of them would suffice to embellish the long space of a year ; who, while they pursue together the road of life, are indifferent about the landscapes in which they walk ; who adore in their child a beloved image, a being in which their souls are mingled and their lives confounded ; who accomplish their duties with the ease of natural movements ; in whom the charm of virtue unites with the

allurement of love, and the luxury of the heart with the comfort of innocence; piety would attach yet more this couple to each other. Together they would thank the Supreme Being. Does happiness consist with atheism? There are benefits so great that they generate the desire of gratitude; and there are benefits of which it would be so hard to lose the enjoyment, that the heart seeks to lean on a superior power for the pledge of their duration. Then they no longer hang together by the hidden frailties which bind them to each other; before God they have formed the sacred bond, which man is unable to rend asunder; their name, their home, their children, form a common property, which recalls the image of their happiness and foretells its perpetuity. Every instant awakens a new enjoyment. How much detail of felicity surrounds an intimate union! Ah, if to make us worship this holy connection, *Rousseau* had painted such a married pair, his task would have been easy: but would the result of his lesson have served the cause of virtue; would he have been useful to man by exciting the envy of the unfortunate, and by telling to the happy only what they already know? No: the plan which he pursued is more moral.

‘ He has painted a woman married in spite of herself, attached to her husband only by esteem, and concealing in the recesses of her heart the reminiscence of other happiness, and the love of another object. Her whole life passes, not in that vortex of dissipation which might have assisted her to forget both her husband and her lover; which perverts to no one thought or feeling an exclusive ascendancy; which extinguishes all the passions, restoring calm through confusion, and repose through tumult, — but in absolute retirement, alone with M. *Wolmar*, in the country, reclined on the lap of nature, and thus disposed to all the sentiments which she inspires or recalls. In this situation, *Rousseau* paints *Julia* forming for herself a peculiar happiness by her virtue, happy in the comfort which she bestows on her husband, happy in the education which she prepares for her children, happy in the effect of her example over all that surrounds her, and happy in the consolations which she derives from her confidence in God. All this is a felicity very different from that which I have just been painting; it is more melancholy; it may be tasted, and yet sometimes cost a tear: but it is a happiness adapted for those transient beings who pass over the surface of this earth: it may be enjoyed, and not regretted when it is withdrawn; it is an habitual happiness, which may be possessed without the interruption of reflection or fear; — a happiness, in short, in which pious souls would feel those delights which love promises to others. This purity of sentiment, painted with so many charms, is what renders the new *Eloisa* so moral a romance; and would have rendered it the most moral of all others, if *Julia* had on all occasions exhibited not the spectacle, so admired by antiquity, of virtue struggling with misfortune, but with passion so much more formidable; and if this pure and spotless virtue had not lost a part of its charm by entailing a something of remorse.’

Mad. DE S.

Mad. DE S. displays in this criticism a delicacy of appreciation, but also exhibits a redundancy of style: all the ideas are luminous, but few are distinctly brilliant: the thoughts are not clustered into constellations, but, with the exuberance of Juno's milk, form a galaxy of little stars. It is the ready conversation of a female, polished into peculiar eloquence, but which as readily exerts itself on little as on great topics, and is more solicitous for grace of expression than for weight of matter. It has also the feature of dwelling incessantly on abstract contemplations, and of too rarely recurring to the external world for picturesque observation. All is generalized, all metaphysical: the mind is fed from within, not from without; and, as we are told of angelic natures, it seems no farther to have occasion for the senses. On this account, how inferior to her model, and her subject, *Rousseau*!

The second volume opens with *Reflections on the Judicial Proceedings against the Queen of France*. This pamphlet was an eloquent appeal to the humanity and the political prudence of the rulers of France, in behalf of the Queen's life, and intreating them to send her home to her own relations. It was first published in August, 1793. We quote a well-turned passage:

'The philosophers of these days will say to me, Why is your heart more moved for the Queen than for so many other unfortunate beings, whom the stream of the Revolution has swept away? Are you of the number of those who pity a king more than another man? Yes, I am of that number; not through the superstition of royalism, but through the sacred worship of misfortune. I know that sorrow is a relative sensation; that it is composed of habits, recollections, and contrasts; of the character, in short, that results from these different circumstances. When the happiest of women falls into adversity, when an illustrious princess is exposed to insult, I measure the fall, and suffer at every step. Were the Queen guilty, the whole universe would not take an interest in her destiny; and, after the year of suffering to which she has been exposed, no man or association of men can have the right to inflict on her additional punishment. This long series of griefs surrounds her with a gloomy respect. She might have been expected to fall again and again beneath the repeated blows of succeeding griefs: but nature and Heaven, by preserving her, have pronounced her sacred.'

Reflections on Peace succeed, addressed in 1794 to Mr. Pitt, and to the French nation. The philanthropic purpose of preventing farther bloodshed gives to this diatribe an amiable grace: it concludes thus:

'Mr. Pitt is the person whom the French accuse of this war, and for whom alone the English continue it. We might dwell on

the numberless faults committed in the conduct of it : but it is peace alone that should be asked of him. Or rather, it is for the nation to judge whether it be better to bear the burdens and the dangers which war entails, than to intrust itself to the guidance of that other chieftain, who, during these times of crisis, has restrained the Opposition within constitutional limits, and who has persisted in his liberal opinions when they snatched from him his very popularity, and destroyed all hopes of official employment. War maintains Mr. Pitt in the ministry : peace would recall thither Mr. Fox. This is the true alternative to point out to the English : there is no other ground of alarm : this is the only real fear of Mr. Pitt. Why should the nation tremble at his apprehensions ? This is no longer a war in which the error of a minister can be wiped off at the expense of the existing generation ; — it involves the destiny of England and of posterity, the triumph of liberty, and the glory of the world. Shade of Chatham, appear to your son, and illuminate him with your genius, or from the tomb demand back from him the name which you bestowed on him.'

Reflections on Internal Peace occur next : they inculcate a tolerant and compromising spirit, advising the friends of constitutional royalty to acquiesce in republican institutions, if in this form the mass of liberalists can best be brought to co-operate. They are dated in 1795.

From politics Mad. DE STAEL turns to literature ; and *An Essay on Fiction*, followed by four short novels, fills up the rest of the volume.

' There is one sort of fiction which I should wish to see banished from the world, I mean the novels grafted on history ; such as the anecdotes of the court of Philip Augustus, and a thousand others. These romances might amuse, if the real names were not given : but they step in between history and the reader ; and, by presenting invented details, which correspond with the common course of life, they oblige the memory to confound fiction with fact, and destroy at once the recollection of truth and the inferences of experience.' (P. 195.)

The four tales are intitled *Mirza, Adelaide and Theodore, Paulina*, and *Zulma* : — too long for our limits as entire stories, and not adapted to supply a disconnected fragment.

Vol. III. is occupied with a metaphysical disquisition concerning the *Influence of the Passions* ; from which we gave several extracts on its first appearance, in our xxiid volume, p. 582. It had then the dangerous peculiarity of speaking almost panegyrically of suicide : but to this edition have been subjoined *Reflections on Suicide*, drawn up in 1813, which more than retract, for they refute, any observations formerly made with a view to extenuate these fatal acts. We shall now prefer an extract or two from this additional matter :

‘ It is seldom that individuals, during the intoxication of prosperity, preserve a holy respect for sacred things : the attraction of the enjoyments of life being so strong as to diminish that of a future existence. A German philosopher, who was disputing with his friends, said, “ To obtain such a thing I would give up two millions of years of my eternal happiness ; ” — and he was tolerably moderate in the sacrifice which he offered ; because temporal enjoyments are commonly far more active in their impression than religious hopes. The spiritual life, or Christianity, which is the same thing, would not exist if no grief entered into the heart of man. A deliberate suicide is irreconcilable with Christian faith, because this faith principally reposes on the different duties of resignation. As for that suicide which is caused by a moment of passion, or a fit of despair, it may be that the Divine lawgiver had no occasion to speak of it among the Jews, who offer few examples of this species of derangement. He was constantly attacking in the Pharisees their hypocrisy, their incredulity, and their coldness. It might seem that he considered all explosions of the passions as sicknesses of the soul, and not as its habitual state ; and that he attended much more to the general spirit of morality than to precepts which depend on circumstances.’ (P. 332.)

‘ Marcus Aurelius says that there is no more harm in quitting life than in quitting a room which smokes : but certainly, if this were the case, suicides would be more common ; for it is difficult, when the illusion of youth is past, to reflect on the course of things, and constantly to love existence. We may, however, well persist in this being, from the fear of voluntarily casting it off. Yet if this motive alone retained us on earth, it would weigh little with those who have conquered terror by military habits ; and all persons, whose feelings are more hurt by the bitterness of life than shocked by the ghastliness of death, would spare themselves those latter days, which repeat in a hoarse voice the music that was soft and welcome in the earlier.’ (P. 335.)

‘ The resignation obtained by religious faith is a sort of moral suicide, and in that respect the very reverse of physical suicide. The renunciation of one’s self has for its object to consecrate one’s self to the species ; whereas the suicide caused by the disgust of life is but a bloody mourning for personal happiness.’ (P. 341.)

‘ Suicide withdraws us from nature as well as from its author. Natural death is almost always alleviated by the decay of strength, and the exaltation of virtue supports us in the sacrifice of life to duty : but the man who kills himself seems to arrive with hostile arms on the other bank of the river of death, and to defy alone the terrific images which people its obscurity with phantoms.’ (P. 344.)

Though these remarks present eloquent turns, they do not manifest complete consistency, or drift, as a course of reasoning ; and many of the fine phrases might be applied in either direction by the hesitating arguer.

Vol. IV. contains a dissertation on *Literature*, which was noticed in our xxxiiiid volume, p. 466. It favors the doctrine of a perpetually progressive improvement of the human race, in consequence of the ever-growing diffusion of instruction. Wisdom is not more intense now than formerly; and no more accomplished specimens of practical statesmen can occur than Xenophon and Cicero: but the number of persons skilled in thinking, and in acting, being so much greater in a given extent of country, the chance of wise advice and of docility to wisdom in the people is proportionately augmented. We might point out certain poems, and other works of literary art, which are more in unison with the spirit of one age than of another; and taste has a tendency to change ideas of the value of such productions, in the altering circumstances of human nature. Hence new attachments arise for old authors, who have written in sympathy with rising opinions; and admiration decays towards new merit, which is occupied in detaining obsolete prejudices. Literature is a sort of harness, which facilitates the co-operation of those steeds who are employed in moving the state-coach; and popularity of reputation consequently soon follows the expression of the new general will. Mad. DE STAEL examines in detail what is the influence of religion, manners, and laws on literature; and, conversely, what is the influence of literature on religion, manners, and laws. The topic is branched into many subdivisions, and opportunities occur for attacking established names, and for recommending those that have been hitherto unregarded; but this is not skilfully performed. *Bossuet*, for instance, is flattered highly in the preface: yet in what French writer is the general tone of sentiment more habitually hostile to that entire class of ideas and opinions, which the Revolution was intended to introduce? *Bossuet* should have been dissected with severity, and his authority reduced to its foreign value. "The Year 2440," again, is a truly original novel, and powerfully contributed to direct the hopes of the French nation towards revolution; yet it is passed without notice, instead of being raised to its merited eminence.

In allusion to *Bonaparte*, the following passage occurs:

' It is not true that a great man derives more lustre from being celebrated alone than he would exhibit if surrounded by other famous names, which all yield to his as being the first. In politics, it has been maintained that a king cannot subsist without a nobility and a peerage: at the court of opinion, also, gradations of rank are requisite to secure superiority. What is a conqueror opposing barbarians to barbarians in the night of ignorance? Caesar is only

only famous in history because he decided the destiny of Rome when Rome contained Cicero, Sallust, Cato, and so many talents and virtues which his single sword could control. Behind Alexander still hovered illustrious shades of Greece. Even for the glory of distinguished warriors, the countries which they subdue must be enriched with all the gifts of the human mind. I know not whether the power of mind will one day extinguish the torch of war: but until that day, eloquence, imagination, and even philosophy, will be necessary to blazon the importance of warlike actions. If we suffer every thing to debase and demean itself, force indeed may govern, but no true glory can surround it. Men will be a thousand times more degraded by the loss of emulation, than by the jealous furies of which ambition was the object.' (P. 44.)

'The Germans understand better than we do the amelioration of the condition of man. They advance illumination, they prepare convulsion: but it is by violence that we have attempted every thing, effected every thing, and spoilt every thing. We have founded only causes of hatred; and the friends of liberty wander about the country with downcast heads, blushing for the crimes of some, and calumniated by the prejudices of others. But you, enlightened nation, inhabitants of Germany, be invariably faithful to one great principle, which suffices to prevent irreparable evil: — never permit yourselves to commit an action which morality reprobates.' (P. 363.)

The fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes are occupied with *Delphine*, and the eighth and ninth with *Corinne*; two novels which were fashionable at Paris, but the first of which at least reprehensibly attaches all the interest to the passion of a widow-lady for a married military man. We noticed these works in our xlii^d and livth volumes. It has been said that, under the name of *Delphine*, Mad. DE STAËL painted her own moral character, and under that of *Corinne* her own intellectual portrait; and in fact we suspect that this female Narcissus sat to herself for both paintings, and took pleasure in features which would offend a severer and less partial judge.

Vols. X. and XI. comprize the work on *Germany*; on which we commented at so great an extent, and with so pervasive a criticism, in our lxxii^d vol. p. 421., lxxiii^d vol. p. 63., and lxxivth vol. p. 268., that we may well be content with referring our readers to those original dissections of the treatise. This is certainly the most brilliant and most beautifully written of all the productions of the author; and if the third part had been wholly suppressed, in which philosophers are criticized whom the fair metaphysician knew but at second hand, and did not entirely penetrate, it would form a literary model

model of national delineation. The subsequent volumes have not yet reached us.

On the whole, we look back with satisfaction to our original commentaries on the component parts of this collection. We have no praise to retract or censure to add: for we were not betrayed by any temporary influence of the rank, or the sex, or the political consideration of Mad. DE STAEL, to exaggerate or extenuate her uncommon merits. We still feel that, however exquisitely she may define the natural impression on cultivated minds of the various works of literature, and deeds of men, which she was in the habit of discussing, yet with her do not originate the grounds of decision: she does not invent the arguments by which she is influenced; and her appreciations are those of tact, not of inference, — of taste rather than judgment. Still this taste is so finely polished and so urbanely expressive, — so much allied to the most delicate sensibilities and sympathies, and to the highest accomplishments and virtues of our nature, — that it deserves to be generally received and adopted.

ART. XI. *Souvenirs du Nord, &c.; i. e.* Recollections of the North; or War, Russia, and the Russians or Slavery. By M. R. FAURE, M. D. Physician to the First Corps of Cavalry in the Expedition of 1812. 8vo. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 7s. 6d.

ART. XII. *Coup d'Œil sur Petersburg, &c.; i. e.* A View of Petersburg. By M. J. C. 8vo. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 5s. sewed.

THE first part of M. FAURE's volume contains a narrative of the campaign in Russia in 1812, written from personal experience, and giving a minute and very interesting detail of the extreme privations and sufferings which the author felt and witnessed. The brilliant display made by the army at its rendezvous in Berlin, and the animation of the troops when crossing the majestic Vistula, whose banks were then blooming in all the beauty of the spring, are described with great spirit; and they form a singular contrast with the hopeless miseries which these splendid victims were doomed to undergo in the autumn, amid the dreary wilds and under the inclement skies of Russia. The battles of Ostrowno, of Smolensko, and of Moscow, served only to encourage hopes which the burning of the latter city completely destroyed.

Dr. F. was made prisoner by a party of Cossacs on the 18th of October, and was obliged with his comrades in captivity to suffer many gross indignities from his barbarous conquerors. His treatment, therefore, gave him no very

favorable

favorable opinion of the Russians, and may have contributed in some degree to tinge his mind with prejudices against the whole of that nation : certain it is that the view which he takes of the government in Russia, and of the manners of the different classes, is in all respects as little flattering as any person can imagine. We are told that the servile state of the lower orders deprives them of almost all those qualities which are valuable in the human character. When not compelled to work, they sleep, because they have no motive to exertion ; for if they were industrious, the fruits of their industry would not belong to them : nor is there any thing in their situation to enable them to participate in any enjoyment, or to relish any amusement. With imitative powers of the highest degree, they remain inactive and listless ; and it is only during the buoyant period of youth, when no such thing as reflection is known, or when they are urged by the whim of a master, that the lower orders are enabled to develope in the slightest manner those extraordinary talents which render every Russian at his will a mock-bird, a painter, or a linguist. The incubus of despotism crushes all their faculties ; and they pass through a dull and grovelling existence, in a miserable alternation of painful toil and reckless torpor.

The wives of these poor villeins are represented by Dr. FAURE as of a disposition somewhat more cheerful, but as entertaining little respect for their husbands, and not being remarkable for conjugal fidelity. His picture of the Russian nobility is very similar to that of Dr. Clarke ; and he dwells with much force on the arrogance of their pretensions, their personal vanity in the midst of filth, their pretensions to universal knowledge with very superficial attainments, and their affectation of humanity while exercising the most grinding oppression and the most unjust severities on their unpitied boors. The hints which Dr. F. throws out for the improvement of Russia, besides the relaxation of the bonds which annex the peasant to the soil, relate principally to the establishment of permanent magistrates, and courts of judicature not dependent on the will of the crown ; to the promotion of education among the lower orders ; to an increase of the stipends allowed to those who are engaged in education, and an improvement of their rank in society ; and to the encouragement of literature, of the fine arts, and of places of amusement in the large towns.

Much, doubtless, remains to be done in Russia, before it can be rendered an orderly, a civilized, or a happy nation : but the posture of affairs in other countries in Europe affords to the Russian cabinet, at present, too alluring an opportunity for its interference to be entirely resisted ; and the Emperor

will

will probably be contented to leave it to M. FAURE, and other learned Parisians, to speculate on the internal improvement of Russia, while he pursues more extensive schemes of aggrandizement, and extends the frontiers and dependencies of his mighty empire. Mr. Pitt's policy first brought down these "barbarians of the north," as arbiters in the affairs of their more southern neighbours, and Europe has already witnessed many strange events, the results of that policy: but, before its full fruits shall be experienced, we suspect that Europe has still much to behold, and perhaps much to suffer.

The '*Coup d'Œil sur Petersbourg*' is of a character much inferior to the work of Dr. F., being written in a slight and flimsy manner, and containing no remarks on the Russians which have not already been better suggested by others. A few translations are annexed of Russian compositions, both in prose and poetry: but those of our countrymen who are in possession of Mr. Bowring's recent specimens of Russian poetic effusions, rendered into our language, will find on inspecting M. J. C.'s productions an instance of the old saying that "they may go farther and fare worse."

ART. XIII. *Emma, &c.; i. e. Emma; or, The Wedding Night.* By NOEL HYÉVAL. 12mo. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 3s.

SOME romantic energy is observable in the style of this writer: but his tale is revolting, particularly in making Emma relate her horrible history to a stranger, nearly at their first interview. We may add to this and other improbabilities the mistake, in page 98., of representing the Scotch as observing the custom of warmer climates, and interring their dead within twenty-four hours after their dissolution.

ART. XIV. *L'Ecolier, ou Raoul et Victor, &c.; i. e. The School Boy, or Raoul and Victor.* By Madame GUIZOT. 12mo. 4 Vols. Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 1l. 1s.

IN these volumes, several improbable adventures are strung together with wearisome circumlocution: yet the writer's aim appears to be laudable; and in various passages, such as the history of Madame *de Revolles*, the scene in which *Victor* is recognized by his father, &c. we trace a power of invention and description which might, with judicious curtailments, have rendered the present a very interesting and meritorious production.

ART. XV. *Les Voies du Sort, &c.; i. e. The Ways of Fate.* Translated into French from the German of AUGUSTUS LA FONTAINE, by Mad. *Elizabeth R****. 12mo. 4 Vols. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 15s.

THE fair translator of this novel regrets that it has not the advantages, in her version of it into French, which the elegant pen of Madame de Montolieu conferred on its precursors from the inexhaustible manufactory of M. LA FONTAINE: but we question whether that lady's taste could have succeeded in recommending 'The Ways of Fate,' or rather we believe that it would have deterred her from making the attempt. So silly and incongruous an assemblage of stories, such "incoherent odds and ends," are seldom seen, and yet more rarely translated; and, as the morality of the book ranks no higher than its composition, we cannot regret its deficiency in attraction.

ART. XVI. *Reginalde, &c.; i. e. Reginalda; or, The Fair Venetian.* A Romance. By Mad^{lle}. VANHOVE. 12mo. 4 Vols. Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 15s.

PROBABILITIES are too often violated among romance-writers to be very curiously regarded by their readers: but Mademoiselle VANHOVE loses sight even of *possibility*, and carries her heroine in and out of the Inquisition-dungeons with as much facility as she dips her pen in the ink-stand. The adventures of a supposed Irishwoman, *Mistriss Polly Vilson*, are equally incredible with those of Reginalda; and, in course, the moral attached to these marvels can scarcely receive its application in common life.

ART. XVII. *La Jeune Enthousiaste, &c.; i. e. The Young Enthusiast; or, The Dangers of Enthusiasm.* Translated from the German of AUGUSTUS LA FONTAINE. By C. T. 12mo. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 4s.

THE unhappy consequences of a romantic disposition, which this tale displays, might have rendered it useful as a warning, and the interest excited by its principal characters would give it value as a work of amusement, if it were not disfigured by some very objectionable descriptions and scenes.

ART. XVIII. *Les Jeunes Personnes, &c.; i. e. Tales of Young People.* By Madame DE RENNEVILLE. 2 Vols. 12mo. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 12s.

THESE tales present examples of virtue, and may be recommended as furnishing a harmless and pleasing addition to the youthful library.

ART. XIX. *Petite Bibliographie Biographico-Romancière, &c.; i. e. A Concise Bibliography of Romance-Biography, or Dictionary of Romance-Writers, Antient and Modern, Native and Foreign; with a few Words respecting each, and the Romances which they have furnished, whether as Authors or Translators. Preceded by a Catalogue of the best Romances that have been published for many Years, and followed by Tables indicating the different Sorts, and serving to direct the Choice of Works which should form a Circulating Library.* 8vo. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 6s.

IT appears that this work is the production of the bookseller, FIGOREAU, who publishes it, and who probably intended it originally as a recommendatory catalogue of his own reading-rooms, or circulating library; with which accommodation, he says, Paris is now full, although it possessed but one institution of the kind fifty years ago. The word *Romance* is used exclusively in the title-page, but *Novels* in general, which with us do not obtain the former term, are indiscriminately admitted in this catalogue. In the tables at the end, the compiler points out the romances which are proper to form the basis of a public library, those which have recently appeared, those which are adapted for youth, and those which are *not fit for their inspection*: thus furnishing a very convenient guide to all those immoral productions, which it would be much more to his credit to enumerate as *not to be found in his collection*.

Among other blunders in speaking of English authors and their works, Dr. Johnson is mentioned as having written the *Lives of the English PAINTERS*, instead of *POETS*; and to Miss Burney, now Mad. d'Arblay, are attributed the productions of her sister Miss Sarah Burney; viz. *Clarentine, Traits of Nature, Country-Neighbours, &c.* Mrs. Inchbald is called Mrs. Inchbad, and her *Simple Story* is denominated 'Simple, a History;' while Mrs. Meeke is changed to Mrs. Mecke, &c. Besides mistakes of this kind, we perceive that it is a practice among the French to give pretended translations from the English, falsely ascribed to eminent writers: instances of which are properly pointed out by the editor.

Mrs. Radcliffe is here said to have no power of exciting *sensibility*, but to be mistress of *terror*, and to be in fact the *Blue-Beard* of grown-up people! — Sir Walter Scott is unhesitatingly introduced as the author of the Scotch novels; and his name is required to produce a call for the translation of English *poems*, which are not generally relished by our neighbors, as we are told in the notice of Mr. Southey, whose *Roderick* alone is stated to have been transfused into the French language.

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